Statement
Exhibiting the

Moral & Material
Progress & Condition
of India
1927-28 & 1928-29

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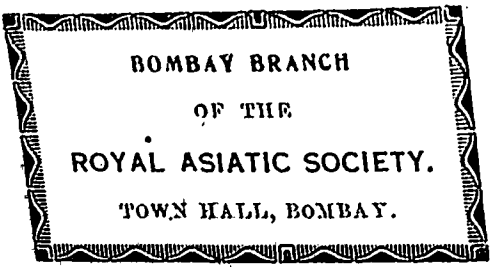

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EAST INDIA (PROGRESS AND CONDITION).

STATEMENT

EXHIBITING THE

MORAL AND MATERIAL PROGRESS AND CONDITION

OF

INDIA

DURING THE YEAR 1927-28.

SIXTY-THIRD NUMBER.

India Office,
25 January, 1929.

A. HIRTZEL,
Under Secretary of State for India.

(Presented pursuant to the Government of India Act.)

Ordered, by The House of Commons *to be Printed,*
28 *January*, 1929.

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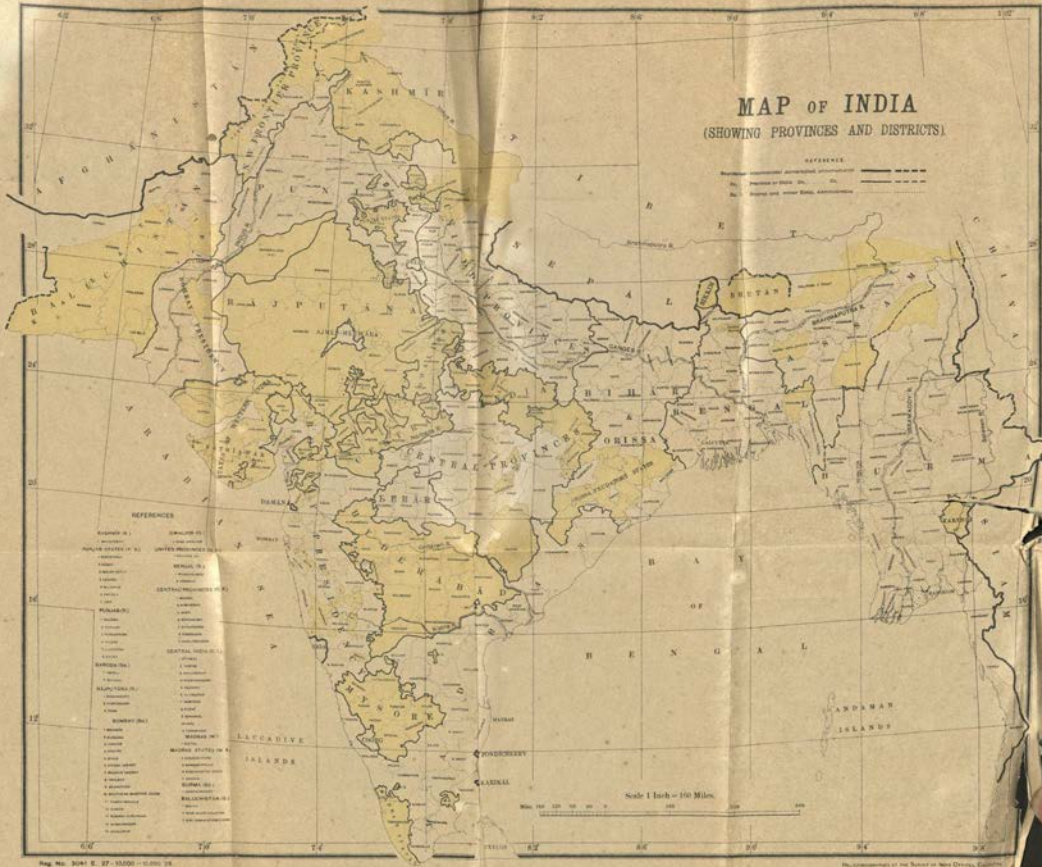
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PUNJAB
RAJPUTANA
AJMERE-MERWARA
NEPAL
BHUTAN
BIHAR
BENGAL
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BERAR
DAMAN
BAY OF BENGAL
ANDAMAN ISLANDS
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PREFATORY NOTE.

The task of preparing this report for presentation to Parliament has been entrusted by the Government of India to Mr. J. Coatman, and it is now presented under the authority and with the general approval of the Secretary of State for India; but it must not be understood that the approval either of the Secretary of State or of the Government of India extends to every particular expression of opinion.

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H. E. LORD IRWIN,
Viceroy and Governor General.

INDIA IN 1927-28.

CHAPTER I.

The Year 1927-28.

The year 1927-28 will always stand out boldly in the history of India, for on November the 8th, 1927, the appointment of the long expected Statutory Commission for the purpose of enquiring into the working of the present system of Government as well as certain subjects cognate thereto was announced in Parliament, and simultaneously by His Excellency Lord Irwin in India. This is easily the most important event in the public life of India during the year, and since the beginning of November it has overshadowed everything else.

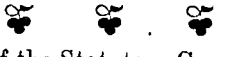
On April 1st, 1927, as on the corresponding day of the previous year, any discussion or consideration of Indian public affairs speedily reached and confined itself perforce to the all-absorbing theme of Hindu-Muhammadan relations. For, at the beginning of our period, the storm of inter-communal antagonism, so far from showing any signs of slackening after the excesses of the previous year, was blowing with apparently increasing fury, and no other voices could make themselves heard against the clamour of the rival partisans. The Congress Party's demand for a Round Table Conference between representatives of Britain and India, and even the more moderate demand for the expediting of the appointment of the Statutory Commission had, to all appearance, been laid aside for the present. It is true that the publication of the Report of the Indian Sandhurst Committee—with which we shall deal at some length later in this report—on April 1st was an event of first class political importance, and one which could not fail to produce a deep impress upon the future history of the Indian Army and the Indian peoples. It is also true that echoes of the great rupee stabilisation controversy—about which so much was said in last year's Report—were still to be heard and that another big clash in the economic sphere between

the Indian Government and certain of its opponents in currency and financial affairs was about to be staged in connection with the main recommendation of the Royal Commission on Indian Finance and Currency, namely, the creation of a Reserve Bank for India. These things, to be sure, engaged much attention from politicians and students of public affairs but the people of India knew and cared nothing about them. Most observers, however acute, looking forward from the standpoint of April 1st, 1927, would have said that the next twelve months would be empty of interest, as far as high politics were concerned, and that they would continue so until a firm and lasting truce were called in the fratricidal strife between India's two great communities which was distracting and destroying her public life. Any such anticipations, as we now know, would have been falsified.

A number of causes had contributed to this result. In the first place there can be little doubt that the long succession of bloody clashes between the mobs of the two communities had begun to stir the consciences and open the eyes of the more respectable and responsible men on both sides to the deep and disgraceful injury which was being done to the national cause. Again, Lord Irwin's speech at the Chelmsford Club banquet in Simla, in July, 1926, and the speech with which he inaugurated the Simla session of the Indian Legislature in August, 1927, both evoked widespread and genuine response throughout India, and greatly strengthened the hands of all who really wished to bring the ruinous inter-communal hostilities to an end. His Excellency's speech to the Indian Legislature is especially noteworthy both by reason of its contents and the response which it evoked. To this subject we shall return very soon. Another contributory cause of the cessation of Hindu-Muhammadan rioting is to be found in the blow struck at inflammatory writing in the press by a judgment of the Punjab High Court in a case arising out of the publication of a scurrilous pamphlet against the Founder of Islam. As a result of the dire effects produced by wanton instigation of inter-communal hatred by the Press, the Government of India undertook certain legislation during the autumn session of the Indian Legislature in 1927, and this also as well as the Punjab High Court judgment will be discussed in due course. Lastly, the announcement of November the 8th proved a very powerful counter-attraction to the inter-communal troubles, engrossing as it did the full attention of political leaders and the

press. Moreover, as it related to no less a subject than the whole future Government of India, it included the matters in issue between the two great communities as one of the elements of the great problem with which it would have to deal. In fact, the question of India's political status and of the pace and manner of her approach to self-government became once more the prime topic of interest and discussion. We have seen in earlier reports that Hindu-Muslim riots, though usually started by incidents in connection with the religious rites and celebrations of the two communities, are symptoms of certain fundamental disagreements between them, and thus it was only natural that the announcement of the beginning of an enquiry which should comprise the basic causes of these disagreements within its scope should divert attention to itself away from the riots which were merely the results of the aforesaid causes.

The feeling aroused by the Statutory Commission affected a wider field than that of Hindu-Muslim relations and invested all subjects of public importance with a high political significance whether this quality was properly inherent in them or not. Both the Reserve Bank Bill and the Indian Navy Discipline Bill foundered in the Statutory Commission tempest, although the first of these measures represented an appreciable advance towards self-government in one of its most important functions, whilst the second was a step in the process of achieving the most vital and uncompromising of all the conditions of national autonomy, namely, the creation of an adequate and efficient instrument of national self-defence. In the next chapter we shall go more deeply into the phenomena of the reaction to the Statutory Commission and into their underlying causes. Here it is enough to say that the announcement of November 8th was a very strong force working to change the outward aspect of public life in India.



After the formation of the Statutory Commission the event which engrossed public attention more fully than anything else was the publication of Miss Katherine Mayo's book "Mother India" in the early summer of 1927. The main reason for the extraordinary effect produced by the book is its treatment of the subject of child marriage among Hindus, and certain other topics. Practically every newspaper in India denounced the book as a scurrilous libel on Hindus and Hinduism and it was freely alleged that Miss Mayo

had been subsidised to produce it in order to degrade India in the eyes of the world, and to prejudice her case for self-government when the Statutory Enquiry ordered by Section 84-A of the Government of India Act came to be held. For months a violent agitation against the book was kept up in the Indian press and on public platforms in this country, and the controversy has extended to a great part of the civilised world. During the Autumn Session of 1927 the Government spokesman in the Legislative Assembly—in this case the Home Member—was subjected to a rain of questions, in answer to which he was able to show that the Government of India and India Office had absolutely no connection with the production of the book and had extended to the writer no greater facilities than are usually extended to students of social, economic, political and other subjects, whether Indians or foreigners, who can present satisfactory credentials.

On the whole the year now being passed under review was a fortunate one for India. The monsoon was good for the fifth year in succession, although here and there its too generous downfall brought in its wake floods which occasioned much loss and distress in the localities affected. A share in the general improvement in economic conditions which marked the year 1927 for most countries was not denied to India where conditions improved appreciably after the first few months of the year. The amount of goods traffic passing over its railways is always a good index to the economic condition of a country, and, judged by this test, the year 1927-28 was a distinctly satisfactory one for India in matters economic. All the principal railways show substantial increases in traffic earnings, with the single exception of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway, and even there the receipts for the first ten months of the year were almost identical with those of the previous year. At the end of February, 1928, it was estimated by the Railway Board that traffic earnings for the year ending March 31st, 1928, would show an increase over those for the year ending March 31st, 1927, of no less than 4½ crores of rupees. Of this amount, goods earnings were expected to be 3 crores, and it is a satisfactory feature of the goods traffic that this increase was not confined to any one class of commodity, but, with the exception of cotton only, has extended to almost all. Up to the 21st January, 1928, 230,000 more wagons had

been loaded on the broad gauge, and 90,000 on the metre gauge, than during the same period of the preceding year. General trade figures support the Railway Statistics in indicating a reasonably healthy condition of the Indian body economic. The visible balance of trade including private imports of treasure for the ten months ended 31st January, 1928, was in favour of India by 37·2 crores as compared with 27·05 crores a year before. Both imports and exports of merchandise increased during the year under review by 8 per cent. and improvement has been increasingly marked during the latter months of the year 1927. A further sign of the inherent soundness of India's trade position is found in the circumstance that practically all the principal articles of import and export contribute to the increase. While more stable world conditions are, of course, partly responsible for these results, the beneficial effects of the stabilization of the rupee, as described in last year's report, should not be overlooked. There are good reasons for hoping that this improvement in the economic conditions of India will continue and that the effects of the post-war depression will become increasingly weaker. It is true that one of India's staple industries, the Bombay Cotton Industry, remained in a depressed condition throughout the year, and must therefore be excepted from the above remarks. In a later chapter we shall study the fortunes of the Cotton Industry in this country in some detail.

We said, a little while ago, that the monsoon of 1927 was on the whole a good one. It was not, however, equally distributed all over the country. This, of course, was only to be expected, since the vast size of India makes homogeneity of climatic conditions impossible. There are favoured regions which can always be sure of a good annual rainfall, whilst there are stricken areas which languish under the blight of perennial drought. In other localities the Rain God is capricious and distributes his bounty sometimes with too sparing and sometimes with too generous a hand, and it is hard to say which of these two forms of caprice is the more unwelcome, since each is adverse to the welfare of the crops and the people who grow them. Fortunately no calamitous famine is to be recorded this year. Indeed, the vast extension of irrigation which has taken place during the past few decades and the immense development of railways and roads during the same period has made any repetition of the historic famines of the past a virtual impossibility. Scarcity or distress due to failure of crops over areas more or less

extensive, can and does occur yearly in some locality or other, but these misfortunes, grievous though they are, to those who are submitted to them, do not affect such wide territories and large populations, nor do they produce the same catastrophic results as those dire calamities of the past to which the word famine is applied. In addition to irrigation works and vastly increased means of communication, a further insurance against the effects of possible famines is provided by the statutory obligation under which every Provincial Government is placed, to maintain a famine relief fund from which to meet expenses incurred in this respect. But although there was no famine during the period under review, there was some scarcity and distress. These two words, it should be noted, are used in a particular sense in Indian official reports. Distress is a milder term than scarcity and is applied to the conditions of a particular locality consequent on the failure or the undue abundance of the rainfall there. In such conditions the local officers may or may not find it necessary to take exceptional measures to relieve the distress. But if the distress is widespread, then a state of scarcity is declared which normally makes some Government action in relief of the sufferers necessary. As a rule this action takes the form of generous advances of "taccavi", that is, Government loans to agriculturists on generous terms both as regards interest and repayment. These advances are a much more desirable form of relief than the opening of relief works, for they enable the agriculturists to tide over until they can restore their own fortunes. In consequence of the failure of crops, dearth of water, and shortage of fodder and pasture, scarcity prevailed in parts of the Guntur, Bellary, and Anantapur districts in the Madras Presidency at the beginning of 1927. The classes most affected by the unfavourable conditions were the agricultural labourers and small farmers. In order to render assistance and to provide work for unskilled labourers in the affected areas, the Madras Government issued orders for the expansion of the local funds works programmes with the aid of grants from provincial funds and for the starting of as many minor irrigation works as practicable. Steps were also taken by various railway administrations to begin the construction of a local railway line in the Guntur district. District officers were empowered to order the remission of land revenue due on irrigated land on which the crop had totally failed, and the collection of land revenue was postponed in a number of villages. As a further measure, loans

under the Land Improvement Loans Act and the Agriculturists Loans Act were granted on a liberal scale to agriculturists in the affected areas. Concession rates for transport by rail of fodder to railway stations in a part of the Guntur district were also sanctioned by the Provincial Government to meet a shortage of fodder there.

In Berar in the Central Provinces, the monsoon of 1926-27 was unfavourable; it was unevenly distributed and yielded excessive rains in July and August in certain parts of the Yeotmal, Akola and Buldana districts, while the October rain was absent almost everywhere. As a result the autumn harvest was below normal throughout Berar, and cotton was injuriously affected in areas of abnormally heavy rainfall. The ordinary programme of the Public Works Department was expanded to provide extra employment in certain places, and scarcity had to be declared in the Yeotmal district on 30th March, 1927. With a view to affording relief generally, the Provincial Government increased the scale of relief by a liberal suspension of revenue for 1926-27. Suspensions on account of the kharif or autumn harvest in 1926-27 amounted to Rs. 4,92,297, and the collection of a sum of Rs. 4,76,247 out of the amounts suspended in the previous year was further postponed. Various other kinds of relief were also afforded. Good monsoon rains, however, fell throughout Berar during the latter half of June, 1927, and all relief operations were suspended at the end of that month.

In distant Baluchistan, where natural conditions are such as to make agriculture at all times a difficult and hazardous operation, a plague of locusts did much damage during the year to the standing spring crop and the Government of India sanctioned a grant of Rs. 75,000 to relieve the distress occasioned thereby.

Lastly a state of scarcity has been prevailing in the districts of Burdwan, Bankura, Birbhum, Nadia, Malda, Murshidabad and Dinajpore in Bengal since the beginning of January, 1928, and test relief works have been opened in the last-mentioned five districts.

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But if nature is curbed in one place, she is apt to break out in another. Her great water-ways may be bitted and bridled by dams and canal headworks and harnessed to the service of mankind by great systems of irrigation canals, but every now and then she takes the bit between her teeth and her trainer must perforce allow her to have her fling. The Mississippi floods of the summer of 1927 re-

minded the whole world that the human race, for all its progress in the acquisition of knowledge of the laws of nature, and for all its control over so many of the instruments of science, is still the plaything of elemental forces, and here in India we have often good cause to remember this great truth. Hardly a year goes by unmarred by some flood more or less serious, and the damage caused by more than one of the historic Indian floods of the past can challenge comparison with that of the great American disaster above mentioned. But, quite apart from the havoc which they occasion in times of excessive flood, Indian rivers year by year do an immense amount of damage by erosion. The main stream of a river like the Indus, for example, may set in year after year towards the left bank. Then, for no apparent reason, it will set in towards the right bank, and in doing so will engulf whole villages with their lands and houses, and sometimes important towns. Unfortunately the year under review witnessed one or two severe floods. Owing to heavy rainfall in the last week of July disastrous floods devastated the districts of Ahmedabad, Kaira, Broach and Panch Mahals in Gujrat in the Bombay Presidency, and also the Hyderabad and Thar Parkar districts in Sind. Gratuitous relief and *taccavi* advances were granted freely by the Provincial Government, and generous private charity was also forthcoming. Further, a grant of Rupees 3 lakhs was made by the Indian People's Famine Trust.

In Orissa an unusually high flood in the Baitarani River and its tributaries occurred in the last few days of July, damaging 700 square miles in the Balasore district. Less than three weeks later a second flood in the same river system spread again over this area, and the crops which were beginning to recover from the first flood were again inundated and spoilt throughout most of the localities affected. The special feature of this flood which distinguished it from other floods in recent years, was the extensive destruction of houses. More than 2,600 were destroyed while over 50,000 more collapsed. The distress caused by these floods was very severe, particularly as 260 out of the total area of 700 square miles affected were thus inundated for the third year in succession. The Provincial Government provided relief in the form of loans to cultivators and the reconstruction of buildings, and a grant of a lakh of rupees was made from the Indian People's Famine Trust.

In Bengal, in August, floods damaged crops over an area of more than one hundred square miles in one sub-division of the Midna-

pore district. Agricultural loans were sanctioned by the Bengal Government to relieve the distress.

A portion of a village in Sylhet district in Assam was washed away by a local flood on the 5th September. Three lives were lost and a large number of cattle were drowned. Crops in the neighbourhood were damaged. Floods also occurred in the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province and caused damage in a few districts.

Turning now from the vagaries of the elements to those of human kind, it is particularly pleasing to be able to report a lull during the second half of the period under review in Hindu-Muhammadan rioting.

In last year's report a grim and lengthy catalogue of inter-communal clashes was presented, and during the six months immediately following the period to which that report referred, the number and frequency of riots and the increasing bitterness and tension in the relations between the two communities gave serious grounds for the belief that they were the heralds of an approaching crisis. Between the beginning of April and the end of September, 1927, no fewer than 25 riots were reported. Of these 10 occured in the United Provinces, six in the Bombay Presidency, 2 each in the Punjab, the Central Provinces, Bengal, and Bihar and Orissa, and one in Delhi. The majority of these riots occurred during the celebration of a religious festival by one or other of the two communities, whilst some arose out of the playing of music by Hindus in the neighbourhood of mosques or out of the slaughter of cows by Muhammadans. The total casualties resulting from the above disorders were approximately 103 persons killed and 1,084 wounded.

By far the most serious riot reported during the year was that which took place in Lahore between the 3rd and 7th of May, 1927. Tension between the two communities had been acute for some time before the outbreak, and the trouble when it came was precipitated by a chance collision between a Muhammadan and two Sikhs. The disorder spread with lightning speed and the heavy casualty list—27 killed and 272 injured—was largely swollen by unorganised attacks on individuals. Police and troops were rushed to the scene of rioting and quickly made it impossible for classes on a big scale to take place between hostile groups. Casual assassinations and

assaults were reported, however, for two or three days longer before the streets and lanes of Lahore became safe for solitary passersby.

Following this affair there was a lull of two months in inter-communal rioting, if we except a minor incident which happened about the middle of June, in Bihar and Orissa, but July witnessed no fewer than eight riots of which the most serious occurred in Multan in the Punjab, on the occasion of the annual Muharram celebrations. Thirteen killed and twenty-four wounded was the toll taken by this riot. But August was to see worse rioting still. In that month nine riots occurred, two of them resulting in heavy loss of life. In a riot in Bettiah town in Bihar and Orissa, arising out of a dispute over a religious procession, eleven persons were killed and over a hundred injured, whilst the passage of a procession in front of a mosque in Bareilly in the United Provinces was the occasion of rioting in which fourteen persons were killed and one hundred and sixty-five were injured. Fortunately this proved to be the turning point in inter-communal trouble during the year, and September witnessed only four riots. One of these, however, the riot in Nagpur in the Central Provinces on September 4th, was second only to the Lahore riot in seriousness and in the damage which it occasioned. The spark which started the fire was trouble in connection with a Muhammadan procession, but the materials for the combustion had been collecting for some time. Nineteen persons were killed and 123 injured were admitted to hospital as a result of this riot, during the course of which many members of the Muhammadan community abandoned their homes in Nagpur.

A feature of Hindu-Muhammadan relations during the year which was hardly less serious than the riots was the number of murderous outrages committed by members of one community against persons belonging to the other. Some of the most serious of these outrages were perpetrated in connection with the *Rangila Rasul* agitation, to which we shall turn in a moment, and as a result of them, a number of innocent persons lost their lives, sometimes in circumstances of great barbarity. In Lahore a series of outrages against individuals led to a state of great excitement and insecurity at one time during the summer of 1927, but prompt and firm action by the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie, quickly restored the situation.

In last year's report an attempt was made to explain the causes which underlay these terrible affairs, which, by the time we are

now speaking of, the autumn, that is, of 1927, had become so very frequent and destructive, and it was shewn that although the immediate causes were mostly found in disputes over communal processions or in the playing of music near a mosque or the sacrifice or slaughter of cows by Muhammadans, these were often no more than symptoms of a deep seated trouble which originated in fundamental differences in political aspirations. The prevalence of Hindu-Muhammadan rioting depends on a state of mind more or less general among the members of each community, on a point of view, which, in each case, is the product of centuries of history and is continually influenced by current events, rumours, fears, hopes, and all the other imponderables which go to form public opinion and direct its manifestations in action. The slaughter of a cow, the beating of a drum, the reception of a convert into one fold or the other—all these may act as the sparks which fire the powder and produce the explosion. The same causes of inter-communal antagonism were at work during the period under review, but their action was strengthened during the summer of 1927 by a new particular cause. This was the agitation over the now notorious *Rangila Rasul* case.

About three years ago, a Hindu in the Punjab published a pamphlet called *Rangila Rasul*. These two words mean "The Gay Prophet" and the pamphlet was a scurrilous attack on the memory of the Prophet Muhammad. The Police were quickly instructed by the Punjab Government to prosecute the author under Section 153-A of the Indian Penal Code, the section, that is, which penalises any action committed with the intention of promoting or attempting to promote feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects. The case dragged on for nearly two years, but in January, 1927, the author of the pamphlet was sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for 18 months and to a fine of Rs. 1,000. The conviction was upheld by the Sessions Court, in which the first appeal lay, but the sentence of imprisonment was reduced to six months. When the matter went up to the High Court of the Punjab on revision, however, the Judge before whom it came decided that the section of the Penal Code on which the prosecution had relied was not meant or intended to prevent all adverse discussion of the life and character of a deceased religious leader. He accordingly accepted the revision and acquitted the petitioner. By this time the offending pamphlet had been given

very wide advertisement and a storm of protest against the judgment broke out among Muhammadans all over India—a storm which grew more violent when the editor and proprietor of a Muhammadan daily paper in Lahore commented on the High Court judgment in a manner which brought them within the reach of the law of Contempt of Court and caused them to be sent to prison. Also, within a few days of the pronouncement of the High Court judgment in the *Rangila Rasul* case, there appeared another scurrilous attack on the Prophet Muhammad in a monthly journal called "Risala Vartman" (Risala means pamphlet or small magazine) published at Amritsar in the Punjab. In this case, too, a prosecution was speedily ordered. In view of the very dangerous state of Hindu-Muslim relations, and also in order to settle what appeared to be a conflict between the interpretation of section 153-A of the Indian Penal Code given by the Judge of the Punjab High Court in the *Rangila Rasul* revision and the interpretation given by a Judge of the Allahabad High Court also sitting alone and dealing with the same section, the acting Chief Justice of the Punjab High Court decided to transfer the hearing of the Risala Vartman case from Amritsar, which, as the place of offence, would normally be the place of trial also, to a Division Bench of the High Court. The hearing of the case in the High Court ranged over a somewhat wide field since the accused, of whom there were two, were members of the Arya Samaj, which is a reforming and proselytising sect of Hinduism, and in their journal had stated that one of their objects was the promotion of *Shuddi* and *Sanghatan*, two movements directed respectively towards the reconversion of Hindus who had gone over to Islam or Christianity, or who were descended from such persons, and towards the general organisation of the Hindu community for its own advancement. For these reasons many Muhammadans believed that the offending article had the approval of the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Sabha. Mr. Justice Broadway, the officiating Chief Justice of the High Court, in reading the judgment of the Division Bench held that a scurrilous and foul attack on such a religious leader as the founder of Islam would *primâ facie* fall under section 153-A of the Penal Code and he sentenced one of the accused to rigorous imprisonment for one year and fine of Rs. 500, and the second to rigorous imprisonment of six months and payment of a fine of Rs. 250.

This judgment was delivered on 6th August, 1927, and its result provided another proof of the connection between inter-communal disorders and inflammatory writing in communal newspapers for it produced immediately an extraordinarily calming effect on Muhammadan opinion and made relations between the two communities far less tense and dangerous than they had been up to that time. Unfortunately, however, excitement over the *Rangila Rasul* case had by now travelled far from its original centre and by July had begun to produce unpleasant repercussions on and across the North-West Frontier. The first signs of trouble in this region became apparent early in June, and by the latter part of July the excitement had reached its height. On the British side of the border, firm and tactful handling of the situation by the local authorities averted any serious breach of the peace. Economic boycott of Hindus was freely advocated in the British frontier districts, especially in Peshawar, but this movement met with little success, and although Hindus were maltreated in one or two villages, the arrest of the culprits, together with appropriate action under the Criminal Law, quickly restored order. Across the border, however, the indignation aroused by these attacks on the Prophet gave rise to more serious consequences. The frontier tribesmen are acutely sensitive to the appeal of religion and when a well-known Mullah started to preach against the Hindus among the Afridis and Shinwaris in the neighbourhood of the Khyber Pass, his words fell on fruitful ground. He called upon the Afridis and Shinwari's to expel all Hindus living in their midst unless they declared in writing that they dissociated themselves from the doings of their co-religionists down country. The first to expel their Hindu neighbour were two clans of the Khyber Afridis, namely, the Kukikhel and Zakkakhel, on the 22nd of July. From these, the excitement spread among their Shinwari neighbours who gave their Hindu neighbours notice to quit a few days later. However, after the departure of some of the Hindus the Shinwaris agreed to allow the remainder to stay on. Some of the Hindus on leaving the Khyber were roughly handled. In two cases stones were thrown, though happily without any damage resulting. In a third affair a Hindu was wounded and a large amount of property carried off, but this was recovered by Afridi Khassadars in full, and the culprits were fined for the offence. Thereafter, arrangements were made for the picketing of the road for the passage of any Hindus evacuating

tribal territory. Under pressure from the Political Agent, an Afridi *jirga* decided towards the end of July to suspend the Hindu boycott pending a decision in the *Risala Vartman* case. In the following week, however, several Hindu families, who had been living at Landi Kotal at the head of the Khyber Pass moved to Peshawar, refusing to accept the assurances of the tribal chiefs but leaving one person from each family behind to watch over their interests. All told, between four hundred and four hundred and fifty Hindus, men, women and children, had come into Peshawar by the middle of August, when the trouble was definitely on the wane. Some of the Hindus were definitely expelled, some were induced to leave their homes by threats, some left from fear, some no doubt from sympathy with their neighbours. Expulsion and voluntary exodus from tribal territory were alike without parallel. Hindus had lived there for more generations than most of them could record as valued and respected, and, indeed, essential members of the tribal system, for whose protection the tribesmen had been jealous, and whose bloodfeuds they commonly made their own. Throughout the whole of this unfortunate business the frontier authorities worked strenuously to localise the trouble and to prevent violence and plunder. The success of their efforts is apparent from the fact that the trouble was confined to one small section of the country in the neighbourhood of the Khyber Pass, and the mediation of the British authorities, combined with the working of powerful traditional and economic forces, had by the end of the year peacefully restored a situation which at one time was full of dangerous possibilities. In all, about 450 Hindus left the Khyber during the excitement, of these about 330 had returned to their homes in tribal territory by the close of the year 1927. Most of the remainder had decided to settle, at any rate for the present, amid the more secure conditions of British India.

The *Rangila Rasul* and *Risala Vartman* cases had shewn the necessity for tightening up the Criminal Law so far as it related to scurrilous attacks on the religion or religious feelings of any class of His Majesty's subjects. The Government of India accordingly took up this matter during the Simla session of the Legislative Assembly, and on August 24th Mr. Crerar, the Home Member, introduced a Bill to amend the Criminal Law in this respect and on the 5th September moved that it be referred to a select committee. Before we consider the fortunes of this Bill, it may be

useful to state briefly the provisions of the existing Criminal Law in respect to offences relating to religion and show how the alterations proposed in the Bill would affect it.

There is a group of sections devoted to such offences in the Penal Code. One section deals with the destruction, damage, or defilement of a place of worship or a sacred object whilst others contemplate offences against particular persons or assemblies actually engaged in religious worship or ceremony. These provisions would, therefore, not be appropriate to contumelious speeches or writings against a religion or against religious sentiments. Section 153-A of the Indian Penal Code, the section which, as we have seen, was used in the *Rangila Rasul* and *Risala Vartman* cases again, is not free from difficulty. Its fundamental ingredient is the promotion of, or the attempt to promote, feelings of enmity and hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects. Whenever scurrilous attack is made upon a religion this ingredient is, in fact, present, but if the attack was the substantive matter, the ingredient of promoting enmity and hatred would, in point of law, become extraneous. The Bill met this difficulty by making intentional insults to religion the substantive matter. Another difficulty arising out of section 153-A is that if a scandalous attack on the religion of one class were so framed as to make it difficult to hold that enmity and hatred were thereby promoted against another class, the application of the section would be doubtful. This difficulty would be removed by the Bill because under it it would be sufficient to establish an intention to insult the religion or outrage the religious feelings of any class of His Majesty's subjects. In passing this legislation, however, as the Home Member was careful to point out, the legislature had to guard against imposing unnecessary and dangerous impediments on the free movement of thought and speech in legitimate enquiry and discussion. It was for this reason that great emphasis had been laid in the Bill on intention. There must be an intentional insult or attempt to insult or an intentional outrage or attempt to outrage. Another point in the Bill worthy of notice was that no prosecution could be undertaken without the authority of the Government under section 196 of the Criminal Procedure Code. The Home Member thought that this was a necessary safeguard against frivolous, malicious or misguided prosecutions.

The new amending bill accordingly proposed to insert a new section in Chapter XV of the Indian Penal Code with the object of

making it a specific offence intentionally to insult or attempt to insult the religion, or outrage, or attempt to outrage, the religious feelings of any class of His Majesty's subjects. Certain consequential amendments were also proposed in the Code of Criminal Procedure. The leaders of all the different parties in the Assembly supported the principle of the measure and congratulated the Government on having responded to the call of public opinion. Some members were afraid that the provisions of the bill were too wide, but it was in the end referred to a select committee without a division. However, these misgivings on the part of certain members of the Assembly found some response in the select committee, who modified the operative clause of the bill until it read as follows:—

> "Whoever, with deliberate and malicious intention of outraging the religious feelings of any class of His Majesty's subjects, by words, either spoken or written, or by visible representations, insults or attempts to insult religion or religious beliefs of that class, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with a fine, or with both."

The discussion on the bill occupied the Assembly for the best part of two days. The general opinion of Hindu members was that the proposed amendment of the law was on the whole unnecessary, but that it might do something to placate public opinion and, therefore, it came within the category of a necessary evil. Muhammadan members, however, with the memories of the gross attacks contained in the *Rangila Rasul* and *Risala Vartman* pamphlets fresh in their minds naturally wanted to make the law as stringent as possible and one of them moved an amendment, which was carried, to make the offence contained in the bill non-bailable. In winding up the debate the Home Member appealed to the Assembly to regard the bill as not a sectarian measure but as a bill universal in application and attempting to remedy a distinct evil. The division resulted in 61 in favour of the bill and 26 against it.

The last six months of the year under review, that is, the period from the beginning of October, 1927, to the end of March, 1928, was, happily, almost entirely free from inter-communal rioting. Only eight riots took place with four deaths and about one hundred and sixty people injured. We have already discussed the causes of this salutary change and we may now complete our narrative of Hindu-Muhammadan affairs and politics during the year.

The discussion of the Criminal Law Amendment Act in the Assembly had been preceded by an event of prime importance to the situation arising out of inter-communal antagonism. This was His Excellency Lord Irwin's address to the Indian Legislature on August 29th, 1927. In the circumstances, it was almost inevitable that His Excellency should confine himself exclusively to a discussion of the communal situation. He began by reminding his hearers that a little more than a year previously he had invited India to pause and consider seriously the communal situation. He then passed on to a statement of the salient incidents of Indian recent history, " I am not exaggerating ", he said, " when I say that during the 17 months that I have been in India, the whole landscape has been overshadowed by the lowering clouds of communal tension, which have repeatedly discharged their thunderbolts, spreading far throughout the land their devastating havoc. From April to July last year, Calcutta seemed to be under the mastery of some evil spirit, which so gripped the minds of men that in their insanity they held themselves absolved from the most sacred restraints of human conduct. Since then we have seen the same sinister influences at work in Pabna, Rawalpindi, Lahore and many other places, and have been forced to look upon that abyss of unchained human passions that lies too often beneath the surface of habit and of law. In less than 18 months, so far as numbers are available, the toll taken by this bloody strife has been between 250 and 300 killed, and over 2,500 injured ". His Excellency showed what these figures meant when translated into terms of human sorrow, but even this, as he pointed out, did not amount to the full toll exacted from India by this fratricidal strife. Much in Indian social life still cried out for remedy and nowhere perhaps is the task before social reformers more laborious. " United must be the effort " His Excellency continued " if it is to gain success; and on the successful issue of such work depends the building of the Indian nation. Yet the would-be builders must approach their task sorely handicapped and with heavy heart, so long as the forces to which they would appeal are distracted and torn by present animosities. For nothing wholesome can flourish in unwholesome soil, and no one may hope to build a house to stand against the wind and the rain and the storm of life upon foundations that are rotten and unsound ".

His Excellency turned next to the effect of these troubles upon India's progress in the field of constitutional evolution and showed how true it was that national self-government must rest upon the self-government and self-control of individuals. " Where private citizens do not possess these qualities, political self-government of a nation is an empty name, and merely serves to disguise under an honourable title the continuance of something perilously akin to civil war."

After pointing out that Great Britain and India were partners both in the task of achieving self-government for India and in laying the spectre which beset the path to this goal Lord Irwin came to the most important part of his speech:—" .....I can not reconcile it," he said, " with my conception of a real and effective partnership in this matter between Great Britain and India to confine the responsibility, either of myself or my Government, to a mere repression of disorder. Necessary as that is, the situation, as I see it to-day, demands a more constructive effort ". His Excellency reminded his hearers how a year earlier many leading men in the country had asked him to take the initiative in convening a conference to try to find some solution for these troubles, and how, for reasons which had then seemed convincing to him, he had thought it inadvisable to take that step. The passage of events since that time, however, and in particular the disappointment in the hopes which he had entertained that the two communities would themselves come together and find a cure for their troubles, had caused him constantly to review the grounds on which he had formed his previous judgment. " It was with real pleasure " His Excellency continued " that I observed statements recently in the press which indicated that fresh efforts might be made to bring together Hindus and Muslims for the discussion of these matters. Any such attempt deserves the active good-will and support of all who care for India's welfare and good name. I myself have long been considering anxiously whether any action by Government could help to stimulate that general desire of reconciliation without which nothing can be done. It is not easy, or perhaps possible, for me to give a positive or assured answer to these reflections. In matters of this kind, each man must search his own heart and answer for himself whether he does in truth and without reserve desire to play his part as an apostle of peace, and whether those associated with him are like-minded. But this I can say. If it were represented to me by

the responsible leaders of the great communities that they thought a useful purpose might be served by my convening a conference myself with the object of frankly facing the causes of these miserable differences, and then in a spirit of determined good-will considering whether any practical solution or mitigation of them could be found, I should welcome it as evidence of a firm resolve to leave no way unsearched that might disclose means of rescuing India from her present unhappy state. And, if these representations were made by those who occupy such a position in their communities as to permit me to assume that the communities would accept and abide by any decisions at which they might arrive on their behalf, then, allying myself with them and such other leaders of public thought as might be willing to assist, I should gladly and cordially throw my whole energies into this honourable quest ".

It must be admitted that the immediate response made to Lord Irwin's offer was disappointing. That the offer made a powerful appeal to all thinking men of both communities who truly desired peace there can be no doubt, but certain of the leading members of the Legislative Assembly decided that they would make one more attempt to find for themselves a road to peace before the Viceroy's offer could be accepted. To this end, a well attended conference of Muslims and Hindus—both members of the Legislature and others —assembled in Simla at the beginning of September. Mr. Mohamed Ali Jinnah, a Muhammadan, and leader of the small Independent group in the Legislative Assembly, was elected Chairman of the Conference. From the beginning a profound difference of opinion between the Muslim and Hindu members of the Conference showed itself clearly. The Muslims insisted that until agreement had been reached between the two communities on political questions there could be no peace. The Hindus, however, urged that social and religious grievances ought to be discussed and decided in the first place. In the result the Conference confined its discussions to what is compendiously referred to as the " cow-music " question, that is, to the questions and grievances arising out of cow-slaughter by the Muslims, and the playing of music by the Hindus in the neighbourhood of Muslim places of worship. The real points at issue between the two communities, namely, their widely divergent views on such matters as joint versus communal electorates, the redistribution of provinces, and representation of the communities in the services, were not touched, for the reason

that, in the existing state of feeling, any discussion of these burning questions would have broken up the Conference in disorder. Even with the discussion restricted as mentioned above, it was found impossible to come to any general agreement and in the end the Conference dissolved, without having realised any of the hopes of its promoters.

The next body of persons to tackle the thorny problem was the All-India Congress Committee, the executive body, that is, of the All-India National Congress. On the 27th October, 1927, a Unity Conference convened under the auspices of the All-India Congress Committee met at Calcutta. Among the more prominent persons present were Messrs. Srinivasa Aiyangar, A. Rangaswamy Aiyangar, T. Prakasam and T. C. Goswami of the Congress Party, the Ali Brothers, representing the old Khilafatists, Dr. Ansari, the President-elect of the All-India National Congress, Sir P. C. Ray, the Rev. C. F. Andrews, and Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta who was then the Mayor of Calcutta. In opening the Conference, Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar appealed for sympathy and support in the responsibility which the Congress Committee had taken upon itself. A discussion of the outstanding causes of inter-communal dispute was then initiated by Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta who defined the causes as conversion and re-conversion between the two communities, cow-slaughter, and playing of music in the neighbourhood of mosques. After a long discussion the Conference accepted a resolution permitting the conversion or re-conversion of persons by argument or persuasion but not by force, and prohibiting entirely the conversion of persons under the age of eighteen. There should be no secrecy about conversion or re-conversion and any complaints relating thereto should be enquired into by arbitrators appointed by the Congress Working Committee. The Conference then went on to deal with cow-slaughter and music near mosques, in connection with which Dr. Ansari made a long statement regarding various points which had been the subject of dispute both at the Simla Unity Conference and subsequent thereto. The Conference concluded its deliberations the next day, having arrived at an almost unanimous decision regarding cow-slaughter and music near mosques. The decision was embodied in the following resolution.

> "Whereas no community in India should impose or seek to impose its religious obligations or religious views upon any other community, but free profession and practice

> of religion should, subject to public order and morality be guaranteed to every community and person, Hindus are at liberty to take processions and play music before mosques at any time for religious or social purposes, but there should be no stoppage nor special demonstration in front of the mosque nor shall songs or music played in front of such mosques be such as is calculated to cause annoyance, special disturbance, or offence to worshippers in the mosques. Mussalmans shall be at liberty to sacrifice or slaughter cows in exercise of their rights in any town or village in any place not being a thoroughfare nor one in the vicinity of a temple nor one exposed to the gaze of Hindus. Cows should not be led in procession or in demonstration for sacrifice or slaughter. Having regard to the deep-rooted sentiment of the Hindu community in the matter of cow killing the Mussalman community is earnestly appealed to to so conduct cow sacrifice as not to cause any annoyance to Hindus of the town or village concerned."

The Conference also condemned certain recent murderous assaults and appealed to Hindu and Mussalman leaders to create an atmosphere of non-violence in the country and it empowered the All-India Congress Committee to appoint a committee in each province for propaganda work in connection with Hindu-Muslim unity.

It is clear from a reading of the above resolution that the Calcutta Unity Conference did not carry matters very much further, and in fact, that the resolution is no more than an appeal for each side to do nothing to offend the other. The deep, underlying, rival political aspirations of the two communities received no recognition, another fact which helped to deprive the resolution of the importance which it might have had, if these had been discussed and if the two strongest and most representative of the communal organisations in the country, namely, the Hindu Maha Sabha and the All-India Muslim League, had been represented at the Conference—a very big if. As things were, the question of Hindu-Muslim unity was left precisely where it had been before the Conference met.

Between the Calcutta Conference and the next notable attempt—to which we shall turn shortly—to solve this formidable problem, the annual meetings of three great All-India political bodies were held, and at each of these, much time was devoted to discussing the

question of Hindu-Muhammadan unity and embodying the results of the discussions in resolutions.

The All-India National Congress passed a comprehensive resolution covering most of the political and religious points in issue between the two communities. This resolution provided for joint electorates in the various legislative bodies, with reservation of seats on the basis of population, provided that each community made reciprocal concessions in favour of minorities so as to give them representation in excess of that proportion to which they would be entitled on a population basis. It recorded the agreement of the Congress to the grant of Reforms in the North West Frontier Province and British Baluchistan on condition that the judicial administration in these two provinces was brought abreast of that in other major provinces. It demanded immediate redistribution, on a linguistic basis, of those provinces where this change was desired and resolved that the process of redistribution should be begun by making Andhra, Sind and Karnatak into separate provinces. It also urged that in the future constitution of India, freedom of belief and worship and the right to carry on religious observances and religious education and propaganda, provided that due regard was paid to the feelings and rights of others, be guaranteed. Matters which were declared to be inter-communal matters should not be moved in, or discussed or adopted by any Legislature if a three-fourths majority of the members of the community affected opposed it. The decision as to what constituted an inter-communal matter was to be entrusted to a standing committee of Hindu and Muslim members in each Legislature who should be elected at the beginning of each session. The resolution also called upon both Hindus and Muhammadans not to resist by force the right claimed by the one community to conduct processions with music, or, by the other, to slaughter cows either for sacrifice or food. Lastly, the Congress re-affirmed that part of the resolution passed at the Calcutta Conference which treated of the conversion or reconversion of persons from one faith to another.

The resolution adopted by the Indian National Liberal Federation which met at Bombay on the 26th December 1927, was in more general terms and made specific mention only of the electoral system among the various matters in dispute between the two communities. It called upon the members of the Federation to promote and support every movement calculated to bring about a better

understanding between Hindus and Muslims, and to place the relations of the two communities upon an honourable footing of toleration in religious matters. In political affairs, it urged a just representation of minorities in the legislatures and in the public services of the country also, due regard, however, being paid to efficiency. It further suggested that the items of a proposed settlement between Hindus and Muhammadans be discussed at an early date by duly elected representatives of the two communities in a spirit of such genuine co-operation as would lead to complete agreement. Lastly, it declared that joint electorates coupled with reservation of seats for important minorities for the present was the only system under which national patriotism could be developed.

We shall see in the next chapter that the All-India Muslim League split into two parts this year—one part, under Sir Mohammed Shafi, meeting in Lahore, whilst the other, which followed Mr. Jinnah, met at Calcutta under the chairmanship of Maulvi Mohamed Yakoob, a Member of the Legislative Assembly. The Lahore meeting authorised its president to call a Round Table Conference of Muslim leaders to bring about unity of thought and political ideas among Muslims and it expressed regret that the Hindus had rejected the decision of the Calcutta Unity Conference regarding cow slaughter and music near mosques, by passing resolutions at various meetings, including a special meeting of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, which had been held since the Conference. The Calcutta meeting of the Muslim League urged the transformation of Sind into a separate autonomous province, and the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms into the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as other provinces. This meeting also resolved that separate communal electorates could not be surrendered until the two conditions above mentioned were satisfied, when Muhammadans would abandon separate electorates in favour of joint electorates, with reservation of seats on the basis of population. In Sind, the North-West Frontier Province, and Baluchistan they would make the same concessions in regard to seats in the legislatures that Hindus made in other provinces to Muhammadans. In the Central Legislature Muhammadan representation should be not less than one-third of the total. Lastly, the League bodily incorporated the provisions of the Madras Congress Resolution regarding freedom of conscience, inter-communal legislation, cow slaughter, music

near mosques and conversion and reconversion from one faith to another.

An examination of these various resolutions will show that they still leave a good deal open to dispute, and the Congress resolution in particular was quickly subjected to a storm of criticisms from various important quarters. They did not, therefore, hold out much hope that they would be able to exercise any considerable unifying influence on the communities and parties concerned, and it was obvious that, if any practical results were to be achieved, the problem would have to be dealt with afresh by a more representative body than any of these three.

Moreover, during the time which elapsed between the Calcutta Conference and the All Parties Conference, to which we now turn, the movement, (to be studied in the next chapter) to boycott the Simon Commission, had been developing, and one of its developments had been a steady stiffening of Muhammadan opinion in favour of co-operation with the Commission. This was another reason why certain leaders of groups and parties in the Central Legislature should make a further and a more ambitious and comprehensive attempt to reach a settlement of the political and politico-religious questions in issue between the communities in order to make straight the path for a solid opposition to the Government and the Statutory Commission.

Towards the middle of February, 1928, meetings began to be held at irregular intervals until the end of the Delhi Session of the Legislature in the last week in March, of a gathering now known as the " All-Parties Conference ". This title calls for explanation. The parties and schools of opinion represented were the Congress and Nationalist parties and Mr. Jinnah's Independent group in the Assembly, those Liberals who had joined the boycott and who came almost entirely from the United Provinces and Bombay city, and a few representatives of the old Non-co-operators, chiefly belonging to the now almost non-existent Khilafatists. Among those who were not represented at the ' All Parties Conference ', were the great majority of Muslims, the Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Depressed Classes, Indian Christians and important sections of the old Liberal Party. What is now one of the strongest and most solidly organised bodies of political opinion in all India, namely the Justice Party in the Madras Presidency, was unrepresented except for one of its leading members who, however,

attended in a purely private capacity. The 'All Parties Conference', then, was only partially representative of Indian opinion, but it is to the credit of its members that they attempted to grapple with those root political matters in issue between Hindus and Muhammadans which, as we have seen, were left untouched by the two earlier Conferences. These are now summed up in the question of the retention or abolition of communal electorates, in the extension of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms to the North-West Frontier Province, and in the separation of Sind from Bombay by which the former would be made into a separate province with a preponderatingly Muhammadan population. On the question of communal representation, the 'All Parties Conference', constituted as it was, might have come to some agreement based on an arrangement for the reservation of seats either according to population or according to voting strength, but it quickly became apparent that on the other two questions there was not likely to be any accommodation. The extension of the full measure of reforms to the North-West Frontier Province, and the creation of a new province out of Sind would raise the number of major, or Governor's provinces in India to ten, if we exclude Burma, and of these ten provinces four would have a majority of Muhammadan inhabitants, who, accordingly, would be able to exert considerable influence on their Governments. From the beginning of the deliberations of the 'All Parties Conference' the Hindu Mahasabha group of delegates, whose outstanding spokesman was Dr. Moonje, set their faces firmly against these two proposals and announced their determination, to which they have consistently adhered, to suffer the continuance of the system of communal electorates rather than allow the Provinces of India to be arranged on communal lines and according to communal considerations. With the end of the Delhi Session the 'All Parties Conference' broke up after having first arranged for a committee to meet at Bombay at the end of May to consider reports from sub-committees on these various thorny problems which had found no solution at Delhi.

The record of Hindu-Muslim affairs for the year under review ends, therefore, with the failure of another and a very notable attempt to bring about unity between the two communities. In spite of the immediate rejection, by certain sections of Indian political opinion, of the offer made by Lord Irwin in his speech of August 29th, its reception in the country was, on the whole, favourable, and

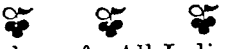
between August and November, it grew steadily in favour, particularly after the failure of the September Unity Conference, and it is not impossible that the Conference would have taken place in the early part of 1928 had not the announcement of the Statutory Commission eliminated all else from the minds of the politicians and the attention of the press.

In matters industrial, the year under review was a peaceful one on the whole, although it closed with the threat, since fulfilled, of grave and prolonged labour troubles in Bombay and on the East Indian Railway. On page 22 of last year's Report it was said that the number of strikes reported during 1926 was the lowest on record since the inauguration of the present system of accurate registration of trade disputes. During 1927 the number of strikes was 129 as compared with 128 during the previous year, but, whereas during 1926, 1,86,811 men were involved in strikes, the number involved during 1927 was only 1,31,655. The total number of working days lost, however, during 1927 was nearly double that of the preceding year, the increase being largely due to the two prolonged strikes on the Bengal Nagpur Railway, which alone account for a loss of 8,80,218 working days. In about one-third of the strikes the workmen succeeded in gaining some concessions. No fewer than 60 of the strikes during 1927 occurred in cotton mills mostly in Bombay. Twenty-seven of these strikes were on account of disputes relating to wages and 22 on account of personnel disputes. In all 36,089 men were involved who lost 3,50,011 working days. In the three railway strikes 32,114 strikers lost 12,50,421 working days.

The railways unfortunately were not as immune from serious accidents during the period under review as they had been the previous year, and, worse, a number of attempts were made to wreck trains, particularly on the Bengal-Nagpur and East Indian Railways. Some of these dastardly attempts were successful, and what was by far the worst accident of the year was the result of one of these inhuman crimes. This was the wrecking of a Mail train on the Rangoon-Mandalay line in Burma. A fishplate near a bridge had been removed, and as a result, the engine, two luggage vans, and two third class bogies left the track, crashed through the railings of the bridge and down the embankment and piled up in the

bed of the stream below. Twenty-six persons were killed on the spot and 14 afterwards died in hospital. The Guard and 20 passengers suffered from slight injuries and shock. Another bad accident occurred at a level crossing near Amritsar in the Punjab when a train crashed into a motor lorry which was conveying a Muhammedan marriage party and contained at least 32 passengers. The level crossing was on a curve and one of the gates was open. Ten of the party were either killed on the spot or died later of their injuries, whilst 18 others were injured more or less severely. Another serious accident occurred on the 22nd January, 1928, when 8 persons were killed and 15 seriously injured in a collision near Samastipore on the Bengal and North Western Railway. A mixed goods and passenger train parted, the leading goods vehicle became derailed and collided obliquely with the leading 3rd class carriage, causing the casualties mentioned above.

Other acts of sabotage occurred on the Bengal Nagpur Railway during October 1927, when two attempts were made to derail trains. Both of them succeeded, but fortunately neither of them led to any loss of life. On October 5th the Ranchi Express was derailed at Kharagpur, and on the 25th a passenger train left the lines between Chandia Road and Rupaund. In each of these three cases the would-be wreckers tried to accomplish their object by loosening or removing fishplates. Two attempts to derail trains were made on the East Indian Railway in November and December. Fortunately, one of these was unsuccessful, but the other resulted in one death and ten injuries.



Every year, the number of All-India political, communal, social and other conferences seems to increase, and the more prominent of these will be found described in appropriate places in this book. One conference, however, held during the year calls for special mention here because of its singular importance and high promise for the future. This was the All-India Women's Conference on educational reform which was opened by Her Excellency Lady Irwin on February the 7th, 1928. About one thousand ladies, fully representative of the different communities, creeds, and races of India were present at the opening ceremony. In an impressive address, which received considerable attention from the Indian press and public, Lady Irwin said that she realised the deep and far-reaching influence of women in India. They were the re-

pository of national tradition and she advised them not to be blind leaders of the blind, but bringers of light, courage, and hope, and she declared that it was their work to wed all that was best in the old to what was best in the new. Her Excellency recognised that there were enormous obstacles in the way of female education in this country, and among them she placed difficulties arising from language, poverty, ignorance, apathy, hostile public opinion, social customs and, even, politics. But women the world over were famed for their patience in face of adversity and she assured her hearers that if they acted with resolute courage, they would surmount all the obstacles in their way. Her Excellency especially emphasised the need of lady teachers and stated that this was a problem which had to be faced and solved, particularly in a country like India, where the population was mainly rural. The aim should be to give girls practical knowledge of domestic subjects and of the laws of health, which would enable them to fulfil one side of their duties as wives and mothers, and this knowledge should be reinforced by the study of other subjects which would most help to widen their interests and their outlook on life. During the session of the Conference a large number of the delegates visited the Legislative Assembly, and heard a discussion on Sir Hari Singh Gour's Age of Consent Bill. Before it dispersed, the Conference passed some practical resolutions and urged the necessity for the compulsory primary education of girls. Governments and local bodies were asked to make the necessary financial provision for this purpose and also to make special grants for Muslim and other girls who suffered from the disabilities of the Purdah system. A central fund was successfully started for the furtherance of female education in India. The Conference, in fact, was a complete success and the enthusiasm displayed and the practical steps taken to help on the education of women in India are of the very happiest augury for the future.

We may turn now for a moment to the Church of England in India.

A few years ago it was represented to the Government of India that as the position of the Church of England in India has changed considerably since the time when the East India Company provided religious Ministration for the benefit of its Christian employees and

as the Church in India is now in a position to govern its own affairs, an independent Church, which should be in harmony with but not subject to the Church of England, should be established in this country. The Government of India found themselves in sympathy with this desire for the creation of an independent church. The Provincial Governments in India who were consulted expressed general agreement with the principle of the proposal and the scheme was accordingly recommended to His Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council. The question was subjected to further detailed examination both in England and in India and after mature deliberation, the Indian Church Measure, which was designed to effect the severance of the union between the Church of England and the Church of England in India, was presented to the National Assembly of the Church of England on March the 2nd 1927, and the Indian Church Bill which contained provisions incidental to and consequential on this severance was introduced in the House of Lords on May the 10th of the same year. Both the Measure and the Bill passed successfully through the various stages of legislation to which they were subject and the Indian Church Measure, 1927, and the Indian Church Act, 1927, by an Order passed by His Majesty in Council came into operation on the 1st day of January 1928. The severance of the union between the Church of England and the Church of England in India will not, however, take place until some date, not less than two or more than three years from the date of effect of the Indian Church Measure, 1927, to be fixed upon by the Governor General of India in Council in consultation with the General Council of the Church of India. The dissolution of the union between the Church of England and the Church of England in India will consequently take place some time between the 1st January and 31st December 1930 and from the date of severance the Metropolitan in India ceases to be under the general supervision of the Archbishop of Canterbury. From the same date the Indian Church will be free and independent and able to govern her own affairs. Certain safeguards, however, have been framed in order to secure that services in accordance with the rites of the Church of England shall be available for British-born Government employees and soldiers in India in respect of whom the Government has an obligation to provide religious ministrations.

Considerable interest was aroused during the year by a prolonged controversy between the European Association and the Y.M.C.A. It began on February 18th, 1927 when, at the annual general meeting of the European Association, a violent attack was made on the Y.M.C.A. by a European merchant in Calcutta, and a resolution was carried viewing "with the gravest disapproval the part taken in politics in India by Secretaries of the Y.M.C.A." Various general allegations of anti-British propaganda on the part of the Y.M.C.A. were made, and the wide-spread publicity given to these in the press throughout the country attracted attention. The Indian community regarded it as a political attack upon Dr. S. K. Datta and Mr. K. T. Paul, both secretaries of the Y.M.C.A. and well-known for their national sympathies. The European community was troubled by the charges, though not disposed to accept without question the resolution of the Calcutta meeting. The Y.M.C.A. issued a prompt and detailed answer to the accusations through Dr. S. K. Dutta, their National General Secretary. He stated that the Y.M.C.A. "stood for co-operation irrespective of race under Christian leadership for the promotion of the welfare of the people of India," and asked for an impartial enquiry. In July, the enquiry was held, the committee consisting of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Pearson of the Calcutta High Court, and Sir B. L. Mitter, the Advocate General of Bengal. Their report was published at the end of August, and was generally considered as a vindication of the Y.M.C.A. The only recommendation made by the committee was that "a more efficient control might be exercised by the Y.M.C.A. authorities over the lecturers themselves and the lectures delivered in Y.M.C.A. halls."

The attitude of the European Association however remained suspicious until February 1928, when its president Mr. C. B. Chartres in his annual speech pointed out that the Y.M.C.A. had taken steps to see that abuses of its hospitality would not be possible, and hoped that the members of the Association would support its work as whole-heartedly as they had done in the past.

The Royal Commission on Agriculture, of which mention has been made in the last two reports, ended its work during the year under review. Further evidence was taken in India during the cold weather of 1927-28, after which the Commission assembled at

Mahableshwar and wrote its report. It is expected that this document will be published in the early summer of 1928.*

Another enquiry of considerable importance was undertaken during the year under review by a committee appointed with the sanction of the Indian Legislature " to examine and report on the system of censorship of cinematograph films in India and to consider whether it is desirable that any step should be taken to encourage the exhibition of films produced within the British Empire generally and the production and exhibition of Indian films in particular." The account, given at page 100 in last year's Report, of a debate in the Council of State on the Cinema problem in India showed that a good deal of anxiety existed as to the effect which was being produced, particularly on the rising generation, in this country by the increasing exhibition of western films. The Government of India has, of late years, devoted much attention to the problem and it was felt after the debate in the Council that the time had come when a complete and authoritative enquiry should be held into the whole question of cinematograph censorship as well as into the other matters mentioned above. Accordingly, on September the 14th, the Home Member, Mr. Crerar, moved a resolution for the formation of a Committee to undertake this work. In his speech the Home Member stated the objects which it was proposed to attain by means of the committee and the most noteworthy feature of the ensuing debate was the fear expressed by some members that the committee would be used as a means of introducing Imperial Preference by the back door. As to the desirability of enquiring into the censorship and if possible improving it, there was no division of opinion. The debate was adjourned on the 14th of September and resumed on the 19th of the same month when the discussion had again to be adjourned on account of the lateness of the hour. No further time could be allotted during the session for the discussion of this resolution, but it was clear from the attitude of the members that they were in favour of an enquiry into the censorship of Cinema films. Moreover, the Council of State unanimously adopted a resolution moved in identical terms by Mr. Haig, Home Secretary, on September 15th, and the Government of India therefore felt themselves justi-

* This Report has since been presented.

fied in nominating a committee for the purposes named in the Resolution. The Committee consisted of an Indian Chairman—Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar—and the following members:—

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Sir Ebrahim Haroon Jaffer, Kt.
Colonel J. D. Crawford, D.S.O., M.C., M.L.A.
Mr. K. C. Neogy, M.L.A.
Mr. A. M. Green, I.C.S.
Mr. J. Coatman, M.L.A.
Mr. G. G. Hooper, M.C., I.C.S., Secretary.

Between November 1927 and March 1928 the Committee toured over the greater part of India and Burma. Their report is expected to be published during the summer of 1928.*

In last year's Report some account was given of visits by air to India and it was said that these visits had given abundant proof of the practicability of regular Aerial travel between Europe and India. Between April the 1st 1927 and April the 1st 1928 the number of flights from Europe to or across India was greater than during the preceding 12 months. Altogether these flights, civil and military, foreign and British, numbered 9. At the beginning of our period, the Serbian aviators Captain Sondermeyer and Lieutenant Barchest flew a Potez Lorrainne Dietrich Biplane from Paris to Calcutta and back to Serbia. In June a Fokker Monoplane belonging to the Dutch Air Service flew from Amsterdam to Batavia and back. In the same month the American world fliers Messrs. Brock and Schlee followed in their famous plane "The Pride of Detroit." The next Airmen to fly from Europe to India were Lieut: Koppen on a Fokker Monoplane carrying mail to the Dutch East Indies from Amsterdam, and Captain Challe and Mechanic Rapin of the Paris to Saigon French Military Flight who crossed India in October. In November the flight of four Southampton Flying Boats which left Plymouth in October 1927, under the command of Group-Captain Cave-Brown-Cave, D.S.O., D.F.C., arrived at Karachi. The machines left Karachi in January, 1928, and flew round the coast of India, touching at various ports on the way, including Bombay, Madras and Rangoon. Singapore was reached in March 1928 without the occurrence of any untoward event. In November Herr Koennecke, the German

* This Report has since been presented.

NEW INDIA HOUSE IN LONDON.

flier who was carrying Count Solms as a passenger in his Biplane "Germania" also reached India. The last two flights to be chronicled are both well-known ones. Flying officer Lancaster and Mrs. Keith Miller crossed India in the Avro Avian "Red Rose" in December and Mr. Bert Hinckler flew across India in February 1928 in the course of his world famous England to Australia flight.

Important visits to India during the year included those of His Majesty King Amanullah Khan of Afghanistan and Sir L. Worthington-Evans, Secretary of State for War. His Majesty King Amanullah passed through this country on his way from Afghanistan to Europe. Crossing the frontier of India at Chaman in Baluchistan on December the 10th, he proceeded *viâ* Quetta and Karachi to Bombay where he arrived on December the 14th.

Sir L. Worthington-Evans, Secretary of State for War, arrived in India at the beginning of December in order to make himself acquainted at first hand with the military situation in this country. His visit occupied about a month and during its course he visited Delhi and toured the North-West Frontier.

At the beginning of April 1927, it was announced that plans were being discussed for beginning work on the new India House in London, which had been designed to provide adequate and suitable accommodation for the office of the High Commissioner for India. After examining various projects the Government of India ultimately decided to apply for the lease of a portion of the site lying vacant at Aldwych between the present Marconi House and Bush House. The chosen site comprises an area of approximately 12,400 square feet with a frontage of about 130 feet on Aldwych and a return frontage of about 100 feet on Montreal Place. The new building will accommodate all Departments of the High Commissioner's office other than the India Store Department, which will remain in its present position. The design of the building is the work of Sir Herbert-Baker, A.R.A., and the structural and mechanical engineering services are in the hands of Dr. Oscar Faber, O.B.E., as Consulting Engineer. The cost of the building is estimated at £324,000 and it is hoped that the new premises will be occupied by the end of 1930. For convincing

reasons the Architect has decided that India House must follow the restrained architecture of its immediate neighbours, and that reliance must be placed upon simple, well proportioned fenestration and the continuity of the one great cornice with those of its neighbours, and upon plain wall surfaces which catch the light, rather than upon heavy moulding which interferes with light and rapidly collects a sooty deposit. Expression of the Indian character of the building will therefore be mainly found in the interior, but it has yet been the aim of the Architect to give to the details of the external elevation by means of carving, heraldry, and symbolism an individuality proclaiming to all who know the language of Indian art that it is to be the London home of India.

Of late years a continually growing stream of visitors has set in towards India during the cold weather months, and the excellent arrangements made for their comfort and convenience by the Indian railways will, no doubt, continue to swell the stream. One of the greatest attractions which India now offers to tourists is undoubtedly to be found in the work of the Archæological Department. During the last quarter of a century the department has uncovered many of the varied records of Indian history, and Sir John Marshall's excavation of the buried cities of Taxila in the North-Western Punjab ranks with the historic work of Schliemann at Myceneae, and Sir Arthur Evans at Knossos. But the work on which he and his department are now engaged at Mohenjo-Daro in Sind bids fair to overshadow even his work at Taxila and become one of the great landmarks in the progress of research into human origins. The discoveries hitherto made at Mohenjo-Daro raise far more problems than they solve, but it is hoped that in the years to come, Mohenjo-Daro and its contemporary, Harappa in the Montgomery District of the Western Punjab, will provide material for solving some of the most important problems in human origins and cultural affinities which have arisen since the linguistic studies of Sir William Jones and others first revealed by means of comparative philology certain relationships which had previously been unsuspected. Following the precedent set in last year's Report, therefore, an account of the work done by the Indian Archæological Department during the year under review is presented here.

A view, from the North, of one of the newly excavated areas at Mohenjo-daro in Sind.

From what has been said above, it is obvious that for the public at large no less than for the expert, the most fascinating of the problems that are now engaging the attention of the Archæological Department are those connected with the pre-historic civilisation of the Indus, the recent discovery of which has already carried back the story of India's past for another three-thousand years, and (which is equally important) brought her at that remote epoch within the orbit of the wide-flung chalcolithic culture which embraced most other Asiatic countries as well as Eastern Europe and Egypt. In attacking this problem the first task naturally before the Archæological Department is the excavation of the two great centres of this civilisation at Mohenjo-Daro in Sind and Harappa in the Punjab. During the past year substantial progress has been made at both these sites. At Mohenjo-Daro two large and solidly built structures have been laid bare to the north and east of the Great Tank. A striking feature in one of them is a double row of ablution chambers, separated one from another by a narrow corridor, with a water channel running down its centre. The other building has a large hall with fenestrated walls very similar to those around the Great Tank. In other parts of this site the efforts of the diggers brought to light a number of artisans' quarters and dwelling houses, bearing a noticeable resemblance to those unearthed by Mr. Woolley at Ur in Southern Mesopotamia. Simultaneously with these operations at Mohenjo-Daro, an examination was also made of a high mound named Jhukar some 25 miles away to the North-East, which proved to contain several well defined strata of remains: Kushana at the top, later pre-historic in the middle, and chalocolithic of the Mohenjo-Daro period at the bottom. The value of this discovery lies in the tangible hope it affords of further excavations on this site helping to fill the wide gap between the Indus period of the 3rd and 4th millennia B.C. and the historic age of India which does not open until some 2000 years later. The Kushana pottery from this site, let it be added, is peculiarly attractive and unlike anything of its kind hitherto unearthed in India. Of the discoveries made this year at Harappa, the most instructive from an archæological point of view were a small group of skeletal remains and a series of burial urns. The former comprised parts of three human skeletons lying in a brick enclosure about 11 feet below the surface. Unfortunately only the skulls, collar bones and a few other stray

bones had survived, the bodies having apparently been exposed to the vultures before being buried. The burial urns were eleven in number, ranging in height from 8 to 22 inches, and were occupying their original positions immediately below the surface of the site. Five were covered with earthen bowls, and six painted with figures of peacocks and other birds, stars, etc. One of them has been found to contain 3 human skulls; the others are still in process of being examined. The shape and small size of these urns are sufficient to show that they could have been meant only for "fractional" burials, that is, to contain such bones as could be collected after the exposure of the bodies. Nevertheless, it is by no means certain—though the point is one that is likely to be settled at an early date—whether these urns belong to the chalcolithic age; for, on the one hand, the urns themselves differ in shape from those of the Indus period; on the other, they have so far been found to contain nothing that can be regarded as distinctive of that culture.

Pari passu with the task of excavating these great city sites, the Archæological Department has also continued its efforts to follow up this Indus civilisation westward across Baluchistan and discover, if possible, its relationship with the chalcolithic cultures of Sistan, Persia, Transcaspia and Mesopotamia. Last year, it may be remembered, a reconnaissance was carried out in Northern Baluchistan, which revealed the existence of chalcolithic settlements throughout that region. During the past winter this survey was extended southward through Kharan, Makran and Jhalawan which now form part of the Kalat State and in ancient times were included in the Gedrosia Province of the old Persian Empire. The classical records, especially those relating to the sufferings of Alexander's army on its return march through Baluchistan, make it clear that at that time the physical character, mainly desertic, of these territories could not have differed much from the present one. All the more remarkable, therefore, is the great number of mounds that have now been discovered in these arid wastes marking the sites of towns and burial grounds and attesting the prevalence here of a well developed culture during the pre-historic period. A few of these mounds were partially explored and yielded an abundance of painted pottery, terracotta figurines, stone implements and the like, evidencing their occupation by successive settlements from neolithic to chalcolithic times. These excavations

also provided instructive data regarding the conditions of daily life and burial customs in vogue at different periods.

While concentrating particularly on these pre-historic problems the Department has been far from neglecting the claims of historic archæology. At Taxila, another group of monuments has been added to those already brought to light by the excavation of two Buddhist monasteries of the later Kushana period in a hitherto untouched valley known as Giri or Khurram, some four miles from the main sites. Both of these monasteries are relatively well preserved, and the larger one exhibits several features that have not previously been met with in this class of architecture. Apropos of the Department's activities at Taxila, it may be mentioned in passing that the new Archæological Museum there has been brought to completion and was opened to the public on April 5th, 1928. In point of design, construction and furnishing, this Museum is as fine a one as could be desired, while of the exhibits displayed in it, it is enough to say that they include in their number the only connected groups of ancient clay and plaster reliefs known to exist in India and—more important still—the only considerable collections of domestic utensils, implements, ornaments and the like from any site of the historic period.

At Nagarjunikonda in the Guntur District of the Madras Presidency finds of outstanding value have also been made during the past year. The remains now exposed embrace many stupas, three apsidal temples, and two monasteries, besides which there has also been discovered in the neighbouring forest a ruined brick stupa overgrown with jungle, the basement of which proves to be faced with a series of finely carved limestone slabs similar in size, design and execution to those belonging to the famous Amaravati Stupa in the same district, while another series of slabs adorned with garlands formed an encircling band half way up its dome. The scenes portrayed on the basement reliefs are of rare beauty and interest illustrating, as they do, many of the Jataka stories and incidents in the life of the Buddha. Among other notable finds made on the same site were a brick chaitya containing a standing image of the Buddha of super-human size; four handsome stone pillars of a novel and early pattern, enriched with semi-classical figures, which once supported the timbered roof of a large pavilion; and—most striking of all—four massive and exquisitely carved stone beams, no doubt the transoms of four gate-

ways that stood at the cardinal points around the Stupa. The front face of each transom is divided into a number of small panels filled with reliefs, and so delicate is the workmanship, so minute the detail, that they resemble ivory-carving rather than stone-work.

Another important site of the Buddhists, where excavation continued to yield fruitful results, was the famous monastery, or rather group of monasteries, at Nalanda in Bihar, the remains of which range in date from the 6th to the 12th century. As the digging of the site progresses, the vast and impressive character of the layout becomes more and more apparent. On one side (to the east) a range of eight great monasteries contiguous one to the other; opposite and corresponding to it a range of imposing stupas, with a broad avenue between the two, closed at its southern end by two more monasteries. The task of excavating such an immense area is necessarily a gigantic one and is rendered all the more difficult by the fact that the structures were many times destroyed and rebuilt. Monastery 1, for example, was rebuilt no less than nine times, and it has had to be excavated and conserved in such a manner as to exhibit in sequence a section of each successive layer. In this, as well as in the other buildings, the stratum that has proved richest in finds is that associated with the name of Devapala (9th Century A.D.). Among the many antiquities that it yielded during the past year were a number of bronze and stone statues—some of the Buddha or Bodhisattvas, others of Hindu deities such as Vishnu and Ganesha. That the latter were worshipped side by side with the orthodox Buddhist images, there can be no doubt, and their discovery furnishes further proof of the remarkable contamination between the Hindu and Buddhist cults that was taking place in the 9th Century. Such contamination has, of course, been observed on many other sites, and has lately been strikingly revealed by the excavations at Paharpur in Eastern Bengal, where the several terraces of the Great Buddhist Temple are decorated with both Brahmanical and Buddhist reliefs. What is still more startling, in connection with this Temple at Paharpur, is the recent discovery of a copper plate inscription of the Gupta year 159 (A.D. 479) which seems to show that before ever it was appropriated by the Buddhists and the Brahmans this Temple belonged to the Jains. Apropos of inscriptions it may be added that a document of unique value has lately

The Great Stupa at Nalanda, showing the decorated façade of the fifth rebuilding, after the later envelopes have been removed. In order to expose this façade it was necessary to remove over 150,000 cubic feet of later brickwork.

been unearthed by the Department at Hmawza (Old Prome) in Burma. This is a bilingual record in Sanskrit and Pyu engraved on the pedestal of a seated Buddha image—the Sanskrit in Gupta characters of the 7th-8th Century; the Pyu, which is a word for word translation of the Sanskrit, in a South Indian script of the same period. Readers unfamiliar with Burmese studies will be able to appreciate better the importance of this find, when it is stated that the reconstruction of early Burmese history must, in future, depend largely upon the decipherment of Pyu documents and that the number of words in the Pyu language of which the meaning has been ascertained is as yet extremely small.

If, in this resumé, priority has been given to the new discoveries of the Archæological Department, it is because such discoveries appeal most to the average reader, not because the excavation of buried remains is by any means the chief or most important function of the Department. As a fact, three quarters of the Department's energies and a still larger share of its funds are exhausted on the repair and maintenance of the national monuments; but its operations in this sphere are spread over such a multitude of buildings that even the barest account of them would be beyond the compass of this report. Here are a few of the principal ones on which the Department has been concentrating its attention during the last twelve months:—in the Punjab, the Lahore Fort (which is being restored and laid out on lines similar to those already adopted with conspicuous success at Delhi and Agra); in the Delhi area, the Begampuri Mosque; in the United Provinces, the Gupta Temples at Deogarh, the Fort of Kalanjar, the Buddhist Stupa and Temple at Kasia and the Tomb of Akbar at Sikandarah; in the Bombay Presidency, the Palace of the Peshwas at Poona, the Elephanta Caves, the Bukhari Masjid, the Gol Gumbaz and Asar Mahal at Bijapur, the city walls and Ek-minar-ki-Masjid at Champanir, the Mansar Talao at Viramgaon, the Queen's Mosque near Ahmedabad and the Temple at Deothan in the Nasik District; in the Central Circle, the Monasteries and Stupas at Nalanda, the Fort and Palace at Rohtas, the Forts of Chanda and Gawilgarh, the Jami Masjid at Asirgarh and the Kanthi Dewal Temple at Ratanpur; in the Eastern Circle, the excavated Temple at Paharpur, the Mosque of Baba Adam at Rampal and the Dah Parbatiya Temple near Tezpur; in the Madras Presidency, the Temples at Danavakankottai, the monuments

of Hampi, the Seven Pagodas and the Fortress of Gingee; in Burma, the Palace and walls of Mandalay and the Kyaukku Ohnmin and Pebingyaung Temples at Pagan.

Up to three years ago Archæological Officers were responsible only for advising the local Administrations what measures of repair were necessary and for satisfying themselves that they were properly carried out; the actual execution of the work was in the hands of the Provincial Public Works' Departments. In 1925, however, the experiment was made in the United Provinces of transferring the execution of repairs from the Public Works to the Archæological Department, and as this experiment proved eminently successful, it has now been extended to the Punjab, and will probably be extended by degrees to other Provinces also. The cost of maintaining a special staff is necessarily slightly higher but it is more than counterbalanced by the improved quality of the work, for which the average Engineer has little aptitude.

In September 1927 a reference was received from the India Office communicating a proposal of the American Oriental Society for the establishment in India of an American School of Indo-Iranian Research. The Government of India welcomed the proposal on the understanding that the School and its workers would abstain from all forms of local political activity and that the Government of India were not required to make any financial contribution towards it. Such a school is likely to be of the greatest value to oriental research in this country, not merely by virtue of what it may itself achieve, but because of the effect it may have in raising the general standard of scientific philological work.

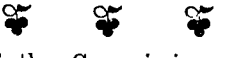
This chapter might fitly close with a mention of the successful completion of the great Linguistic Survey of India on which Sir George Grierson has been engaged for the greater part of the last thirty years. The survey represents an achievement hitherto attempted by no other country, and it puts on permanent record examples of the exact speech of nearly a hundred different linguistic communities in the Indian Empire. Lord Birkenhead has well compared Sir George Grierson's work to that of Gibbon, of Samuel Johnson and of Murray, whilst His Majesty's Government have recognised its value by conferring upon Sir George the high honour of the Order of Merit.

CHAPTER II.

Politics during the year.

(In this Chapter the words "The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms", "The Reforms" and "The Reformed System of Government" all mean the existing system of government in India which is based on the Government of India Act of 1919. In an Appendix will be found a short note on the composition and grouping of the existing Legislative Assembly.)

Enough was said in the previous chapter about the effect of the announcement regarding the Statutory Commission to show that it must be regarded as the most important single event in the politics of the year which we are now passing under review. We may, in fact, rightly regard it as the pivot on which the whole politics of the year turns, for, quite soon after the end of the period with which we dealt in our previous report, the coming Commission began to cast its shadow before, and discussion regarding its composition began to appear in the columns of the public press and elsewhere. But in truth the announcement of the Commission has acted as something more than a pivot. It has, if we may change our simile somewhat violently, performed the functions of a spectroscope, for it has split Indian politics into its component parts distinguishing one element from another, and enabling the observer to see something of the composition of the subject which he is studying. By the help of this new instrument he will see how interests, communities, and sections of political opinion range themselves, and how the Provinces also come into the many coloured line, for their politics and points of view are also elements—and elements of growing importance—in the general politics of India.

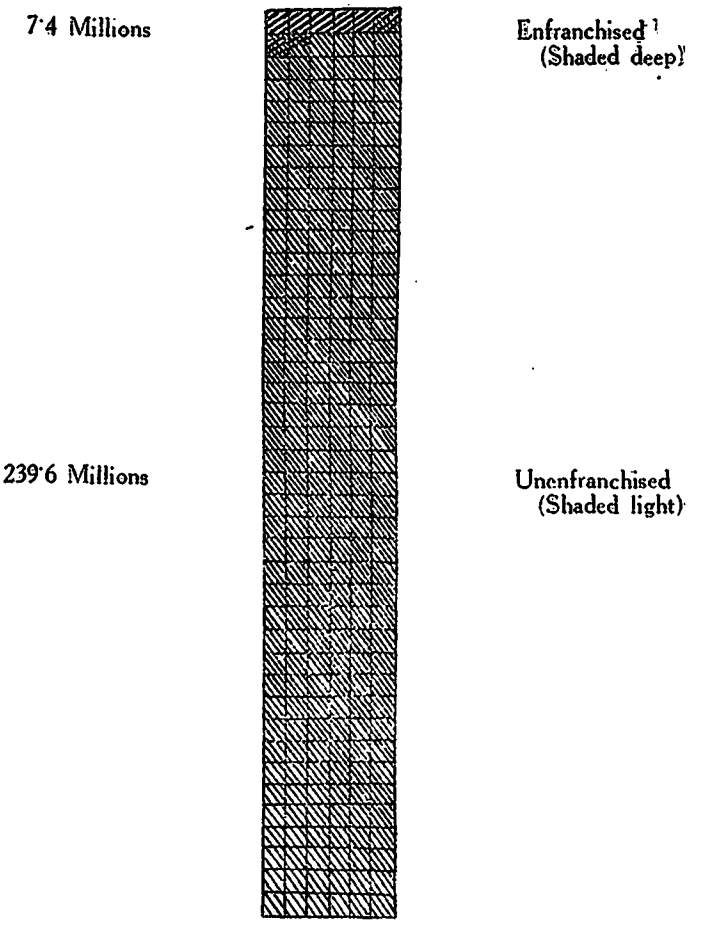


The appointment of the Commission at a date earlier than 1929—the end of the ten year period mentioned in the Government of India Act—had been long demanded in India, for it is, perhaps, not surprising to find that educated political opinion in this country ascribes most, if not all, of the difficulties encountered in the working of the reformed constitution to the limitations

imposed by its avowedly transitional form upon popular control. There have, therefore, been constant demands from a very early date for a revision of the Government of India Act of a kind satisfactory to Indian aspirations. As early as September 1921 the Assembly accepted a resolution embodying its opinion that an inquiry into a revision of the Government of India Act at an earlier date than 1929 was desirable. In reply the Secretary of State urged that the existing constitution provided opportunities for progress and that the new political machinery had not been fully tested or the capacity of the Indian electorate fully ascertained. During 1923 the Legislative Assembly twice again gave its opinion in favour of immediate constitutional advance. Naturally these opinions were strongly reinforced when the Congress Party entered the Assembly at the end of 1923, and in the following year the Government of India agreed that it was desirable to hold an inquiry into the working of the constitution hitherto. The Secretary of State concurred in this view, and the question again arose in the Assembly during 1924. Early in that year a resolution was moved recommending an early revision of the Government of India Act with a view to securing for India full self-governing Dominion status within the British Empire together with responsible government in the provinces. An amendment to this resolution was tabled by Pandit Motilal Nehru, the Leader of the Congress Party in the Assembly, who suggested the summoning of a Round Table Conference to recommend a draft constitution for India. This amendment was accepted by a very large majority. During the debate Sir Malcolm Hailey who was then Home Member, announced that the Government of India was prepared to hold an inquiry into the working of the constitution up to date, but he made it quite clear that no such radical measures as were contemplated by either the resolution or the amendment could be entertained. He said that if an inquiry revealed the desirability and feasibility of any advances or amendments within the limits of the existing Act, then the Government of India would be willing to notify Parliament to that effect. If however the inquiry showed that no advance was possible without amending the Act that would leave the question of advance entirely open and the Government of India entirely uncommitted with regard to it. As a result of this debate a committee consisting partly of officials and partly of non-officials was appointed under the Chairmanship of the late Sir Alexander

DIAGRAM.

The Voters of British India.



N.B.—Each square represents 1,000,000 of population.

Muddiman to see what could be done to improve the working of the existing machinery. The Committee issued its report in March 1925. The majority maintained that the present constitution had not been in existence long enough to enable any decision on its merits to be pronounced, but the minority opposed this view and declared that Indian political opinion would be satisfied with nothing less than the abolition of Dyarchy and the institution of provincial autonomy. On September 7th, 1925, the late Sir Alexander Muddiman, then Home Member of the Government of India, moved a Resolution in the Assembly recommending the acceptance of the principle underlying the Majority Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee and early consideration of the detailed recommendations contained therein for improving the machinery of Government. Mr. Crerar, then Home Secretary, moved an identical resolution in the Council of State. A long amendment to the Resolution in the Assembly was moved by the leader of the Swaraj Party, the gist of it being that immediate steps be taken to move His Majesty's Government to make a declaration in Parliament embodying such fundamental changes in the constitutional machinery and administration of India as would make the government of the country fully responsible. The Amendment also recommended the holding of a Round Table Conference or other suitable agency adequately representative of all Indian, European and Anglo-Indian interests, to frame a detailed scheme based on the above principles, and to place the said scheme for approval before the Legislative Assembly, after which it would be submitted to Parliament to be embodied in a statute. The Amendment was carried against the Government by 72 votes to 45.

Lastly, during the debate on the general budget in March 1926 another resolution was moved asking for the appointment of the Statutory Commission at some date earlier than 1929. After a discussion lasting for two days the resolution was negatived by 47 votes to 31, but it must be remembered that before the debate took place the whole of the Congress Party had vacated their seats in the Assembly.

From the above it is clear that two different views have been held in Indian Nationalist quarters since 1921 regarding the revision of the Indian constitution. The Swarajists, or Congress Party as they are now called, have asked for nothing less than a Round Table Conference to implement certain agreed principles. The

more moderate section, however, have all through been willing to submit the whole question to the Statutory Commission referred to in section 84-A of the Government of India Act 1919.

Before we enter on the narrative of the year's events in politics, we may with advantage make a few general observations. One great danger, to which every writer on Indian politics is exposed, is the all but unavoidable necessity of simplifying his subject unduly. To compile a faithful and reasonably complete account of the politics of any country which can properly be said to have any politics, is always apt to prove a troublesome and involved undertaking, but a review of Indian politics presents certain difficulties peculiar to itself. In truth, the difference between chronicling the annual politics of a country like England which may be adequately summarised in an account of her well-defined political parties and their programmes and party warfare, and chronicling the politics of India,—where there are no true political parties, and consequently, no party programmes in the usually accepted sense of the word—is the difference between drawing a plan of a well ordered garden and that of painting a picture of a great stretch of virgin country. The reader will, therefore, understand that the chapter which follows is to be likened to a photograph taken from an aeroplane. As wide a stretch as possible will be covered but at the unavoidable expense of much omission of detail and much violent compression into single phrases of long and complex arguments and qualifying conditions. Political, constitutional, regional, economic, social and other strands are all inter-twined. In some places the eye may discern a regular pattern and in other places the beginnings of such a pattern, but it would be a mistake to look for any harmonius, comprehensible design throughout the whole complex of movements, aspirations, alliances, and antagonisms of many kinds which go to make up what we conveniently call Indian politics. Matters which at one time may be settled by a Police Court, a Town Council, or similar humble agency, may at others assume political importance and require the attention of a Provincial, or, even, the Central, Government or Legislature. The slaughter of a cow in certain circumstances, or the beating of a drum in a particular place, may give rise to results which reverberate throughout India, and, by

their effect on communal relations, react on the general political situation. Again, there is one politics of the central legislature and another of the provincial legislatures—indeed, of each provincial legislative council and each province. In some places there is one politics of the country and another of the town, or, again, one politics of landlords and another of tenants. Already it is not too early to discern the beginnings of rival politics of capital and labour and, unfortunately, rival communal policies cannot possibly be ignored however much they may be deprecated. Compact of all these, and yet having its own form, its own individual character, and its own particular problems which differ from those of any of its parts, is Indian politics, and the whole of its secret will not be given up to him who understands—or thinks he understands—the peculiar circumstances of the Legislative Assembly, or of any provincial legislature, or of any one, or of several of the many strands which make up the politics of this country. To see things whole must be the ambition of the student of Indian political affairs no less than of the philosopher.

It is unnecessary to point out that much of the complexity of present day Indian politics was introduced by the Act of 1919. Before this statute was brought into operation, it might be said fairly enough that there was no provincial politics. Bengal and Bombay, or perhaps more accurately, Calcutta and Bombay City, had certain well defined economic interest, which, on occasions, brought them into disagreement with the Central Government or with other parts of India. But the Government of India was strongly centralised government and the provinces had far less scope than they now have and, consequently less need and fewer opportunities for developing their own politics and provincial points of view. The Reforms, by investing the provinces with something of the appearance—and, perhaps, of the reality also—of the component States of a federal government, profoundly altered their status and functions. Again, it was necessary, as the authors of the report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, generally known as the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, frankly stated, to rouse the Indian people from their " pathetic contentment ", in other words, to cultivate the political sense in the masses of this country. Naturally such a proceeding as this was bound to add to the complexity of Indian politics, and the encouragement given to the process of development of a common Indian nationality has resulted

in a great quickening of political thought, and in a steadily growing pressure, and ceaseless and valuable criticism, from certain quarters against not only the performance of the Indian Government but against its very structure and foundations. Pressure and criticism of this kind come mostly from the extreme left wing of Indian political opinion, but practically all sections of political thought in this country are united in their demand for responsible self-government on the same terms as the other self-governing dominions of the British Commonwealth. Only a negligible minority ask for complete independence outside the British Commonwealth, and we are justified in saying that the ultimate goal before the Indian politicians of all shades of opinion is ' dominion status ' for India. Nothing could demonstrate this more clearly than the fate of the Independence Resolution, (to which we shall revert later in this chapter) passed at the Madras Session of the All-India National Congress in December 1927. That Resolution awoke no response in the country and has since been tacitly ignored by every important section of Indian political thought.

These two results of the Reforms, namely: the change in the status of the provinces, and the general quickening of political life, thought, and aspirations in this country, have exercised their influence during the years since 1921 in two opposite directions. They have been both centrifugal and centripetal influences. One of the features of these post-Reforms years has been a growth of provincial consciousness which has shown itself in the increasing importance of provincial politics as compared with all-India politics. Many of the keenest and most able politicians in India are to be found in the provincial councils, most of which are very live centres of political activity. It might perhaps be too much to say that instead of one political centre of gravity for all India, each province has its own centre in its own provincial council, or that the doings of the Central Legislature are, in the eyes of the provincial electorates and councils, of secondary importance. But that a tendency in this direction exists can hardly be doubted.

Another feature of these post-reform years is the growth in class and community consciousness. The most spectacular demonstration of this has been provided by the course of Hindu-Muslim relations, but it should not be forgotten that these two are not the

only communities which have an individual outlook and particular ambitions and politics. All the colour and action of post-Reforms politics in the Madras Presidency—where politics have been both picturesque and strenuous during these years—derive from the rivalry between the Brahman and Non-Brahman communities, which are served respectively by two of the most ably conducted and readable newspapers in all India—the "Hindu", and "Justice". It is from the latter that the Non-Brahmin party in Madras takes its name of the 'Justice Party' by which it is very often known. The depressed classes, too, are becoming more vocal, and their annual and other conferences will, no doubt, foster among them a sense of unity of interests which will in time perhaps develop into a unity of political action. Elsewhere, Swarajists and Responsivists, or Landlords and Tenants have imported into politics rivalries based on real differences in points of view or material interests, the germs, in fact, of true party programmes of the future. But, on the whole, such political groupings as we have seen in the Indian provinces since the rise of the new legislatures have been on communal rather than on ordinary party lines.

But if the Reforms have exercised an apparently disruptive influence in these two directions, in others their influence has worked quite as strongly in the other direction of unifying and solidifying the different sections, communities, and races of India. In the very forefront of these unifying influences is the Central Legislature, in whose two Houses are gathered representatives of every part and class of India, assembled together for a common purpose, conscious of certain general interests and aspirations which they all hold in common, and dealing normally with business which concerns the whole of India. In the years since 1921, the Legislative Assembly has become beyond any question the focus of all-India politics. The other all-India political organisations, whether National Congress, Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha or Liberal Federation, are definitely party, communal, or sectional organisations, and cannot now challenge the pre-eminence of the Central Legislature.

In the League of Nations, and in various international congresses, conferences, and committees, Indians now find themselves representing a country which, in the eyes of the outside world, is more and more regarded as a nation-state, acting as

such in the counsels of her sister nations and enjoying with them equal status and equal privileges. Here again is a centripetal force helping to draw scattered parts to a common centre.

But if India is still in process of becoming a political unity, she has long been an economic unity subject to all the influences and forces, material and non-material, which operate in such a state. Undoubtedly the economic motive is one of the strongest centralising forces at work in any nation-state, Federal or Unitary, and it merges imperceptibly into other motives, or, even, it may be said, includes other motives of moral or political kind which are more generally admitted to be the mainsprings of national patriotism. Railways, roads, telegraphs, and post offices do more than bring the peoples and parts of India into close physical contact and communication with each other. They break down barriers which have been erected by centuries of isolation and consequent divergent development, barriers not only of time and space but of conflicting interests and different ideas and ideals. They provide the physical and material, and lay the foundations of some of the spiritual conditions of national unity. The fiscal policy of India is an element in her economic system of high constructive capacity. In the matter of tariffs, the Central Legislature thinks and works for all India, for this is a peculiar sphere in which no sectional interests can be allowed to triumph. If they do, then their supporters must at any rate do homage to the national ideal by maintaining that the interests of the part coincide with those of the whole. From the point of view of economics, India is already a solid, well-articulated unit, and economic unity is the corner stone of political and, generally, of national unity.

So when the appointment of the Statutory Commission was announced, the response to it was not unanimous in this country, and some of the voices were not very clear or easily recognisable. The responses of the different forces and interests mentioned above, speaking, as these do, with different voices and, some of them, in opposite senses, represent neither fortuitous nor artificial reactions to the event, so fateful for India's future, of the formation of the Statutory Commission. On the contrary, the said forces and interests from which the responses proceed, are the products of conditions, some of which have prevailed for long enough, whilst others owe their existence to the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. This short prolegomenon may, perhaps, help the reader to sort

out the different elements in the apparently jumbled spectrum which is Indian politics since November 8th, 1927.

We may now start from the point where we left off last year, and begin to weld our link for 1927-28 on to the rest of the chain. On April 1st, 1927, Hindu-Muhammadan antagonism overspread the whole field of Indian politics and diverted all attention to itself. The situation was such as to cause the gravest concern to all the responsible political leaders of the country, and a few weeks after the close of the period with which we dealt in last year's report an influential attempt was made to reach some agreement between the rival views of the leading spokesmen of the two communities on the outstanding political question in issue between them, that is, the question of the joint versus the separate electorate. Readers of "India in 1926-27" will, perhaps, remember the description given at pages 15 to 19 of a meeting of Muhammadan leaders on March 20th, 1927, of the conditions which were there laid down as being necessary to the acceptance of the Joint Electorate by the Muhammadan community, and of the reception of these conditions by certain Hindu members of the Central Legislature, who discussed them at a meeting held on March 23rd. At a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held at Bombay in the middle of May, 1927, the Muslim leaders' proposals of March 20th were unanimously adopted subject to a few modifications which did not affect their underlying principles. Unfortunately, however, this latest development produced no immediate effect on the situation and indeed, was subsequently condemned from two opposite directions. Immediately after the passing of the resolutions, complaints were received from orthodox Hindu quarters, and suggestions were made for the calling of a special meeting of the All-India Congress Committee to call to account its Working Committee, which had piloted the adoption of the Delhi proposals through the general meeting of the Congress Committee. Later, at the end of July, twenty-seven Muslim members of the Punjab Council headed by Malik Firoz Khan Noon, the Minister for Local Self-Government, signed a declaration in favour of the maintenance of the system of the separate electorate until it could be abandoned by common consent of both the Hindu and Muhammadan communities. They declared that Punjabi Mus-

lims do not at present want to abandon the separate electorate and they opposed the proposals made at the Delhi meeting of March the 20th. So, as we saw in the preceding chapter, relations between the two communities grew steadily more bitter and estranged throughout the summer until it seemed as though a tacit agreement had been arrived at by all sections of political opinion in India to concentrate on this one vital factor in the national life of the country. Unfortunately concentration took the shape mostly of partisanship, of the statement of communal rights and claims, and of recriminations and violently expressed charges and counter charges. One more attempt, however, was to be made to settle or, at any rate, to ameliorate inter-communal differences before the announcement of the Royal Commission came to provide a rival subject of attention and to range Hindu-Muhammadan opinion along different lines. This was the Simla Unity Conference of September, 1927, which has been discussed in the preceding chapter.

Such was the state of affairs when the Legislative Assembly met on the 18th August, 1927. Indian politics had, as it were, shrunk to this single glowing nucleus in which all other elements were fused. There had been no notable development in the general political situation, in spite of the earnest attempts of the All-India Congress Committee, first to find some way of inducing other political parties to come into the Congress fold, and secondly to square the conduct of members of the Congress Party in the legislatures, particularly in the Madras Legislative Council, with their creed as enunciated at the session of the All-India National Congress held at Gauhati in December, 1926. An appendix to last year's report contained a resolution, passed at the Gauhati Congress, in which the general policy of the Congress Party was re-affirmed. The first article in the resolution enjoined members of the party to refuse to accept Ministerships or any other offices in the gift of the Government, and to oppose the formation of ministeries by other parties, until, in the opinion of the Congress or the All-India Congress Committee, a satisfactory response had been made to the national demand. The provisions of this clause had been tacitly disobeyed by Congressmen in the Madras Council and, perhaps, in one or two other provinces also, and at its session in the middle of May, 1927, the All-India Congress Committee asked its Working Committee to demand an explanation from the

Madras Council's Congress Party for the latter's failure to throw out the ministry according to the Gauhati mandate. This explanation was to be presented at the next meeting of the All-India Congress Committee. Influential members of the Madras Congress Party who were present at this meeting explained that if the existing ministry had been thrown out, the Justice Party would have come back to power and would have perpetuated dyarchy. In view of these explanations, the Congress Working Committee put forth a new interpretation of the Gauhati resolution which, they said, imposed no obligation to defeat a ministry, if by doing so, the Congress Party would be strengthening the bureaucracy. The Working Committee also passed a resolution congratulating the Madras Council Congress Party on their behaviour and saying that nothing inconsistent with the Gauhati resolution had been done by them. This, however, did not please some sections of the party, and controversy regarding the conduct of the Congress Party in the Madras Council continued spasmodically throughout the remainder of the year. At the beginning of July an important development in the political situation appeared to be likely, for at a special session of the Non-Brahmin Federation held at Coimbatore, a resolution was unanimously adopted permitting members of the party to join the Congress to aid the spread of the ideals and aims of the Non-Brahmin movement. The practical results of this resolution, however, were slight. Thus, at the opening of the Simla session of the Indian Legislature no tangible success had attended the efforts of the Congress Party to bring about either inter-communal or inter-party unity.

The outstanding feature of the session was the discussion on the Gold Standard and Reserve Bank of India Bill. In last year's report the vast importance of this bill to Indian finance and currency policy was explained, and our account of the above-mentioned debate on the bill will be found in Chapter VII in which finance is treated separately. The announcement of the postponement of the Bill on September 8th made it clear that the points in issue between Sir Basil Blackett and his opponents were not going to be settled by compromise but would have to be fought out again at some other time.

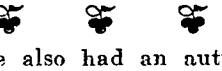
Another economic measure of great importance, in regard to which acute differences between the Government and some of the opposition existed, but regarding which the Government and the right wing of the opposition, that is, the Nationalist Party, managed to come to agreement, was the Indian Tariff (Cotton Yarn Amendment) Bill. The account of the progress of this bill in the Assembly also will be discussed more appropriately in a later chapter. The bill was referred to a select committee on August 22nd, after the speeches had shown that a section of opinion in the House, which was not confined to any one party, wished to widen the scope of the bill by including a protective duty on piece-goods and also scheme for giving a bounty to the cotton industry. Another section of opinion however, was opposed to imposing any further duties in the interests of the mill-owners on necessaries of life.

A brief reference may be made here to a third bill, which was introduced during this session.

In view of the world-wide interest in the Hindu custom of child marriage which has been raised by Miss Mayo's book and the various rejoinders thereto, it is only fitting that more than passing notice should be given to a bill introduced by a non-official Hindu member on the first February and debated on September the 15th, the object of which was to regulate marriages of children amongst Hindus by prohibiting marriages of girls below the age of 12 and of boys below the age of 15. In the words of the mover—Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda—the primary object of the bill was to put a stop to child widowhood. Quoting from the last census report, that of 1921, the Rai Sahib pointed out that in the latter year there were in India " 612 Hindu widows who were babies not even 12 months old, 498 between 1 and 2 years, 1,280 between 2 and 3, 2,863 between 3 and 4, and 6,758 who were between 4 and 5 years of age, making a total of 12,016 widows under 5 years of age. The number of Hindu widows between 5 and 10 years of age was 85,580 and those between 10 and 15 years, 2,33,533. The total number of widows under 10 was 97,596, and under 15 was 3,31,793. These numbers include Jain and Arya widows, for Jains and Aryas have been separately classed probably for political purposes; otherwise they are all Hindus and are governed by the same marriage laws. And if we include Brahmos and Sikhs, who are as much Hindus as the

so-called Hindus, the total number of Hindu widows under 15 was 3,32,472 in 1921. The gravity of the question will however be realised when we remember that out of every 1,000 Hindu married women, 14 are under 5 years of age, 111 below 10, and 437 under 15 years of age. This means that a little over 11 per cent. of the Hindu women are supposed to lead a married life when they are below 10 years of age, *i.e.*, they are mere children, and that nearly 44 per cent. of them lead married lives when they are less than 15 years of age, *i.e.*, when they are not yet out of their teens and before they have attained true and full puberty and are physically utterly unfit to bear the strain of marital relations ". This, in the mover's own words, was the state of affairs which he wished to remedy. He argued that his proposal was in no way opposed to Hindu doctrine or Hindu religious law and he emphasised the beneficial effect which would be produced by the acceptance of his proposals on the health and vitality of the Hindu community. Discussion on the bill concentrated on two proposals. One of them, moved by a member of the Congress Party, recommended that it be referred to a select committee, and the second, moved by Mr. Crerar, Home Member, that it be circulated for the purpose of eliciting public opinion. One or two orthodox Hindu members voted for circulation, but the majority favoured reference to a select committee. There was general support for the principle of fixing an age limit below which a marriage would be declared void, but the orthodox opponents of the select committee motion, together with one or two official members pointed out that real progress in social reform depended on the support of enlightened public opinion. In the end, the Assembly decided to refer the bill forthwith to a select committee.

Such other important items of business as the debate on the Indianisation of the Army, on the volunteer Police Bill, on the motion for adjournment to protest against the non-representation of Indians on the Royal Commission appointed to consider the federation of certain East African Colonies, and on one or two other subjects, will be found in other chapters which deal with the matters to which they refer.



The Council of State also had an autumn session in Simla, but a shorter one than that of the Legislative Assembly. Perhaps

the most important debate which took place during this session was on the Indianisation of the Army. It followed much the same lines as the corresponding debate in the Legislative Assembly and will be found mentioned in Chapter VIII.

A resolution relating to the expulsion of Hindus from the Khyber was moved by a Sikh member from the Punjab and was ultimately withdrawn after a number of members of the Council had expressed their solicitude at the unfortunate occurrences across the Border. The debate was remarkable for an important statement by Sir Denys Bray, the Foreign Secretary, who referred to the dangers arising out of, and utter unworthiness of the blasphemous attacks which are made from time to time by members of one community in this country on the beliefs and the sacred personages of another community. Of much interest also was a debate originated by a member from Madras on the subject of Devadasis in temples. The mover wanted the practice of dedicating girls to temples to stop because he assumed that their life involved them inevitably in prostitution. Mr. S. R. Das, the Law Member, pointed out that this was not necessarily true, and those cases which were true could be satisfactorily dealt with under the terms of an Act passed a few years before for the purpose of strengthening those sections of the Indian Penal Code which deal with the buying and selling of minors for immoral purposes. If the mover would introduce a bill or could suggest any other measure for further strengthening the law, Government would be prepared to circulate it for opinion. The reply satisfied the mover of the resolution and the permission was given to him to withdraw it. The last debate to be mentioned here was one on a resolution moved by a member of the Congress Party recommending the immediate release of all such convicted or under-trial political prisoners in Indian jails as had not been held guilty in an open trial, and of all political detenues whose trial in a court of law was not contemplated. The mover also wanted the appointment of a committee to review the cases of other political prisoners either convicted or under trial. Mr. Haig, the Home Secretary, assured the Council both that the action taken against political prisoners under detention was justified by the necessity for controlling dangerous and revolutionary conspiracies and also that effect was being given to the policy recently enunciated of releasing those prisoners whose freedom would not imperil public safety. He

pointed out also that if effect were given to this motion, the ordinary rights of individuals and the primary obligation of Government to preserve security would be affected. The Council rejected the motion by 27 votes to 14.

By the end of the Simla session of the Legislature there was a growing expectation that the formation of the Statutory Commission to review the political progress of India would be announced at no distant date. As early as June, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, one of the leaders of the old Indian Liberal Party, had raised the question of the appointment of the Commission in the public press and had protested strongly against the restriction of membership of the Commission to British members concerning which certain rumours had been circulating for some time. But until the very day of the announcement of the main interest of the public and of politicians centred in the Hindu Muhammadan troubles. We have already seen the outcome of the All-India Congress Committee's meeting at Bombay, and of the Simla Unity Conference, and we have noted the results of the second attempt of the All-India Congress Committee to find some way out of the intercommunal impasse.

But even this great subject of dispute was now about to be swallowed up in and become an element of one still greater. For, about a week after the Calcutta Unity Conference had come to an end, His Excellency the Viceroy announced the formation and composition of the Statutory Commission in a statement which was made public on November the 8th. This statement will be found reproduced as an appendix to this book and should be studied carefully by all who want to understand why Parliament decided to appoint an entirely Parliamentary Commission and also why it chose to appoint the Commission when it did. His Excellency went fully into these points at the beginning of his statement, and after showing what the task of the Commission would be, he gave a thorough exposition of the reasons which had decided His Majesty's Government to limit membership of the Commission to members of Parliament. Lord Irwin next announced that His Majesty's Government, whilst not dictating to the Commission what procedure it should follow, were of opinion that its task in

taking evidence would be greatly facilitated if it were to invite a Joint Select Committee of the Central Legislature, chosen from among its non-official members, to convey its views to the Commission in any manner decided upon by the latter. Further, after the Commission had reported to His Majesty's Government, and before the latter had laid its own proposals on the report before Parliament, a full opportunity would be given for Indian opinion of different schools to give its views upon them. To this end it was intended to invite Parliament to refer these proposals to a Joint Committee of both Houses and to permit delegations from the Indian Central Legislature and any other bodies whom the Joint Parliamentary Committee might wish to consult, to attend and confer with the Joint Committee. After the above details of the composition and procedure of the Commission, His Excellency then explained the advantages which would accrue from such a Commission adopting such a procedure as had been outlined.

In preparation for the announcement, His Excellency the Viceroy had invited a number of the leaders of Indian political life, representing all shades of political opinion, and drawn from different communities, to explain the decision of His Majesty's Government and the reasons for it. In taking this step His Excellency was actuated by the desire to ensure that these gentlemen should be put in possession of full and accurate facts relating to the momentous decision taken by the Home Government in order that there might be no risk of their being taken by surprise and having to form their judgment on possibly misleading information. The Governors of the Provinces also interviewed the leaders of political thought and groups, as well as a few leading press representatives, in their own Provinces with the same objects in view as His Excellency Lord Irwin. The reception of the announcement, which was made simultaneously in Parliament and in India, was somewhat extraordinary, for immediately the leaders of the extreme left and the extreme right of Indian politics joined hands in denouncing the constitution of the Commission and its procedure and advocating a boycott. The attitude of the extreme left, that is, the Congress Party, had never been in any doubt, for they had declared consistently for at least two years that nothing would satisfy them but a Round Table Conference between representatives of the British Government and representatives of political India at which the subject for discussion would not be the formula-

tion of a constitution for India but merely how to implement what is generally known as the 'National Demand', that is, the demand formulated by Pandit Motilal Nehru in his amendment to the Resolution moved by Sir Alexander Muddiman in the Legislative Assembly on September 7th, 1925, to which we have referred earlier in this chapter. The extreme right, that is the section of the old Liberal or Moderate school of Indian politicians, led by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who found most of his support in the Liberals of the United Provinces, Madras, and Bombay City, attacked the announcement on the ground of the exclusion of Indians from the Commission and the consequent insult, as they alleged, to India's National self-respect. But what might be called the intermediate schools of political thought, namely, those represented by the Nationalist Party in the Legislative Assembly and by the Responsivists in Bombay and elsewhere opposed the Commission, as constituted on somewhat different lines. Whilst resenting the exclusion of Indians from the Commission they were not prepared to boycott it for that reason alone, and they made it known that if the conditions on which the Indian Committees were to be associated with the Commission were satisfactory to them, they would be prepared to co-operate. This was made clear by a Joint statement issued about the middle of November of 1927 by Messrs. Jayakar, Kelkar, Aney, and Dr. Moonje, who are all members of the Legislative Assembly. The three first named are the principal leaders of the Responsive Co-operators, whilst Dr. Moonje is at present the leading spokesman of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha. About a month later, at a public meeting which he addressed in Bombay, Mr. Kelkar once more defined the Responsivists' attitude towards the Commission. He was not for the immediate proclamation of a boycott, he declared, since he was opposed to any merely negative proceeding such as this. He would wait until the Statutory Commission had made it clear what their relations would be with the Committees which were to be chosen by the different legislative bodies. This attitude the Responsivists and many of the Nationalists maintained until the publication of Sir John Simon's letter of February the 6th, 1928, to which we shall come shortly, and it was re-affirmed by an interview given in New Delhi on January 21st by Mr. Jayakar who said that he would not quarrel over trifles but would be satisfied if the Central Indian Committee, sitting with the Commission as a

parallel body, were able to submit in case of disagreement a separate report to the Indian Legislative Assembly which would be forwarded by the Assembly to Parliament and be regarded as possessing equal weight and authority with the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report. Apart from the Congress and the Nationalist (which includes the Responsive Co-operators) parties in the Legislative Assembly, and the Indian National Liberal Federation, the All-India Muslim League, the All-India Hindu Mahasabha and the Non-Brahmin Party in the south, there are few organised political parties or schools of political thought in this country. But the Non-Brahmin or Justice Party in Madras, which has a companion in the Bombay Non-Brahmin organisation is one of the most important and powerful of all the political organisations in India. At first the attitude of these Non-Brahmin bodies towards the Commission was doubtful, and some of their leaders, in both Madras and Bombay, declared their dissatisfaction with the Commission. But as time went on this attitude changed, slowly but perceptibly, until by the end of the year under review the bulk of Non-Brahmin opinion in these two provinces had begun to be favourable to the idea of co-operation with the Commission. Muhammadan opinion did not range itself immediately either for or against the Commission. With the exception of Mr. Jinnah, no Muhammadan politician of any standing denounced the Commission and even Mr. Jinnah waited until towards the end of November before he publicly expressed his disapproval and his adherence to the boycott. The Hindu Mahasabha, again, did not express its opinion as a body some of its prominent members declared for the boycott of the Commission as at present constituted, but the next annual general meeting was not due until April, and while it was clear that a very large proportion of its members favoured the boycott it was impossible in November to know how the course of events would influence the Mahasabha's decision in the following April. It is true that a meeting of the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha, held at Beneras in December under the Presidentship of Dr. Moonje, adopted a resolution urging the boycott of the Statutory Commission. Also a special meeting of the Hindu Mahasabha was called at Madras during Congress Week by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Some members of the Mahasabha attended and passed a resolution in favour of the boycott, but neither of these two meetings were

regarded as having committed the organisation as a whole to the boycott.

At first the press was almost unanimously hostile to the announcement. The Anglo-Indian press, however, accepted it and pointed out the possibilities for constructive co-operation with the Commission which the suggested procedure provided, but the Indian press was very largely against it. It should be explained that the Government of India, unlike most of the regularly constituted governments in the world, has no press of its own on which it can rely for support. As a rule the Anglo-Indian press gives general support, but any one or all of the Anglo-Indian newspapers might, and some times do, turn strongly against the Government of India in matters of the highest importance. The reason, of course, is that the Government of India is not a Government placed and kept in power by a political party whose organs are pledged to its support, and the Indian owned and controlled press is, on the whole, an opposition press.

As time went on, it became possible to distinguish through the clouds of press and platform controversy the realities of the boycott situation, and both its strength and weakness became more and more clearly apparent. Before the end of the year statements made by prominent Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal and elsewhere had made it quite clear that a strong and influential section of their community was not prepared to boycott the Commission, and it remained to be seen how large a proportion this section would be of the whole community. Except in Bombay City and the United Provinces the response from the Liberals had not given any very clear lead either in favour of or against boycott and the Responsivists and Non-Brahmins, as we have seen, were awaiting developments. But denunciations of the Commission continued to rage furiously in the press and practically all the most important leaders of the different political parties in the Legislative Assembly had pledged themselves to boycott the Commission within a few weeks of the announcement. The attitude of the great mass of the people towards the whole affair was pure apathy. This was clear at the time and it became increasingly clear month by month. The question at issue was not one which interested them and it is doubtful if more than a very small percentage have ever tried to understand it.

About six weeks after the announcement of November the 8th the annual meetings were held of the three well known political organisations—the All-India National Congress, the All-India Muslim League, and the National Liberal Federation of India.

The All-India National Congress is the oldest nationalist political organisation in India and at one time included nearly all who stood for constitutional progress and political reforms in India, although Muhammadans never had very much to do with it. Of late years, however, its representative character has been narrowed by the successive defections of the Moderate or Liberal politicians, the Responsive Co-operators, and, generally, all who do not believe in merely obstructing and trying to wreck the existing constitution. The 1927 session of the All-India National Congress was the 42nd since the birth of the Congress, and opened on December the 26th. The President this year was Dr. Ansari, one of the old Non-co-operators, who had consistently held aloof from the Legislatures and from political parties. For the first time since the decay of the Non-co-operation movement, and the consequent deterioration in inter-communal relations, a Muhammadan had been chosen as president of Congress. This, in combination with the obvious desirability from the point of view of those who supported the boycott of the Simon Commission, of trying to bring Muslims and Hindus together in united opposition to the Commission caused the subject of Hindu-Muhammadan relations to come right to the front during this session of the Congress. It occupied the central part of the President's speech and led to the " Unity Resolution " which, as we have seen, was accepted by the Congress. There is no need, therefore, to go any further into this part of the proceedings of the 1927 Session. The very great importance attached to the introduction and passing of the Resolution this year should not, however, be forgotten.

It was a foregone conclusion that the Congress would declare for the boycott of the Simon Commission and the Resolution in which the declaration is embodied laid down that the Commission should be boycotted " at every stage and in every form ", that mass demonstrations should be organised throughout India, that vigorous propaganda should be carried on to make the boycott effective and successful, and that elected members of all legislative bodies should refuse to help the Commission and should abstain from attending meetings of the legislatures except for certain

specified purposes such as opposing any measure detrimental to the interests of India. Part of the Resolution called upon the people and on all Congress organisations to organise mass demonstrations on the day of the arrival of Sir John Simon and his colleagues, and similar demonstrations in the different cities which they were to visit.

The most spectacular part of the Congress proceedings, however, was the passing of a Resolution declaring that the goal of the Indian people was complete national independence. This Resolution, however, was carried only after considerable opposition. It was moved by Jawaharlal Nehru, the son of the leader of the Congress Party in the Legislative Assembly. The mover, who had recently arrived in India from Russia, addressed the delegates as " comrades " and took an important part in all the proceedings of the Session. But although this Resolution was the most spectacular part of the Congress proceedings, it fell flat in the country at large, and was quickly regarded by the more responsible sections of public opinion as little more than the freak of a few young men. At any rate, the leaders of the Congress Party apparently did not adhere to it, and during the course of certain discussions on the status of the Indian wing of the Statutory Commission Pandit Motilal Nehru stated that his goal was dominion status for India.

Some preliminary explanation is necessary before we turn to the meeting of the All-India Muslim League. A little earlier in this chapter we said that important sections of the Punjabi and Bengali Muslims had decided to co-operate with the Commission, and at a meeting of the Executive of the Muslim League, Sir Muhammad Shafi, one of the most influential Muslims in all India, and at one time a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, had been chosen as President of this year's session. At the same meeting it was decided to hold the session in Lahore. We said also that Mr. Jinnah had declared for the boycott of the Commission. Mr. Jinnah it was who revived the League in December 1924 after a period of quiescence, and he continued to be one of its dominating personalities. It was inevitable, therefore, that there should be a clash of some sort between him and Sir Muhammad Shafi. Mr. Jinnah and his supporters wanted the annual session to take place elsewhere than in Lahore, whereas Sir Muhammad Shafi wanted it to take place in Lahore. At a special meeting of

the Council of the All-India Muslim League held in Delhi in December, it was decided by a small majority that the session should take place in Calcutta. Many Punjab and Bengal members of the League, however, disputed the legality of this decision, and in the end Sir Muhammad Shafi definitely refused to preside over the session in Calcutta. In the upshot, two separate sessions were held, one in Lahore under the presidentship of Sir Muhammad Shafi, and the other in Calcutta under the presidentship of Maulvi Muhammad Yakoob, Deputy President of the Legislative Assembly.

The Lahore session of the League was held on December, the 31st and January 1st, Sir Muhammad Shafi presiding. At this session a Resolution was passed inviting the leaders of all non-Muslim communities to co-operate with the Muslim League with a view to preparing jointly a draft constitution for India for presentation to the Statutory Commission or the British Parliament. Other resolutions were passed unanimously advocating separate electorates, the separation of Sind from Bombay, and the extension of Reforms to the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan. An all-India committee consisting of thirty members was formed to draw up a constitution and to discuss it with other bodies in India.

The Calcutta session was held on the 30th and 31st of December and the 1st of January. The Statutory Commission was the chief topic of discussion, and a resolution in favour of boycotting it was passed. A Hindu-Muslim unity resolution, on the lines of that passed at the Madras session of the Indian National Congress, was also carried, with the modification that though separate electorates were considered inevitable in the present circumstances, Muslims would be prepared to abandon them in favour of Joint electorates with a reservation of seats, but only on condition that Sind was constituted into a separate autonomous province, and that reforms were granted to the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan.

The tenth session of the National Liberal Federation of India opened in Bombay on December 27th. The presidential speech was delivered by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who said that the Liberal Party must repudiate not only the Commission but the entire spirit in which the question of India's further advance has been approached by Parliament. Another prominent Liberal,

Sir Chimanlal Sitalvad said that whilst Liberals could not take part in the present scheme they were prepared to consider any fresh proposals put forward by the Government. Throughout the session, the exclusion of Indians from the Statutory Commission was referred to in terms of strong condemnation. Before they dispersed, the Liberal delegates passed a resolution declaring their opinion that the constitution of the Commission was unacceptable because it denied the right of the Indian people to participate on equal terms in framing the future constitution of their country, and they recommended that the legislative bodies and the public throughout the country should have nothing to do with the Commission at any stage or in any form.

By the beginning of 1928 the opposition to the Statutory Commission had reached its full strength and it was far from amounting to a complete boycott. Most of the better known political leaders of the country had declared for non-co-operation with the Commission on any terms as far as Congress leaders were concerned, and on the terms as announced on November the 8th as far as others were concerned—but, if there was a good deal of opposition to the Commission, there was also a good deal of support for it, whilst such important sections of political opinion as those represented by the Justice Party in Madras, the Responsive Co-operators, and the Liberals in various parts of India away from Bombay and the United Provinces, were still waiting on events. Muhammadan opinion was steadily hardening in favour of co-operation with the Commission. There was never any doubt from the beginning about the attitude of the large number of depressed classes, and at the meeting of the All-India Depressed Classes Conference held at the end of February, 1928, in Delhi, under the Presidentship of Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah, a member of the Legislative Assembly, it was decided to put the claims of the Depressed Classes before the Commission. The strong Sikh community except for a minority of extremists, had also given signs of a desire to put its case before the Commission, and shortly after Sir John Simon's arrival in India, a general meeting of the Central Sikh Association resolved to send him a message of welcome on behalf of the Association. The Working Committee of the Central Association was at the same meeting authorised to make the necessary arrangements

for the presentation of the Sikh case to the Statutory Commission. Various other communities or religious organisations had also shown a desire to co-operate, and in fact, the different political parties, bodies, and sections of opinion were still approaching their final positions. The arrival of Sir John Simon and his colleagues was awaited with considerable eagerness, for it was felt that much depended on his statement of the procedure which he intended to adopt as regards the work of the Commission, and, in particular, as regards the Indian bodies which would be attached to it.

By the end of January, 1928, what we called earlier in this chapter, the spectrum of Indian politics, had almost arranged itself. Generally speaking, minority communities, depressed classes or other classes, who wanted their position to be improved or made more secure, important business interests and so on, had either ranged themselves on the side of the Statutory Commission or were obviously moving towards that position. Of certain provinces it was already possible to say that their Councils would decide for co-operation with the Commission, of others it could be said that the chances were in favour of their so deciding, whilst the attitude of others was more doubtful. The head and fount of the boycott movement were, as we have seen, certain All-India political parties in the Legislative Assembly and their leaders together with Congress organisations all over India, and Liberal Organisations in certain provinces. The root and branch boycotters were comprised within the fold of the Congress Party. Other parties were prepared to drop the boycott on certain terms.

It was in these circumstances that the Delhi session of the Legislature began on February the 1st, 1928. It will be remembered that the All-India National Congress had decided in the Madras session in the previous December, that elected members of all legislative bodies should abstain from attending meetings of the legislatures except for certain specified purposes, such as opposing any measure detrimental to the interests of India. In compliance with this decision, members of the Congress Party had kept aloof from some sittings of those provincial legislatures which had met since December, and the attitude of Congress members of the Legislative Assembly was for a time doubtful. They attended the opening meetings of the Assembly in order to oppose Sir Basil

Blackett's Reserve Bank Bill, but were absent when less important topics were being discussed. However, many of them felt that it was dangerous to keep away from any meetings of the Assembly, and on the 11th of February, detailed instructions were issued by the Congress Working Committee with regard to the work in the legislatures. The object of these instructions was to reduce participation in the activities of these bodies to a minimum. The Budget and other financial proposals were to be opposed directly or by way of amendment. Adjournment motions might be moved with reference to the Statutory Commission, or any extraordinary occurrences, or any repressive action by the authorities. No resolutions were to be moved except in regard to the Statutory Commission, and no bills were to be introduced or supported. At any rate, from very early in the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly during this session, members of the Congress Party were found in their seats, and they occupied them throughout the session when business of any importance was before the House.

His Excellency the Viceroy addressed the members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly on February 2nd. His speech was a striking appeal for co-operation and a closely reasoned argument against the boycott. The statement of November the 8th, he said, had outlined the proposed procedure at its various stages and had indicated broadly the lines on which His Majesty's Government hoped to unite the best efforts of the chosen representatives of India and Great Britain in the wise ordering of India's future. Within the general framework laid down in the announcement, the Commission had been left with full discretion as to the methods by which they would seek to accomplish their task. His Excellency reminded his hearers that the Commission was due to arrive in India the next day, not it is true, on its formal mission but with the hardly less important object of enabling its members to acquaint themselves with the general working of the Legislative and Administrative machines, and to hold informal consultations for the purpose of determining the most appropriate means of discharging the responsibilities which Parliament had laid upon them. His Excellency said that the scheme had been criticised and condemned by those who spoke for important sections of Indian opinion, and, on the other hand, large and powerful communities had declared themselves in favour both of the constitution of the Commission and of the general procedure which had been devised, and

had expressed their readiness to help it. His Excellency admitted that differences of opinion could fairly exist on the question of whether His Majesty's Government had chosen the best way of associating Indian opinion with the Commission, but no honest controversialist was at liberty to say that His Majesty's Government had not sought very full and very unprecedented means of placing Indians in a position to take an ample share with the Commission in the political evolution of their country. His Excellency doubted whether critics of the scheme had reflected upon what was implicit in the idea of associating select committees of the central and provincial legislatures with the Commission. These would be associated with the Commission in the earlier stages of its enquiry through the procedure which the Commission, after placing themselves fully in touch with Indian opinion, might consider best calculated to enable them to discharge the duty which had been entrusted to them. In due time the Commission would complete its task, and, as it moved from the stage, the Indian central Legislature had the greatest and most powerful means of influencing the further current of events through its chosen representatives sitting with Parliament itself, which in its turn would act through its own Joint Select Committee. Was it not fair, then, to conclude that both the Joint Parliamentary Committee and, earlier, the Commission, each being masters within wide limits of their own procedure, would desire to go to the furthest possible point to carry along with them the convinced assent of the representatives of India? To suggest that in these circumstances the effect of this association of Indian opinion with the Commission would be no greater than what might be associated with the role of witnesses, was to advance a proposition which no political opinion would support. At both stages visualised by the procedure the quality of her representatives would be a matter of supreme importance to India and His Excellency said that he could not conceive of any way in which Parliament could have given a more clear indication of its desire both to give full weight to Indian opinion and to recognise the dignity and position of the Indian Legislature. Constitutional forms, said Lord Irwin, were nothing but instruments. "And as men are greater than the instruments they use, we gravely err if we suppose that complaint, however loud, of the tools, which circumstance has placed in our hands, will suffice to induce posterity to hold us guiltless, if in the result our workmanship whether

through lack of will or of capacity is found wanting. I dare predict that the searching inquest of history will not fail to return judgment against those who sought to use their power to hinder when it was in their power to help." His Excellency next dealt with the charge which had been loudly made in certain quarters that the exclusion of Indians from the Commission was an insult to Indian self-respect. His Excellency admitted that the wisdom or unwisdom of excluding Indians was a question on which every man was entitled to his own opinion. "But what no man is entitled to say—for it is quite simply not true—is that His Majesty's Government sought to offer a deliberate affront to Indian honour and Indian pride." Continuing, His Excellency said that he had spoken plainly on these misunderstandings because they had been represented by some as a justification for abstaining from taking part in the enquiry which was about to be set on foot. "I feel * * * a profound and growing conviction that those who would argue that such abstention will do no harm to the cause of India are dangerously deluding themselves and others." Turning next to those who wholly deny the moral right of Parliament to be tribunal in this cause, His Excellency said, "Let nobody suppose that he is assisting the realisation of his ideals by reluctance to look on facts as they are. It is in no spirit of argument or lack of sympathy with Indian aspirations that I repeat that India, if she desires to secure Parliamentary approval to political change, must persuade Parliament that such change is wisely conceived, and likely to benefit those affected by it. She has now the opportunity of making her persuation felt, through the means of the Commission * * * * established with the assent and co-operation of all British parties. They will carry through their enquiry with, it is hoped, the generous assistance of all shades of Indian opinion. But whether such assistance is offered or withheld, the enquiry will proceed, and a report will be presented to Parliament on which Parliament will take whatever action it deems appropriate." Lord Irwin next drew the attention of his hearers to the spontaneous good will towards India with which the speeches of responsible spokesmen of every party in Parliament were instinct. These, he earnestly hoped, would not be lightly set aside, as this good will would be a factor of immense importance in determining the attitude of Parliament. An agitation fostered and promoted by methods which had led to grave occurrences in the past was

bound to breed serious misgivings in the minds of the British Parliament. The effect of a boycott could not be calculated but must obviously interpose obstacles to the discovery of that more excellent way of mutual understanding which the best friends of India well knew to be requisite for her orderly evolution to nationhood. In conclusion, His Excellency said: "I do not know whether I am sanguine in hoping that even at this hour it may be that words of mine might induce some of those, who aspire to guide their fellow-countrymen in India, to desist from a line of action, which at the best can only lead to negative results and disappointment, and may at the worst bring consequences of which India is unhappily not without experience. But in any case I feel it to be no less incumbent upon me now to state what I believe to be the truth in this matter than I lately judged it to be my duty to direct the attention of India to the communal antagonisms, that threatened the destruction of any attempts to build an Indian nation. The counsel I then gave was, I am glad to think, regarded as that of a well-wisher, sincerely desirous of assisting India. But the counsel of a friend must be independent of what at any particular moment some of those whom he addresses may desire to hear, and if that which I now give is less universally certain of acceptance, it is not less dictated by my desire to dissuade India, as I verily believe, from mistaking the path at one of the cross roads of her destiny."

On the day after this speech was delivered, the members of the Statutory Commission landed at Bombay. It will be remembered that among the resolutions passed at the session of the All-India National Congress in December, was one urging a nation-wide hartal—that is, the closing of shops, and general abstention from business—on the day when the Commission landed in India, and also hartal in every place visited by the Commission. Great preparations had been made by Congress organisations all over the country to bring all business and public activities to a standstill on February the 3rd, but the results were incommensurate with the preparations. In Bombay itself the hartal was a great disappointment to its promoters, and had it not been for the crowds of students and schoolboys, there would have been hardly any demonstrations at all at the Ballard Pier, where the Commission landed. The

work of the police courts went on as usual, and municipal employees were hardly affected by the agitation only a tiny percentage of them absenting themselves from work. Such demonstration as there was passed off peaceably.

Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of Madras and Calcutta where the demonstrators met with hardly any success and tried to bring about a stoppage of business and other activities, especially transport, by force. In Madras a huge crowd mobbed tram cars and private persons and gathered in great numbers outside the High Court where work was going on as usual. They quickly got out of control at the High Court, and in order to save the building and persons inside it the police had to open fire, injuring a number of men of whom two afterwards died. Some policemen also were injured during the day. In Calcutta most of the trouble on February 3rd was caused by college students and some rowdies, who tried to prevent motor buses and tram cars from plying. The students of the Presidency College assaulted their Principal and came into conflict with the police, of whom a number were injured. Fortunately no deaths occurred as result of this rioting. Elsewhere the day passed off peaceably and reports from all over India showed that the hartal was a very half-hearted affair in most places where it took place, whilst many important cities were not affected by it in any way. There was no hartal of any sort in Rangoon and in Lahore, the capital city of the Punjab, the shops were even decorated as for a public festival, and the Deputy Commissioner on going into the city was welcomed enthusiastically and garlanded by the shopkeepers. In fact, it was quite clear from the events of February the 3rd that there was no popular feeling behind the hartal and that hardly any demonstrations of any sort would have taken place but for the hard work and organisation of the local Congress bodies in different parts of India.

Sir John Simon and his colleagues came straight through from Bombay to Delhi, where they arrived on February 4th. The local Congress workers in Delhi had organised a demonstration, which may be taken as typical of those which afterwards greeted the members of the Commission in other places. Some two hundred people from the city collected outside the railway station, some of them carrying placards and banners bearing the legend "Simon Go Back". That a large percentage of the demonstrators had only a hazy idea of what they were there for, was shewn by the fact

that they cheered Sir John Simon and his colleagues as they drove away. There is no need to describe in detail the experiences of the Commission in the many different places which they visited. From Delhi they went on to Calcutta, then to Madras and other places in the Madras Presidency and North again to Lahore and one or two other places in the Punjab. Practically everywhere they encountered a mixed reception. There were large numbers to welcome them and there were also crowds with placards and flags bearing the usual exhortation to the Commission to return. Sir John Simon himself summed up the experiences of the Commission in this preliminary visit to India in his farewell message, which he gave as he left Bombay on March 31st. " The preliminary visit of the Commission " he said, " . . . . . was undertaken for the purpose of appreciating on the spot . . . . . the principal problems with which we shall be concerned and for inviting the co-operation of all those who are sincerely working for the future welfare and prosperity of the country . . . . . We have established personal contact with all communities and classes in various parts of India."

In addition to their formal visits to the places included in their itinerary, the Commission paid surprise visits to villages so as to acquire first-hand information regarding rural conditions.

We have seen that the winter session of the Indian legislature had begun by the time the Statutory Commission reached Delhi, and we have also seen that most of the more important leaders of the Legislative Assembly were pledged to boycott the Commission. The leaders carried the boycott of the Commission in its official capacity even to the length of boycotting its members socially, and, therefore, Sir John and his colleagues were unable to come into contact with them. They did, however, meet a number of important persons, and received deputations from various communal and political bodies, on the invitation of its President, they watched the Council of State work, but an unfortunate misunderstanding, which was rectified when Sir John Simon returned to Delhi in March, prevented their being invited to the Legislative Assembly. The invitation was, however, extended in March and Sir John and one or two of his colleagues, who were present in Delhi, attended one of the sittings of the Assembly.

Within a very short time of his arrival at Delhi, Sir John Simon issued his long and eagerly awaited announcement regarding the procedure which he proposed to follow. This he communicated to His Excellency the Viceroy in a letter dated February 6th, which was made public on February the 7th. Briefly, Sir John Simon proposed that the Commission should take the form of a " Joint Free Conference " over which he should preside, and which should consist of the seven British Commissioners and a corresponding body of representatives chosen by the Indian Legislatures, just as the British members had been chosen by the British Parliament. All the material prepared by the Government of India and the provincial governments for submission to the Commission and the evidence given in explanation or amplification of this material should come before the Joint Free Conference. Sir John explained that he and his colleagues put forward the plan of a Joint Free Conference not only because they would welcome the assistance of colleagues from the Indian legislatures, but because they thought it only wise and fair, and in the truest interests of India and Great Britain alike, that opportunity should be provided for the memoranda and testimony referred to above to be scrutinized, and, if necessary, elucidated from the Indian side on free and equal terms. They suggested, therefore, that the two Houses of the Indian Legislature should be asked in due course to choose a Joint Committee, who might conveniently be seven in number, and that each Provincial Legislative Council should be asked to constitute a similar body. The Indian part of the Conference would consist, when central subjects were being discussed, of the Joint Committee of the Central Legislature, and when provincial subjects were being discussed, of the Committee chosen from the Council of the province concerned. But in order to enable the Joint Committee of the Central Legislature to acquire a full view of the proceedings, arrangements could be made by which its members, or some of them, would be present as an additional element at provincial sittings.

The letter then proceeded to deal with two other important questions, first, the question of evidence other than that submitted by the Central and Provincial Governments as described above, and secondly, the question of Report. Regarding the first question, the letter said that the members of the Commission had had much experience in Joint Conferences, as applied to both industrial and

political questions, and they realised that one side of the Conference might occasionally want to meet by itself. Normally the evidence from public and representative bodies and from individuals would be given to the Conference as a whole, just as evidence prepared or on behalf of the various governments would be. Sir John Simon explained that if a case should arise when this general plan could not be followed, he would make no secret of it and would ask his colleagues in the Joint Free Conference when, as he hoped, they had learnt to have faith in his sense of fairness, to accept such an account of the matter as he could give them on behalf of the Commission, and he imagined that the Indian side might find occasions when they would think it well to act in the same way.

In dealing with the question of Report, Sir John took the opportunity of restating the functions of the Commission and its place in the general scheme which was announced in the previous November. "The Commission," he said, "is in no sense an instrument either of the Government of India or of the British Government, but enters on the duty laid upon it by the King-Emperor as a completely independent and unfettered body composed of members of Parliament who approach Indian legislators as colleagues. It is not an executive or legislating body authorised to pronounce decisions about the future government of India. Before these decisions can be reached, the full process, of which the present investigation is a first step, must be completed, including the opportunity for the views of the Indian Legislature, amongst other bodies, being presented by delegations in London to the Joint Parliamentary Committee. The present Commission is only authorised to report and make recommendations, and in this Report we desire to include a faithful account of the opinions and aspirations prevalent in India, and of the concrete proposals for constitutional reform so far as these are put before us. The British Commissioners, therefore, are bound to be solely responsible for the statement of the effect upon their own minds of the investigation as a whole. We shall report to the authority by which we have been constituted just as (if the Conference is set up) the Joint Committee would, we presume, be entitled to report its conclusions to the Central Legislature. It is obvious that those documents should be prepared and presented simultaneously. There are well known constitutional means by which the document emanating from the Joint Committee and presented to the Central Legislature can be forwarded to and

made available for the British Parliament. But, if the Indian Joint Committee would prefer it, we would make its Report an annexe to our own document, so that both might be presented to the King-Emperor, and made public at the same moment.

Above all, I would urge that one of the merits of the method of Joint Conference is that besides securing due recognition of equal status, it provides the opportunity for that free exchange of views and mutual influence which are best calculated to promote the largest measure of agreement that is possible."

At the end of his letter Sir John Simon explained that he made these suggestions public at this early date, not only to clear the air, but in order to show that the Commission were available for any conference about any matters of procedure which the present statement did not adequately cover. In conclusion, Sir John pointed out that the Commission was bound to carry out its work in any event, and to discharge to the full the duty cast upon it, but he wanted it to be known that they were undertaking this duty only after having shown that the method of collaboration on honourable and equal terms was open. He and his colleagues were confident that in making these proposals they were correctly interpreting the intentions of the British Parliament.

On two subsequent occasions Sir John Simon issued statements amplifying certain points in his letter of February the 6th. The first of these was contained in a letter addressed by him on February the 10th to Sir Sankaran Nair, a prominent member of the Council of State. In this document, Sir John pointed out that whilst discretion would rest with him to decide to what extent separate sittings of the Commission should take place, he hoped that such occasions would be few, and he said that he would certainly regard them as exceptions to the main scheme. Later, on March 29th, on the eve of his departure from India, Sir John addressed a letter to the Viceroy in which he said that he thought that it would be useful to clear up two points of possible ambiguity which had been brought to the notice of the Commission in the provinces during the course of their preliminary visit. They had been asked whether a provincial committee, after the close of its sitting with the Commission in the province, would have the opportunity of summarising its own views in a report which the Commission might consider before arriving at their own conclusions. Sir John announced that if any provincial committee furnished a report to the Commission

in time, full consideration would be given to this document and it would be included in the appendices which would be printed and presented to Parliament. Secondly, it had been pointed out that the necessity of the Commission's passing from one province to another in accordance with the pre-arranged time-table might result in placing one province at a disadvantage as compared with another. A province which was visited early in the itinerary might suffer because its committee had conferred with the Commission before certain matters which might emerge at later stages of the tour, had become prominent. The Commission found that there was force in this criticism and they would be glad to arrange after they had been round the provinces, and before they finally left India, to meet representatives from each of the provincial committees, if the latter so desired, in order to hear from them their final views or to confer with them on any outstanding matters which seemed to require treatment by this means.

The response made to the letter of February 6th by the political leaders assembled in Delhi for the Legislative Session was most disappointing. Within two or three hours of its issue they had met and issued the following statement. " We have most carefully considered the line of procedure indicated in the statement of Sir John Simon issued to-day. But our objections to the Commission as constituted, and the scheme as announced, are based on principles which remain unaffected by it. In the circumstances we must adhere to our decision that we cannot have anything to do with the Commission at any stage or in any form." This statement was signed by two or three well known Non-co-operators and by prominent men in the Congress, Nationalist, and Independent Parties in the Assembly. It is clear that they had not had time fully to discuss so important a document containing such weighty proposals, and the wording and brevity of their statement is clear proof of this. It is obvious that it had to be got out in a hurry in order to reach the newspapers at the same time as the Commission's proposals, so as to forestall its possibly favourable effect on public opinion. This object, in fact, was achieved, and the Commission's proposed procedure did not produce immediately the effect which had been hoped, although subsequent events have shown that it has exercised a profound influence on Indian opinion and has done much to bring

about a more favourable situation than existed at the time of its publication.

In the meantime, however, the announcement formed one element—a very important one it is true—in the general situation as regards the Statutory Commission. With the Indian Legislature now in session, it was, of course, inevitable that the attitude of Indian political opinion towards the Commission should be tested, as far as it could be tested, in the Legislature. In each of the two Houses the issue came up on resolutions introduced by non-official members. The first of these resolutions to be discussed was a hostile one and was moved in the Legislative Assembly by Lala Lajpat Rai, a Punjab member, on February the 16th. Briefly, the resolution declared that the constitution and scheme of the Statutory Commission were wholly unacceptable to the House, and that the Legislative Assembly would have nothing to do with the Commission at any stage or in any form. A counter proposition was put forward by Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, a prominent Muhammadan from the Punjab, a member of the ruling family of Malerkotla State and leader of the Central Muhammadan Party in the Assembly, whose resolution declared that the procedure outlined by the Statutory Commission merited favourable consideration by the Assembly. At the beginning of the debate the President ruled that it should be confined to the above resolution and counter resolution. Lala Lajpat Rai said that he opposed the Statutory Commission because he had no faith in the *bonâ fides* of those who had appointed it, and the ignorance of Indian conditions from which its members suffered was their greatest disqualification for the duties assigned to them. The problem which the Commission was about to tackle was one to be settled by negotiation and agreement between the parties concerned. Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan referred to the difficulties of choosing Indians who could represent the whole of India, divided as the latter was, by so many different classes and communities. The entire abstention of certain party leaders from the work of the Commission was nothing more than the bankruptcy of statesmanship. Minority communities, he said, could not get their rights conceded by majority communities. At any rate, minorities in India could have confidence in the Commission because they could feel that it would do them justice. Mr. Crerar, Home Member, was the next to speak. He appealed to the Assembly for a dispassionate consideration of the issue before it, and strongly stressed its immense impor-

tance. He regarded it as axiomatic that the final decision in this great transaction must rest with the British Parliament. He reminded the House that they were engaged in a clear-cut debate which called for decision and action, and quoting Lord Acton he said that they must avoid the error of making the splendour of words do duty for realities. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms had partly succeeded and partly failed, although Mr. Crerar himself considered that there had been more success than failure. There was nothing, he thought, to justify a counsel of despair. He deprecated the hasty and unceremonious rejection of the scheme contained in a considered and well weighed document, drawn up by one of the most eminent of British statesmen, and said that the opposition had taken this action because they did not wish the document to be judged in the light of reason. In a weighty passage he showed how various conferences, which had been held from time to time, had failed to settle such problems of prime importance as those of the electoral system and the distribution of provincial areas, and he asked his hearers whether it would not be wise to collaborate in the new expedient now offered by the Statutory Commission. He warned the Assembly that the new constitution would be judged by the security which it offered to minorities, and he concluded by appealing to the House not to run the risk of losing this great opportunity which might not recur. Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, one of the leaders of the Congress Party in the Assembly, took the line that the Commission was a deliberate affront to the Indian people, that there was absolute unanimity for the boycott, and that the minorities which the Government wished to protect were not Indian minorities but Euorpean commercial and official groups. Sir Darcy Lindsay, leader of the European group, declared that Sir John Simon's letter had met the whole substance of the demands made by certain leaders of the more moderate sections of the boycotters. Mr. Jayakar, leader of the Responsive Co-operator's group, denied that their views had been met. Mian Shah Nawaz and Sardar Muhammed Nawaz Khan, two Muslim members from the Punjab, stated the Muslim point of view clearly and declared for co-operation with the Commission because it was a tribunal which they could trust. Mr. Jinnah did not challenge the right of the British Parliament to pass legislation, but he wanted Indians to have equal status and equal powers with their British colleagues and an equal share in the investigation. Rao Bahadur M. C. Raja, who had been nominated to the Assembly

to represent the Depressed Classes of India, welcomed the Commission because his helpless community would get justice from it.

As the debate had not come to an end when the House adjourned on the 16th, it was resumed at the next sitting on February the 18th. The most important speakers on this second day were Sir Basil Blackett, Finance Member, Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra, Member for Industries and Labour, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Leader of the Swaraj Party in the Assembly, and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Sir Basil Blackett stressed evolutionary element in politics and pointed out that the very existence of the Legislative Assembly, in which the present debate was taking place, was an evidence of the earnestness of the British Government in the matter of Indian political development. He warned the opposition frankly that the tyranny of their most extreme section was preventing the liberty of conscience and was incompatible with the development of democratic institutions in India. Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra referring to his long record of service under the Crown said that his views proceeded from sturdy optimism, and he asked the opposition not to pursue any negative policy but to try to establish contact with Sir John Simon and secure for India the best advantage they could out of what many of them no doubt considered a very bad business. Pandit Motilal Nehru said that the failure of the Government to respond to the national demand of 1925 has made all parties outside the Congress join the latter in now demanding full responsible government. The matter now under discussion was not really one of judging how the Reforms would work but of deciding the policy that was to be pursued towards India and he pointed out that it was futile to endeavour to reconcile Indian opinion when Indian and British interests clash. Pandit Motilal Nehru declared that the resolution was not negative but was a positive assertion that an equal number of Indians must be appointed to the Commission by His Majesty the King before Indians would co-operate. At the end of the day's debate the division was taken on the main resolution, which was declared carried by 68 votes to 62. Hardly had this result been declared when a reporter of a nationalist daily newspaper in Delhi threw an attaché case down from the press gallery on to Sir Basil Blackett's head. Sir Basil was partially stunned for a moment but happily suffered no permanent injury. His assailant explained that his misdeed was meant as a reply to

the speech delivered at Doncaster a few days previously by Lord Birkenhead.

This very narrow defeat in the second biggest division in the history of the Legislative Assembly encouraged the supporters of the Commission to hope that the decision would be reversed when the same question came up for discussion by the Council of State. The occasion came on February the 22nd when two non-official motions urging the Government of India to appoint a committee to co-operate with the Simon Commission were moved. The first of these was a resolution by Mr. P. C. Desika Chari, member for a Burmese constituency, who asked that the members of the committee should be given equal status with the members of the Statutory Commission including the right to hear evidence taken in camera. To this resolution an amendment was moved by Sir Manekji Dadabhoy limiting the scope of the Committee to the procedure contained in Sir John Simon's letters to the Viceroy and to Sir Sankaran Nair. Neither of these two speeches took very much objection to the appointment of a purely Parliamentary Commission, but some of the opposition speeches expressed very great resentment. Mr. Chari's point of view was that as it was not practical politics to achieve the freedom of India by revolution, Indians should, by intelligent co-operation with Parliament, obtain full control of their own Government. He appealed to the Government of India to help in removing any embarrassing restrictions which stood in the way of honourable co-operation. Sir Manekji Dadabhoy recalled the advice given by Messrs. Tilak and Gokhale years before when earlier reforms had been granted and this was "take what you can get and fight for more." Sir Manekji could not see how Sir John Simon could have gone any farther than he had, and he advised his countrymen not to throw away a golden opportunity because of resentment at an imaginary insult. Sir Sankaran Nair, once a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, advocated the appointment of a committee because it could not be denied that Parliament was the final arbiter in this matter, and because the formation of a committee would give Indian politicians a superb chance of putting forth their views not only to the British Parliament but to the whole civilised world. Sir Sankaran Nair recapitulated the chief arguments which had been used in support

of the boycotter's case and showed that they could also be regarded as convincing reasons why the committee should be appointed. Sir Phiroze Sethna, from Bombay, strongly opposed the proposal to appoint a committee and referred to the recent vote in the Legislative Assembly as the vote of thinking India. The exclusion of Indians from the Commission was meant to take away from them the rights of citizenship in the Empire and lower them to the position of mere petitioners. He appealed to the Government to remove the causes of complaint before it was too late. Sir Arthur Froom, speaking for the Europeans in the Council, laid much stress on the difficulties which would have arisen from the formation of a mixed commission of Indians and British.

The Government reply to the debate was made by Mr. Haig, Home Secretary to the Government of India, who, in urging acceptance of Sir Manekji Dadabhoy's proposition, said that the scheme provided for the very close participation of India's representatives in the vital enquiry which was about to be undertaken. By voting for it the Council would give a lead to the great body of opinion which lay submerged beneath the political clamour. The Commission was the epitome of the British people and all three parties in Parliament had agreed to accept the scheme now before the House. A practical solution of the Hindu-Muslim question could be reached by representatives of both communities meeting the Statutory Commission and helping it to arrive at a genuine agreement which would carry great weight. No scheme drafted by India could be established without its being examined by the great constitutional instrument which Parliament had devised and which was now in operation. When they were dealing with the future of a great country they should hesitate before allowing their conduct to be dictated by any feelings of resentment due to misapprehensions which Sir John Simon's letter had already cleared.

In the end the resolution, as amended by Sir Manekji Dadabhoy, was carried by 34 votes to 13.

Both in the Legislative Assembly and in the Council of State the right of Parliament to give the final decision in Indian political and constitutional affairs was practically unchallenged, and opposition speeches concentrated mainly on the subordinate position assigned to Indians by the scheme, and, to a lesser degree,

on the alleged affront to Indian self-respect. It was evident that the constructive part of the scheme, as set forth in the announcement of November the 8th, and as amplified by Sir John Simon's letter of February the 6th to the Viceroy and his later letter to Sir Sankaran Nair, had not received sufficient examination, or, at any rate, had not been examined with the critical impartiality which it deserved. We have already analysed the currents of opinion for and against the Commission as far as such a process is possible at the end of March 1928, and it is obvious that the decisions of the two Houses of the Indian Legislature had introduced no new element into the situation. The division of opinion revealed in them was as it existed in the country outside.

The discussion on the Statutory Commission was the pivot of the whole session in the Central Legislature and more particularly in the Legislative Assembly. As we have said, earlier in this report, the feeling engendered in this matter permeated everything which came up for discussion and determined the attitude adopted towards it. The winter session of 1928 was a long and crowded one and included items of business second in importance only to that which we have been discussing. The Gold Standard and Reserve Bank of India Bill, the Indian Navy Bill, the decisions of His Majesty's Government and the Indian Government on the Indian Sandhurst Committee's Report, all came under discussion during the session and their fortunes are traced in other parts of this Report. It would be wearisome to enter into the other work of the session in detail, and no attempt, therefore, to do so will be made. Legislation on a variety of subjects, economic, legal, and social, was either introduced or passed, and one or two resolutions came up for discussion. Of these latter, one will be discussed here, because of its general interest. This was a resolution moved on February the 23rd by Mr. Jayakar, leader of the Responsive Co-operator group, who wanted the Assembly to recommend to the Governor General in Council that directions be issued to all provincial governments to provide special facilities for the education of the untouchable and other depressed classes and also that all public services, especially the police, be opened to them. Lala Lajpat Rai wanted to add to the resolution a rider urging the grant of a crore of rupees for the education of the depressed classes and

their admission to all wells, streets, roads, and institutions which were financed wholly by public funds. He also desired the preparation of list of untouchables and others who are not untouchables but who are at present included under the head of depressed classes in Government records. In replying for the Government, Mr. Bajpai, Secretary in the Department of Education, Health and Lands, expressed the fullest sympathy with the objects of the resolution and gave figures which showed that since the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms considerable progress had been made in the education of the depressed classes. The number of scholars belonging to this class had risen since the reforms from 295,000 to 667,000, whilst the number of scholars belonging to other classes had increased by only 33 per cent. He pointed out that Central Revenues could not now be spent on the education of these classes because education was a provincial transferred subject. He, however, offered to send the proceedings of the House to Provincial Governments along with the broad points which had emerged from the debate. Lala Lajpat Rai's amendment was rejected by the House, and Mr. Jayakar's resolution was amended so as to recommend that the Government " issue directions to all Provincial Governments to provide special facilities for the education of untouchables and other depressed classes, particularly by reserving seats in teacher's training classes for them and also for opening all public services to them."

As is well known, a good deal of the winter session of the Indian Legislature is occupied by the presentation and discussion of the Railway and General Budgets. The contents of these two budgets fall for discussion in the Chapter dealing with the finances of India and will, therefore, be ignored by us for the present. The general debate on the budgets, and the debates on motions for particular grants in connection with them, provide opportunities for a comprehensive survey or criticism by the members of the Legislature of the work of the Railway Board and of the doings of the Government in the general administration of the country, an opportunity of which the members make the fullest use.

The Railway Budget was presented on February the 20th, and the 22nd was allotted for its general discussion. The 22nd, however, was the day on which the Statutory Commission debate took place in the Council of State, and naturally enough this proved a powerful counter-attraction to the doings in their own

House for many of the members of the Legislative Assembly. A somewhat listless debate was carried on in the morning, but when the House re-assembled in the afternoon, it was found that there was no quorum. However, the debates on the motions for grants were more animated and as usual a number of the more important features of the policy of the Railway Board came in for close scrutiny and criticism. The two grants on which the opposition mostly concentrates are those for the up-keep of the Railway Board and its establishment, and the grant for working expenses. The lines of attack on the Railway Board are familiar to all who have studied previous numbers of this Report and converge in the main position that the Railway Board contains not even one Indian member. From time to time other grievances are alleged against the Board, and this year a member of the Congress Party moved a wholesale cut of the Railway Board Grant, asking that it be reduced to one rupee, because of the unrepresentative and unresponsive character of the Board. Another leading member of the Congress Party, Mr. Shanmukham Chetty, supported the cut on the grounds that the Railway Board's policy in the matter of wagon construction, as he said, had resulted in practically killing the wagon industry in India. Sir George Rainy, Member for Railways and Commerce, in replying to the debate regretted that throughout its course nobody had dealt with the main condition which determined the success of the Railway administration and this was efficiency and cheap transport. He said that the appointment of an Indian to the Railway Board was a matter for constant consideration, but at a time when responsibilities were daily growing he wished to make it quite clear that only the best men would be selected for membership of the Board. He asked the House to compare the Railway Administration with what it had been six years ago, and he challenged his hearers to prove that it had not been successful. The cut was rejected by the Assembly.

Four days are allotted for the discussion of Railway Budget Grants and practically the whole of this time was taken up by discussing the one grant for the Railway Board. Later discussions on this demand elicited one or two important statements from the Government. Thus, in answer to a debate on a cut which had been moved on the grounds that racial discrimination in favour of Europeans and Anglo-Indians existed in the subordinate railway services, Mr. Parsons, Financial Commissioner to the Railway

Board, said that the latter's policy was that there should be no racial discrimination in the subordinate service and that assurances had been received from railway administrations that steps are being taken to abolish any discrimination which might at present exist. Railway administrations in future would not give different rates of pay or different terms of service for any particular community, and Mr. Parsons hoped that the Anglo-Indian community would still obtain service on the railways.

Another discussion of some importance centred in the policy adopted by the Railway Board in the matter of the purchase of stores. Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra, Member for Industries and Labour, announced that the Government of India would shortly publish the rules relating to rupee tenders. Arrangements, he said, had been made to appoint Consulting Engineers to the Government of India in England as a branch of the Indian Stores Department, through which the Indian railways were making increasingly large purchases. The Stores Department, however, were not yet properly equipped for dealing with purchases of wagons and locomotives. Sir George Rainy, who followed Sir B. N. Mitra, said that it would be premature to attempt at present anything like complete centralization of stores purchase for Indian railways.

The general discussion by the Legislative Assembly of the main budget, for which two days are allotted, opened on March 7th. The discussion on this day was, however, confined almost entirely to back-benchers, because it was known that on the 8th His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief was to announce the decisions of His Majesty's Government and the Government of India on the Indian Sandhurst Committee's Report, and the main debate would take place after that announcement. Quite early in the proceedings of the 8th, therefore, His Excellency Sir William Birdwood's speech, with which we deal in Chapter VIII, turned the discussion away from financial to military matters and proceedings in the Assembly became lively.

Of the debates on the demands for Grants, we need only mention two or three of the more important. A minor edition of the debate on the Statutory Commission took place on March the 13th in connection with one of the items in the Miscellaneous demand, which included a grant of approximately 3½ lakhs of rupees for the expenses incurred in connection with the Statutory Commission during the current year. The debate was a short one and no new points

emerged. The Leader of the Congress Party moved that this grant be omitted and his motion was carried by seven votes, the division, it will be noticed, being practically the same as that on the main question on February the 18th.

Another debate of some interest was that which took place when the demand for the North-West Frontier Province was put before the House. A Muhammadan member of the Congress Party from Bihar and Orissa moved a cut in the grant as a censure on the Government of India for not having extended the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms to the North-West Frontier Province. The mover of the cut was supported by Sir Abdul Qayum, an old and distinguished frontier officer who now sits in the Assembly as a nominated member to represent the frontier, Mr. Jinnah, and Lala Lajpat Rai. They however, approached the problem from very different points of view. In replying to the debate the Foreign Secretary, Sir Denys Bray, showed that the problem of extending Reforms to the North-West Frontier Province still bristled with difficulties, and he stated that no definite decision on the subject had yet been reached or would be reached until the Government of India felt quite certain that they had come to the right conclusion. He was able to announce that the situation had of recent years immensely improved in one respect, and that was the assured success of the Government's policy in Waziristan.

The last day of the debates on motions for grants saw the Government defeated on motions to reduce both the grants for the Army Department and the grant for the Viceroy's Executive Council. Normally the discussion on the Executive Council grant is the most important of all, but this year the almost automatic defeats of the Government had taken a good deal of interest out of the proceedings by the time the Executive Council grant was moved, and the cut of all but one rupee, recommended by a young member of the Congress Party, was moved in somewhat derisory vein. Immediately after the division on this grant had been taken, the guillotine fell and the remaining grants went through without any further discussion.

The last Act, which ends the history of the Budget, is the passing of the annual Finance Bill introduced this year into the Assembly on March the 16th. As usual the debate ranged over a wide variety of subjects, and as usual also, much attention was devoted to the salt tax, and to what is now becoming a hardy

annual, the reduction of postal rates. On all the divisions over proposals relating to salt and postal rates the Government were victorious. On the third reading of the Bill, some of the leading members of the opposition raised the wide constitutional question of India's political status, and the merits or otherwise of the Financial Bill as a purely financial measure tended to be somewhat obscured. Mian Shah Nawaz Khan, a member of the Muslim Centre Party, struck a practical note and brought the debate back to its proper moorings by recommending the passing of the Finance Bill on the basis of the financial record of the past five years. In summing up the debate, Sir Basil Blackett showed by actual figures that the economic progress made by India since the beginning of the twentieth century was equalled by the progress of very few countries in the whole world. But, as he pointed out, one of the reasons why India was not economically more advanced than she is at present, was that she had to start from a low level. Replying to those opposition leaders who had raised the big political question, Sir Basil said that the British had a deep political motive in the progress of India, a motive which found expression during the trial of Warren Hastings, and this was that autocracy in India might endanger liberty in Great Britain. The declaration of August 1917 was the result of a consistent policy. It had been, perhaps, accelerated by the War, but had not been wrung from Britain by political agitation. It represented a generous tribute to the service of the martial races of India. This policy Great Britain would pursue whether she were assisted by Indian politicians or not. The Bill passed in the end by the handsome majority of twenty votes in a House of about one hundred.

The most important part of the business which came before the Council of State during this session was the resolution on the Statutory Commission which has been described above, and other important items of business will be found narrated in other chapters of this Report. The Council afforded a smooth passage to both the Railway and General Budgets and also to the Finance Bill.

In Chapter I we mentioned the "All Parties Conference" which met in Delhi between the 12th February and the middle of March. In that place, however, we dealt only with its efforts to

settle Hindu-Muslim disagreements but had a wider scope than this. Its main object was to consider the drafting of a constitution giving India full responsible government in which the settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question was one of the elements. After meeting two or three times and holding protracted deliberations the Conference adjourned on March 11th until the middle of May when it was to meet in Bombay. Two sub-committees were appointed to enquire, firstly, into the conditions under which Sind could be separated from Bombay and made into a self-supporting province and secondly, to consider the problem presented by the electoral system, proportionate numbers of different communities in the Central Legislature, protection of minorities, and one or two other connected matters.

Before we close this narrative of the politics of the year 1927-28, mention must be made of the attitude towards the Statutory Commission of those Provincial Councils which had an opportunity of pronouncing their opinion before March the 31st. Two Provincial Councils those in favour of Burma and Punjab, had pronounced in favour of co-operation with the Commission, the latter coming to this decision without even taking the matter to vote. The Councils of the Central Provinces and the United Provinces had decided against co-operation. In the former province the Government did not claim a division; in the United Provinces the Government resolution for co-operation was lost by one vote only. As we have seen, the Council of State had decided in favour of co-operation and the Legislative Assembly against it. Thus, three legislative bodies had voted for co-operation and three for non-co-operation with the Commission. But by the end of March, it was already apparent that the Legislative Council of the great province of Bengal was likely to declare for co-operation, whilst the prospects in the Bombay Council also were bright. On the whole, the year closed with opinion outside the Legislative Assembly veering in the direction of co-operation.

CHAPTER III.

State and People.

COUNTRY AND TOWN.

In this chapter the writer must perform the traditionally unsatisfactory operation of trying to make bricks without straw. He sets out to describe the activities of the State in some of their particularly beneficial manifestations, but, in order to do so satisfactorily he ought to be able to give as a back-ground the general conditions and standard of living of the people of the country and show how these have been modified within a measurable period by the said beneficial activities. Unfortunately, this desideratum cannot be achieved. Even were statistical and other data available on the same scale for all India as they are for England and other Western countries, the task would still be one of staggering difficulty, because of the many different Indias within India which are encountered whether we turn to the economic or the social, or, even, the cultural side of the life of this sub-continent. But even the help which might have been obtained from satisfactory abundance of statistics is not forthcoming. Nearly four years ago the Government of India appointed a committee " to examine the material at present available for framing an estimate of the economic condition of the various classes of the people of British India, to report on its adequacy, and to make recommendations as to the best manner in which it may be supplemented and as to the lines on which a general economic survey should be carried out ". The Report of the Committee, which was submitted in the summer of 1925, at any rate discovers the nakedness of the land in respect of a supply of economic data. The innumerable activities of the State in Western Europe and America are all fully documented and laid bare to the investigation of students and others who are interested, in a flood of blue books, statements, and tabular arrangements of all sorts. Not to be outdone by the officials, a veritable host of private or semi-private, municipal, county, and all manner of organisations also add their numerous quota to the material available for the study of the activities of the State and the pro-

gress of the welfare of the people for whose benefit these and other semi-official and non-official activities take place. In India practically none of the un-official material exists, and Government records, whether central or provincial, are all too rarely made accessible to the public. Except for the reports of occasional commissions and committees of enquiry into specific aspects of the economic life of this country, and the annual Statistical Abstract, the data which the student needs for an exposition such as that outlined in the opening words of this chapter, must be sought in many places and with great difficulty. Debates on Indian economic matters may be safely undertaken, for the disputants can back their points with arguments and figures suited to them, and these can never be proved wrong. The temptation to do this will be resisted in this chapter, which, in consequence, may be found to be lacking in its introductory part in clear-cut statements of facts.

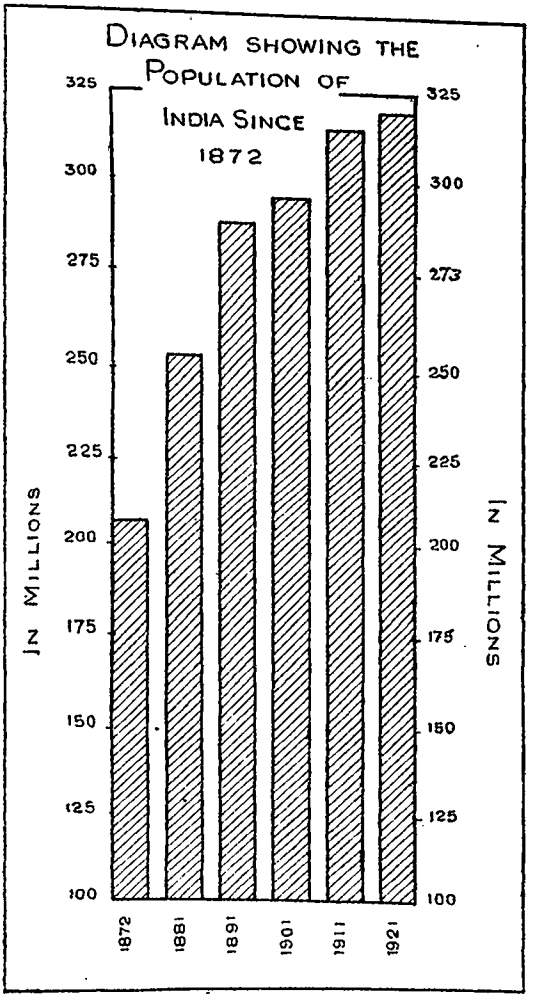
The economic conditions under which large sections of the population, rural and urban, of this country have to live, are bad—often as bad as they can be. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the following pages will show that ameliorating processes are at work, and that the standard of living is rising point by point, slow and almost imperceptible though the process of uplift may be. Moreover, an attempt is made to show the many sidedness of the problem of improving the condition of the masses of India. Present-day students of Indian affairs all too often forget that the task which faced the British Government in India when the period of expansion came to an end, was, as Macaulay well expressed it in one of his greatest oratorical efforts in the House of Commons, nothing less than the " stupendous process " of " the reconstruction of a decomposed society ". For thirteen hundred years after the White Huns laid Taxila in the North-West in ruins, India's political fabric was repeatedly smashed and the life of her different kingdoms and peoples stunted and crippled until the rise of the British power. When Lord Lake came to Delhi over a hundred years ago to protect the Moghul Emperor against the Maharattas, he found the social life of districts within sight of the Delhi walls still disintegrated after the horrors of Nadir Shah's invasion fifty years earlier. And over immense tracts of India, similar conditions prevailed before the coming of the Pax Bri-

tannica. So some hint of the vastness of the scope and complexity of the early British task in India begins to emerge. Not only had some framework of government to be devised and erected, not only had the great administrative departments to be created, and their subordinate personnel educated and trained, but over vast areas the conditions under which civilisation could live had to be restored. In this and the succeeding chapters, a mere recital of the works of the different departments and agencies of the Government of India and the Provincial Governments will show how vastly different is the environment in which they function from that in which Sleeman and Edwardes and Keatinge and a whole host of the early British administrators lived their lives and did their work. To those who have read deeply in the history of this country during the past ten or fifteen decades, there is magic in the figures of shipping cleared at the ports of Bombay and Calcutta and in the number of ton-miles carried on the Indian railways last year, and still more, perhaps in the existence of the Indian Legislative bodies and the schools and universities throughout India, for these are some of the marks which show how far the " stupendous process of the reconstruction of a decomposed society " has proceeded.

India is a country of continental contrasts. Bounded on the North by the stupendous mass of the Himalayas and on the North-West and North-East by lesser but still gigantic mountain ranges, with the rest of her perimeter washed by the sea, India can show the greatest extremes of fertility and barrenness, rainfall and drought, of highly developed and up-to-date industries, and agricultural methods and implements some of which are as primitive now as they were when Alexander came into the Punjab. Extraordinary contrasts in natural and agricultural conditions can be encountered within a few miles of each other, and there are many places from which a day's ride will transport the traveller from among people of one physical type, speaking one language, to surroundings where people of quite a different stock speak another language, entirely unintelligible to their neighbours a few miles away. Crops of the temperate zone are cultivated and form the staple food of the people of one part of India, whilst in another part the crops of tropical countries are grown and consumed. There is a world of difference between the stony starveling plots, terraced

with infinite labour among the barren rocks of the Western Punjab Hills, and the fat rice and jute fields of Bengal, and there are just as great differences between the people who till them, whilst between these extremes lie numerous gradations of climate and soil with cultivation dependent on canal, well, or tank irrigation, or on rainfall more or less abundant. In short, it needs the colossal gazetteer of the Indian Empire to give a full account of the innumerable conditions and circumstances of our great sub-continent. But, in spite of all this, it is possible to make one or two generalisations which are true of all India, and the first is this: India is primarily a land of small villages and tiny hamlets; towns are few, and of great cities there are but rare specimens. There are fully half a million villages in India, and of these, immense numbers are diminutive clusters of mud-huts microscopic in scale when compared with the immensity of plain or mountain in which they are set. Only a very small proportion of these villages are touched by the railway or by metalled roads. The vast majority of them are approached by unmetalled roads or winding paths between the fields, the former usually impassable, or almost impassable by wheeled traffic after rain, whilst the latter cannot afford passage to a wheeled vehicle at any time. In the next chapter will be found certain figures relating to the mileage of roads of different kinds in India, and from them, the reader will be able to form some sort of a mental picture of the paucity of first class roads in this country. The Government of India, through their Railway Board, are steadily extending the number and mileage of their branch lines, but the size of India ensures that it will be long before her surface is covered with a network of lines, anything like as close and complete as the railway systems of the West of Europe. For long years to come, the villages in many parts of India must continue remote from railway or hard high road.

Estimates of the percentage of the total population of India which is engaged in agricultural and pastoral pursuits vary slightly, but it cannot be very much different from the 73·9 per cent. at which it stood when the census of 1921 was taken. There are some reasons for supposing that the percentage of urban residents in India has risen during the seven years which have elapsed since the census was taken, but we shall be safe in assuming that it is roughly 11 per cent. of the whole. A moment's consideration



REASONS FOR INCREASE OF POPULATION

PERIOD	INCREASE DUE TO		REAL INCREASE OF POPULATION	TOTAL	RATE PER CENT OF REAL INCREASE
	INCLUSION OF NEW AREAS	IMPROVEMENT OF METHOD			
	MILLIONS	MILLIONS	MILLIONS	MILLIONS	
1872 - 1881	33·0	12·0	3·0	48·0	1·5
1881 - 1891	5·7	3·5	24·3	33·5	9·6
1891 - 1901	2·7	·2	4·1	7·0	1·4
1901 - 1911	1·8	-	18·7	20·5	6·4
1911 - 1921	·1	-	3·7	3·8	1·2
TOTAL	43·3	15·7	53·8	112·8	20·1

of these figures will show that the portion of India's agricultural produce which is consumed in the towns is small as compared with the total production. Generally speaking, therefore, the villagers produce for their own consumption, and historic, economic, and social conditions which have persisted through long ages, have developed the self-sufficing type of agriculture which we find in India to-day. In other ways, too, the Indian village is as a rule self-contained. Land-owners, whether cultivating all or a portion of their lands, or letting them out to tenants; tenants—some with permanent rights in the land, others with only yearly rights; agricultural labourers who are often members of different castes from their masters; artisans with their simple traditional skill, and village menials and shopkeepers, all form an ordered hierarchy and make up the self-contained and primitive, yet interesting and often surprisingly intricate economic system of the typical Indian village.

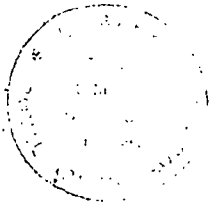
But although agriculture is far and away the greatest and the most important industry in India and although the people engaged therein compose the vast majority of her population, it must not be forgotten that industries in a more technical sense, the industries of the factory, the iron works, and the vast transport systems, are becoming increasingly important factors in the economic life of this country, and the workmen employed in them are growing continually in number. The census of 1931 will give us some information on this subject of the increasing industrialisation and urbanisation of India. At present all that we can do is to draw attention to it as one of the many elements of Indian economics.

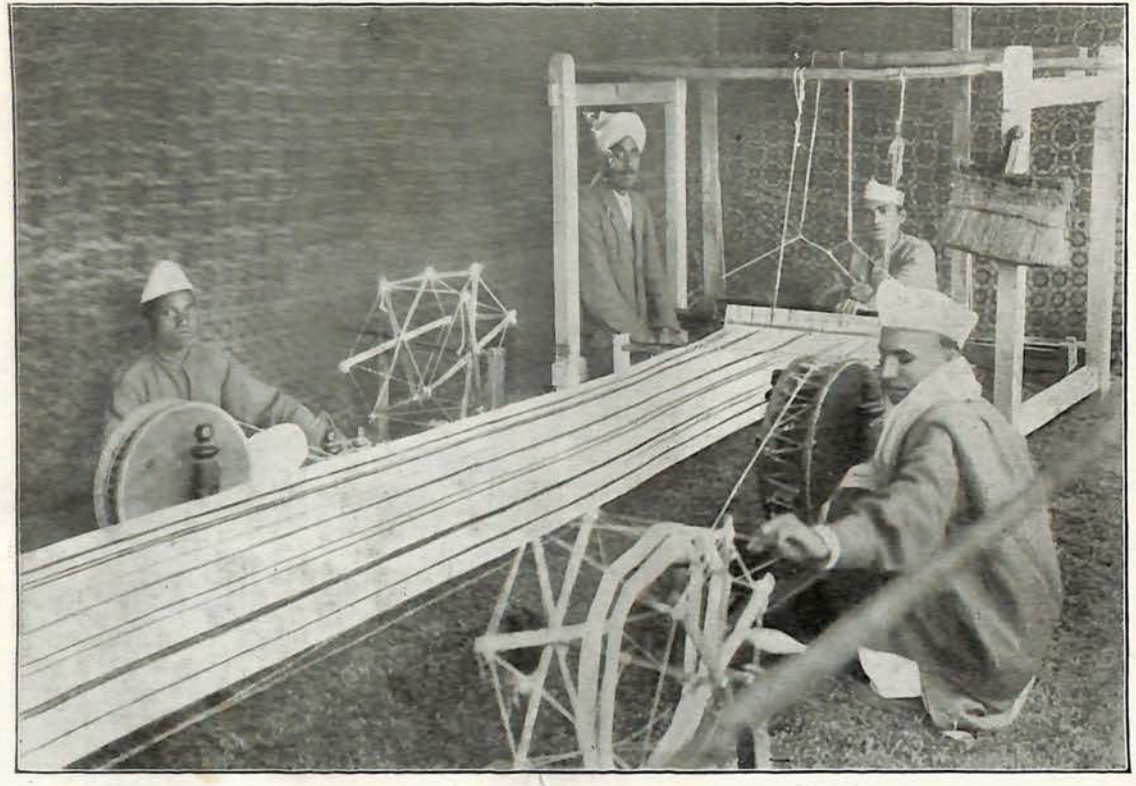
A few statistics will show how preponderantly rural is the Indian scene. The total population of India including all the Indian states and Burma was, according to the 1921 census, 318,942,480. Of all this number, less than 8¼ millions lived in towns with a population of 100,000 and upwards, of which there were 35. Roughly 3½ millions lived in 54 towns, whose population numbered between 50,000 and 100,000. Apart from these, less than 21 million people lived in places which can be called towns, even if we include in the latter category what are really villages with populations of less than 5,000. A writer, therefore, who sets out to give an account, however unsubstantial it may be, of the general economic condition of the Indian people, will be pardoned

if he visualises his task as being primarily concerned with the condition of the agricultural population consisting largely of an immense number of small holders.

A little while ago we referred to the still primitive condition of agricultural implements and methods and to the continued existence of traditional conditions of life in the Indian villages. But, although the lives of the villagers in so many of these villages are lived remote from the modern world of industry and highly organised communications, it is impossible that they should be entirely unaffected by the immense changes and developments which have taken place in the world during the past few decades. The spread of railways and roads in India has done much to break down the ancient isolation of her villages and a majority of her people must at any rate have seen motor cars, whilst millions of them have actually ridden in them at some time or other. Travel, that great medium of education, is becoming yearly cheaper and more accessible, whilst thousands of Indians, even from the remotest hills and thickest forests, travelled overseas and saw something of the world during the Great War. In a word, new ideas are at work in the Indian villages and, there can be no doubt, with continually increasing effectiveness. The paucity of urban centres in India, the foci and disseminators of civilization and liberalizing ideas, is of course a drawback and slows down the pace of progress. But even this is not an unmixed evil, for the too violent or unrestrained impact of new ideas on a social and economic system so conservative and firmly rooted in tradition as that of the Indian village, would certainly produce many undesirable effects. In the Indian village system, largely self-sufficing and self-contained as we have seen it to be, there is much that ought to be preserved and it should never be forgotton that the Indian village is also largely self-governed. The village headman, and in these modern days the village panchayats of the new local self-government model, responsible to and partly controlled by outside authorities though they are, must of necessity be responsive to village opinion.

The influences which are at present working to bring the Indian village system more closely into touch with modern conditions and the great world outside are of different kinds. As time and space dwindle under the assaults of mechanical inventions, and the progress and development of communications of all sorts, the pheno-





VILLAGE WEAVERS.

mena of the modern world are brought nearer to the vision of the Indian villagers. Industrial products which their fathers never knew are being used by them and some of these have already become necessities of life, transforming habits and improving standards of living. And when wireless broadcasting becomes a welcome and familiar feature of the villagers' day, as it will do if it is fostered by the Provincial Governments, nothing short of a revolution will quickly be worked in his ideas and his outlook on life. Progress moves more quickly in these days than ever before, and its pace is all the time accelerating. In the future, changes, even in India, will be traced not over centuries or generations, but over decades.

Another strong force working to change the conditions of life in the Indian village and to enlarge the villargers' ideas are the changes which have taken place in late years in the administrative system of British India. Post-Reform developments in local self-government in this country have given the villages a new status and their residents new interests and functions. Village Panchayats, Union Boards and other small administrative units give the people on the soil the opportunity to perform a number of useful or indispensable duties for themselves. These include the supply of water for domestic use, the cleansing of public roads, drains, tanks and wells, and other public places or works in the village. They also include the carrying out of certain minor works such as the construction of local roads, drains and bridges. Sanitation, conservancy and certain functions in respect to the preservation and improvement of the public health also come within their scope. The various village committees also control grazing lands and the lighting of the village and, in addition, are empowered to try certain trivial offences. Thus, the importance of the village in the administrative scheme is now being emphasised, and it is being brought into closer touch with the administrative authorities of the districts and the provinces. All this sort of work is educative experience of much value and tends to develop interests in things beyond the village boundaries and to broaden ideas and experience generally. The great progress in education, particularly primary education, which has taken place of recent years, is also working in the same direction. The mere ability to read inevitably puts

within the villagers' reach the means, and, very often, the incentive to know something of what goes on outside his immediate neighbourhood.

But of all the influences now at work to modify the conditions of Indian rural life, perhaps, none are stronger than certain economic influences, both internal and external, now at work in all parts of this country. Of the internal economic influences, something has already been said, for they both show themselves in, and work through the various kinds of communications which are yearly creeping over India's surface. Roads and railways mean markets, and markets mean the stimulation not only of agriculture, but of industries also. And so it is not surprising to find small industries now springing up all over the countryside or to notice a marked tendency for the primary manufacturing processes of agricultural products to extend to the small towns and even to the larger villages. As the traveller drives about the country now, he will hear frequently from many of the villages which he passes, the sound of a little engine working, a sugarcane crusher, an oil presser, a little rice hulling mill, and so on. This development has far-reaching effects, for it is providing an outlet for the surplus money of the local moneylender, it gives employment to cultivators and labourers, particularly during the periods when agricultural operations are at a stand-still, it provides markets for local agricultural and dairy products, and it is yet another influence at work broadening the ideas and the experiences of the villagers.

External economic influences are also working powerfully to change the conditions of village life. Surplus harvests can now be marketed and the Indian " money crops "—tobacco, oilseeds, jute, cotton, tea—are assuming ever-increasing importance in the world supplies of these commodities. This, in turn, means that the standard of quality of India's supplies must be equal to that of similar supplies from other countries which in turn means that Indian agricultural methods must constantly improve in order to keep abreast of improving world standards. Agents for improved agricultural appliances, fertilisers, and other commodities of use in agriculture are constantly extending their scope and establishing themselves in places which they would hardly have thought of visiting some years ago. It would be easy enough to exaggerate the influence exercised by this connection between Indian agriculture and the world market, but we must guard against doing so.

At present, a very small percentage of Indian villages are affected directly by this connection, but their number will grow steadily and perhaps rapidly as time goes on.

There are, therefore, many signs of change and progress in the Indian villages, even though it may be possible to point to hundreds or thousands of villages in which no perceptible change of any sort has taken place within the memory of living man. Economic, administrative, educational, and other developments are, in spite of all denials, slowly permeating the whole of the Indian rural economy, altering the conditions of the villagers life, little though he may realise or appreciate it, widening his interests and broadening his mental outlook, and, it may on the whole truthfully be said, improving his material prospects.

Has the standard of living of the present generation of India's rural population risen above that of their fathers? A satisfactory answer to this question would have to be based on statistical and other economic data of precisely the kinds which, as we have seen, are not available in this country; or, at any rate, are only very partially and incompletely available. A certain amount of general evidence, only, is available, and, therefore, any discussion, of this question will be mostly in general terms. Some direct evidence can, however, be adduced.

Anybody whose direct acquaintance with India extends over a period of 20 or 30 years will have no hesitation in saying that India has, on the whole, prospered during that period, and if he were pressed to account for his belief he would point to a number of signs, each of them, no doubt, unimportant when considered separately, but, when taken together, found to be fairly convincing. Railway statistics for example, show that even the poorest sections of the people can afford to travel much more than in the past. Again, cigarettes, mineral waters and other simple luxuries are now enjoyed by the masses. Savings bank deposits and membership of co-operative societies are continually increasing, showing that more and more of the people are able to save a little and put it by for hard times. The exports of food-crops, to which we referred a little while back, mean that the superfluity of Indian production, instead of rotting or being disposed of at wasteful rates, as in the past, can now be sold to advantage. In return for her ex-

port of foodstuffs, India imports a certain amount of manufactured goods, but a very large part of her trade balance is always liquidated by imports of bullion, and this, when it is not hoarded, is available for circulation and for stimulation of trade and industry generally in this country. But the strongest proof of all of a definite improvement in the condition of the masses is afforded by the undoubtedly increased power of resistance to famine or scarcity. In the case of the agriculturist one main reason for this is to be found in the greatly increased value of his land which is far greater than the considerable rise in the price of grain which has taken place during the last few decades. Internal security, registration of rights in land, the extension of irrigation, and communications of all kind have all contributed to make land a continually more valuable possession. But, of course, the rise in the value of land, as a basis for credit, would be of little use were not sufficient liquid capital available to provide the credit, and it is here that we see one of the most valuable and beneficial results of the development of markets both in India, and abroad, but more particularly overseas for India's surplus produce. And, as we have pointed out, the development of markets, both internal and external, for Indian products, is intimately bound up with the development of communications of all kinds—land, oceanic, and, no doubt in the future, aerial also. Other results of the highest importance follow from all this. The increased outlet for Indian agricultural produce provided by the growth of markets makes it possible and encourages Indian agriculturists to extend in some places the area of their cultivation and to put something back in the way of fertilisers into their land, and to improve their equipment and methods in a way which was not possible in the past. The spread of communications, the growth of markets and the growth and sale of crops have already done something to transform the economic conditions of the Indian agriculturist, and the greatest of all the boons, which they have conferred upon him is an increased capacity to resist famine or scarcity. Now-a-days famine in India cannot cause the appalling havoc which it did before the growth of railways and roads, for it does not now consist in absolute lack of foodstuff, since this can be conveyed to any part of the country almost immediately. It consists in the lack of employment and therefore of purchasing power. When, owing to the absence of rain, those who, like the petty cultivator and the agricultural labourer, are

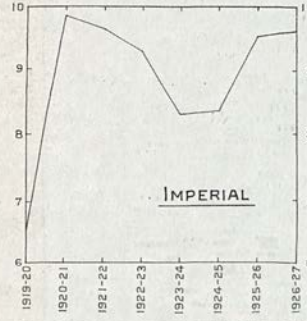
deprived of the opportunities of employment on which their livelihood depends, can be relieved effectively by the provision by the State of alternative means of livelihood.

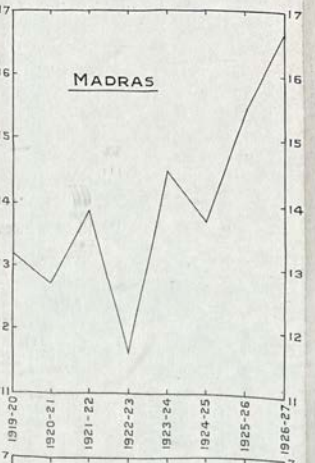
Let us turn now to such direct evidence as is available of a rise in the standard of living of the Indian agricultural masses As we have already indicated, this is of the most meagre dimensions. One or two local enquiries, particularly in Madras and Bombay, have been held since the War into incomes and cost of living, but over the greater part of India this sort of work still remains to be done. A few years ago, the statistical branch of the Department of Agriculture in Madras published a careful estimate of the income earned by agriculturists in the form of agricultural products throughout the Presidency. According to their computation the average income per head worked out at a little over Rs. 100 for the 42·3 million persons of the Madras Presidency. A similar enquiry carried out in Bombay at much the same time yielded much the same results. There the net *per capita* annual income worked out at about Rs. 100 for urban localities, and for rural areas at about Rs. 75. During the decade ending 1922, daily average wages of labourers, both agricultural and industrial, roughly doubled, whilst the cost of living had increased by no more than 54 per cent. A Wages Survey undertaken in the Punjab at about the same time as the Madras and Bombay enquiries, yielded analogous results in spite of the very dissimilar conditions. In both the Punjab and Bombay, therefore, such direct evidence as we possess goes to show that the position of labour had improved during the decade ending 1922.

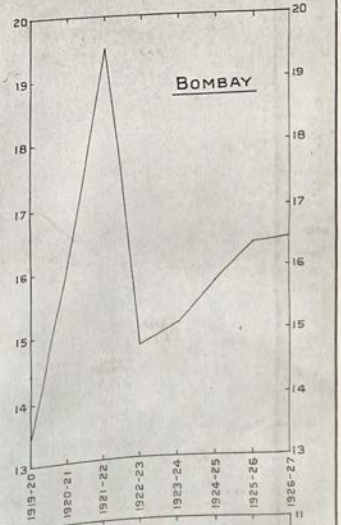
But although there are such good reasons for believing that an appreciable improvement has taken place in the standard of living of the Indian agricultural masses during the past quarter of a century, this represents only the beginning of what has yet to be accomplished. There is a vast amount of what can only be termed dangerous poverty in the Indian villages—poverty, that is, of such a kind that those subject to it live on the very margin of subsistence. This may be taken to be the normal state of the millions of agricultural labourers, who own no land themselves, and whose income consists mostly of customary wages paid in kind. When these

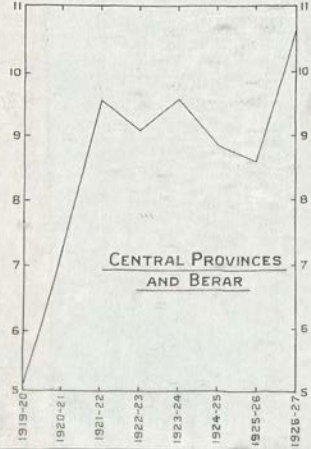
people live in the neighbourhood of towns they can often help themselves during the slack periods in agricultural operations by labouring for wages in the town, but it will be realised, after reading what has been said above, that this resource is not open to more than a small percentage of Indian agriculturists. The Landowners, even the owners of small fragmented holdings, are in a better case than the agricultural labourers, because they, at any rate, have something on which they can raise credit. But this very power to raise credit is all too often their undoing, for they get into the hands of the money-lender. In innumerable instances a man inherits the debt of his father which keeps him tied to the money-lender and rivets the fetters still more closely. However prudent and thrifty the Indian small holder may be, it is very difficult for him to keep out of debt. If wages in England or in any other Western country were paid only monthly, the state of the working population there would be one of chronic indebtedness, and, it must be remembered, the Indian agriculturist, at any rate the owner of an average sized holding, has, as a rule, no resources on which to fall back in bad times. Even at the best of times he has to wait for six months for the return for his labour and expenditure. Of late years much has been done to release the Indian agriculturist from his state of constant indebtedness, but the process is one of immense complexity and difficulty and cannot be expected to show results very quickly. The best and the most effective way to tackle the problem of rural indebtedness is to multiply and extend the operations of sound co-operative societies. The Co-operative Societies' Act of 1912 has facilitated the introduction of Village Credit Societies on the *Raiffeisen* model to replace the money-lender as a source of credit. Recent additions, too, or amendments to the law relating to money-lending, have been made by the Government of India and several of the Provincial Governments. The Usurious Loans Act of 1918 allows courts wide powers of interference whenever they consider that the terms of a loan are usurious. The Agriculturists' Loan Act, the Land Improvement Act, and the Land Alienation Act in the Punjab are all specimens of legislation designed either to keep the agriculturist out of debt or to save him from the worst rigours of his position. But these legislative measures, or at any rate the Usurious Loans Act and the various provincial measures with the same object, have, it must be confessed, not done much at present

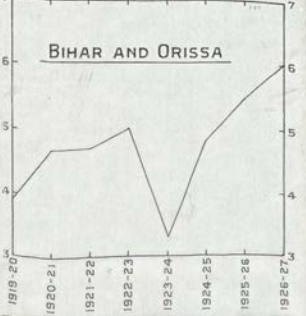
EXPENDITURE OF THE IMPERIAL AND PROVINCIAL DEPARTMENTS OF AGRICULTURE (IN LAKHS OF RUPEES)

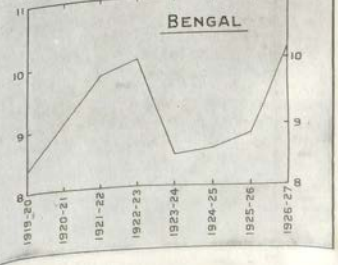












to achieve their object and this fact increases the importance of the work which the Co-operative Societies are now doing.

But in addition to these economic distresses the Indian villager normally finds himself bound in a chain of circumstances adverse to his welfare and prosperity. In the first place, innumerable villages all over India are foci of preventible disease which causes immense economic wastage. No survey of the conditions under which the Indian agriculturist lives and works can ignore this vitally important factor. The following quotation from a resolution passed at the All-India Conferences of Medical Research Workers held in 1926 will enable the reader to understand what the ravages of disease mean to India in terms of economic loss:—

" This Conference believes that the average number of deaths resulting every year from preventible disease is about five to six millions, that the average number of days lost to labour by each person in India, from preventible disease is not less than a fortnight to three weeks in each year, that the percentage loss of efficiency of the average person in India from preventible malnutrition and disease is not less than twenty per cent., and that the percentage of infants born in India who reach a wage-earning age is about 50, whereas it is quite possible to raise this percentage to 80 or 90. The Conference believes that these estimates are understatements rather than exaggerations, but, allowing for the greatest possible margin of error, it is absolutely certain that the wastage of life and efficiency which result from preventible disease costs India several hundreds of crores of rupees each year. Added to this is the great suffering which affects many millions of people every year.

The Conference believes that the greatest cause of poverty and financial stringency in India is loss of efficiency resulting from preventible disease and, therefore, considers that lack of funds, far from being a reason for postponing the enquiry, is a strong reason for immediate investigation of the questions."

Another evil of great potency is the fragmentation of holdings which is almost general in this country. In the south and east of India the average holding is about 5 acres, and elsewhere not

more than half the holdings exceed even this small limit. Innumerable are the cultivators whose holdings are one acre or less in extent, and even this tiny area is all too often split up into a number of disconnected fragments scattered over the village. Sometimes some of the component parts are so small that the owner cannot cultivate them without trespassing on his neighbour's land. For example, in the Ratnagiri District of the Bombay Presidency individual plots are some times as small as the 1/160th part of an acre. It is quite obvious that fragmentation of holdings inflicts immense economic harm on Indian agriculture and attempts are now being made to grapple with the evil. In the Punjab, the Co-operative Societies have for some years been carrying out consolidation of holdings by voluntary methods and have already achieved some most gratifying results. During the first five years of this work in the Punjab, 39,757 acres were consolidated. In 1925 alone, over 20,000 acres were consolidated, whilst in 1926 no less than 38,000 acres were rescued from fragmentation. In the Central Provinces an officer has been placed on special duty to carry out the work of consolidation, and the Provincial Legislative Council has this year passed a Consolidation of Holdings Act to be applied to one division of the province only, which gives power to not less than half of the permanent right-holders holding not less than two-thirds of the occupied area in a village to combine in a scheme of consolidation which, when confirmed, becomes binding on all the permanent right-holders in the village and on their successors. The Bombay Government also have got a bill in preparation to deal with the consolidation of holdings, but it has not yet passed into law.

To social and religious customs and observances can be directly traced not only the poverty of innumerable individuals, but also the perpetuation of many of the conditions which give rise to poverty in general. Reckless and wasteful expenditure on funerals, weddings and other similar ceremonies account for much of the existing poverty. The immense number of religious mendicants of all sorts and the preservation of very large numbers of useless cows are a very heavy drain on the resources of the country. The custom of child marriage again involves a continuous drain on the vitality and consequently on the economic power of the Hindu community in particular. Among many classes of the people social tradition prevents the employment of female labour on anything

EXPENDITURE OF THE PROVINCIAL DEPARTMENTS OF AGRICULTURE

like an adequate scale and so an economic factor of great importance in all advanced countries is immobilised in India.

Such in broad outline is the back-ground against which the progress during the year achieved in agricultural research and the betterment of Indian agriculture generally is to be viewed. It has already been explained that agricultural and veterinary subjects are now "transferred" subjects and therefore the Government of India are now divested, except to a very small extent, of all powers of direction and control over the development of agriculture in the provinces. But as no province can at present afford to carry out research on anything like an adequate scale into the many pressing problems presented by their agriculture and animal husbandry, this duty falls to the Agricultural Department of the Government of India. Constituted in its present form in 1906 the Indian agricultural service has already left its mark broad and deep on Indian agriculture, and the record of its achievement is one which will not easily be surpassed anywhere in the world. Since 1924 no recruitment has been made to the service as it is the intention of the Indian Government that the Provinces shall build up their own provincial agricultural services to take over the duties of the existing All India Service.

Of the work of the Agricultural Departments, both central and provincial, in India, agricultural education forms an integral and important part. Dr. D. Clouston, C.I.E., continued to hold the post of Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India and Director of the Agricultural Research Institute, Pusa, and, in addition, to carry on the duties of Liaison Officer between the Royal Commission on Agriculture and the Government of India and Provincial Governments during the Commission's stay in India. The post of Joint Director of the Agricultural Research Institute, Pusa, was held by Dr. W. H. Harrison, throughout the year. To the provincial agricultural colleges is assigned a dual role. They train men for employment in the provincial agricultural departments and they provide education in scientific agriculture for those who are desirous of turning their instruction to practical account in private farming or estate management. Though ostensibly intended to perform both functions, a very large percentage of the students who seek admission to these institutions do so with the

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deliberate intention of obtaining appointments in the departments. Of the six colleges now working at Poona, Coimbatore, Lyallpur, Nagpur, Cawnpore and Mandalay, the first four are affiliated to universities. One hundred and sixty-one trained students passed out from these institutions during the year under report after getting either a degree, a diploma or a certificate.

The Agricultural Research Institute at Pusa and the Imperial Institute of Animal Husbandry and Dairying at Bangalore provide facilities for post-graduate courses qualifying for the highest appointments in the agricultural service. During the year under report, five students completed their post-graduate training, four at Pusa and one at Bangalore. At the close of the year six post-graduate students were in residence at Pusa and five at Bangalore. Of the fourteen students who appeared for the dairy diploma examination of the Bangalore Institute nine passed.

The department has also opened a small number of agricultural middle schools which aim at giving a vocational training but these have not yet appealed to the small cultivator and well-to-do tenant farmer for whom they are intended. Even in Bombay, where the first venture in this direction was so successful that it encouraged the Board of Agriculture to recommend the example to other provinces, two of the schools opened had to be closed. In Madras, the Central Provinces, and Bengal, which were the first to follow in the wake of Bombay, the results have been even more disappointing.

While other provinces were busy experimenting with vocational schools, the Punjab took its own line and devised a scheme for giving a practical bent to education in rural areas by including agriculture in the curriculum of the ordinary vernacular middle schools. The special features of this scheme are that a small farm or plot is attached to the school and that an elementary training in the practice and principles of agriculture is given in the four higher classes by a teacher specially selected for the work and trained for a year at the Agricultural College at Lyallpur. The aim of all this is to give the boys a "bias" towards agriculture as a vocation; to stimulate their interest in the land, and to equip them to be better farmers. This form of rural eduaction, which is now finding favour in other provinces also, aims in short at adapting rural education to rural needs. This can be done on a large scale and at a small cost by utilizing existing schools. In

the Punjab, the number of " bias " schools is already 102, and some of the farms attached for practical work are not only self-supporting but show an annual balance at their credit.

Perhaps the most interesting side of the Indian Agricultural Department's activities is its economic work on crops.

Rice is the premier crop of India both as regards area and the value of its outturn. On an average 35 per cent. of the total cultivated area is under rice. With nearly 20 million acres, or 25 per cent. of the total acreage under the crop, Bengal is the most important rice-growing province. In Indrasail and Dudshar the local department has two transplanted *amans* (winter rices) which are suited for the heavy and light soils found in Northern and Eastern Bengal respectively. The selected variety in the *aus* (autumn rice) group is Kataktara which yields heavy crops on fertile land. During 1926-27 these are estimated to have been sown on an area of 139,000 acres. In Bihar and Orissa, Dahia paddy maintained its superiority inspite of an abnormal season. The three selections made from Kakharua at Cuttack have become popular in parts of Orissa. The four types of rice distributed from Coimbatore and seven from Aduturai were grown in Madras last year over an area of 145,787 acres. The pure strains isolated by the Burma department were grown on 287,939 acres as against only 100,000 acres four years ago. They are appreciated by the growers mainly on account of their high yield, the increase given over unselected varieties being 200 to 500 lbs. per acre. They are popular, too, with the millers who prefer white, bold, uniform grain which will not break in milling. They willingly pay premiums varying from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 per unit of 100 baskets (4,600 lbs.) for such paddy. For the Eastern and Southern Circles of the Central Provinces, selected strains of Luchai, Bhondu and Bhatta Gurmatia, which are late, medium and early rices, respectively, maintain their popularity: they yield on an average about 450 lb. more per acre than the local mixtures. The early types Nos. 6 and 13 selected on the Adhartal farm are doing well in parts of the Northern Circle, where, in the absence of irrigation facilities, very early varieties are in demand. Rice breeding work at Karjat in the Bombay Presidency has yielded two types of Kolamba rice suitable for the North and South Konkan respectively. These give an increased

outturn of 20—35 per cent. over the local mixtures, and are now grown over nearly two lakhs of acres. Outside Burma, the main object which the Agricultural Departments have in view in their work on rice is an increase in the yield: improvement in quality to meet the export demand is of very secondary importance.

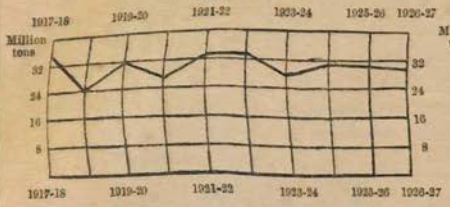
What rice is to Eastern and Southern India, wheat is to Northern India. The area under wheat is second only to that of rice, amounting to about 10 per cent. of the total area under cultivation. The isolation of heavy yielding wheats of high grain quality and their introduction into general cultivation will always be reckoned as one of the greatest achievements of the Imperial Department of Agriculture in India. Pusa 12 has proved to be the most successful of all the early Pusa selections on account of its great adaptibility and high yielding power. Yields as high as 27 cwt. to the acre have been obtained. This wheat is now grown on a considerable scale in parts of the United Provinces the Simla Hill States, the Eastern Punjab, Sind and some of the Rajputana States. Pusa 4, besides possessing a large, translucent grain of very fine appearance, matures very rapidly and has proved particularly suitable for parts of Bihar, Bundelkhand, the North-West Frontier Province, and Gujarat. In more recent years, three new types have been fixed by hybridization, which are as heavy yielders as the older selections but have certain special characters well suited to particular localities. Pusa 80—5 obtained by crossing Pusa 6 with Pusa 4 has done very well in certain parts of Bihar. The two other types called Pusa 52 and Pusa 54 (Pusa 6 × Punjab 9), being awned wheats, are welcomed in tracts where the beardless Pusa 4 and Pusa 12 suffer from the depredations of birds. Crosses between some of the improved Pusa wheats and the famous Australian wheat Federation have lately been made and favourable results are anticipated.

Of the 10,626,000 acres sown with wheat in the Punjab, 1,440,289 acres or over 13 per cent. are reported to be under improved varieties. The departmental seed distribution is of Punjab 8A which is steadily replacing Punjab 11 since the former gives a higher yield of both grain and straw and fetches a premium in the market. The older selection is, however, still grown on about five lakhs of acres. The other improved varieties under cultivation are Pusa

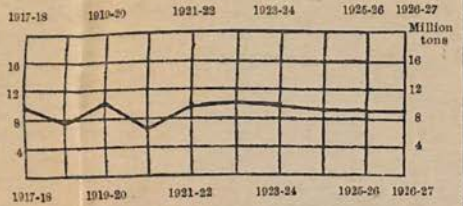
Yield of certain principal Crops from 1917-18 to 1926-27.

FOOD CROPS

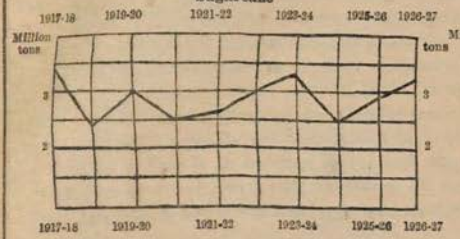
Rice



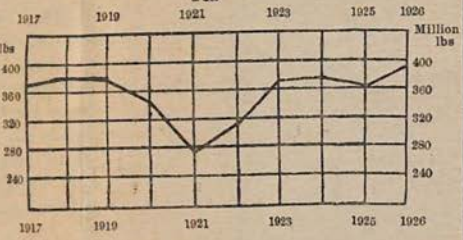
Wheat



Sugarcane

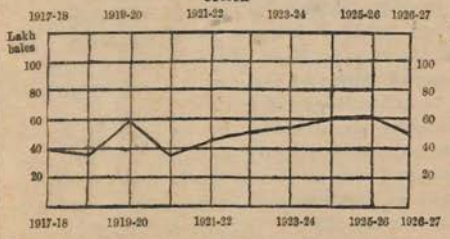


Tea

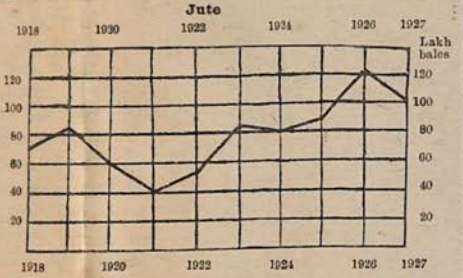


FIBRES

Cotton

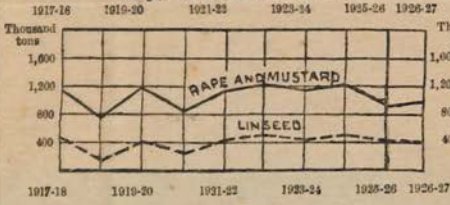


Jute

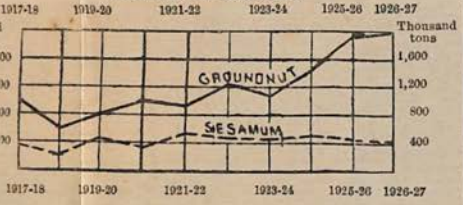


OILSEEDS

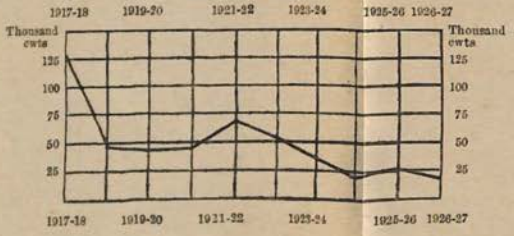
Rape and Mustard and Linseed



Sesamum and Groundnut



INDIGO (DYE)



4, Pusa 12, and Punjab 17. About 14 per cent. of the area sown with wheat in the United Provinces is reckoned to be under improved varieties—mainly Pusa 4 and Pusa 12. Pusa 52, Pusa 54, and Cawnpore 13 are distributed in localities where a bearded wheat is in demand. Of the large number of the world's more noted varieties of wheat tested since 1910 at Tarnab in the North-West Frontier Province, none has yet surpassed Pusa 4 in all round merit. The area under this variety is reckoned to be about 300,000 acres. In the Central Provinces, Pusa 100 continues to make headway in the irrigated tracts of the eastern and southern districts. The new hybrids A. 113 and A. 115 are doing well in the Northern Circle of that Province.

The estimated area under sugarcane in India was 2,920,000 acres, as against 2,679,000 acres last year, an increase of 9 per cent. The estimated production of raw sugar (gur) was 3,208,000 tons as compared with 2,977,000 tons last year, which is an increase of 8 per cent. After deducting exports, re-exports, and stocks on 1st April 1927, at the principal ports in India, it is estimated that nearly 900,000 tons of imported and locally manufactured white sugar went into the channels of distribution in India in the official year 1926-27. This is in addition to the raw sugar (gur) manufactured locally which, with the exception of some 73,800 tons melted in refineries and 7,600 tons exported, were consumed within the country.

The Imperial Cane Breeding Station at Coimbatore continued the breeding of new varieties. New canes evolved at this Station are now being grown successfully in Northern India. In North Bihar, these new varieties are steadily replacing the indigenous kinds. Many of the growers feel that, but for these new canes with their greatly increased yields, they would have been badly hit by the low prices for sugar prevalent during the year. The introduction of Co. 210, Co. 213 and Co. 214 in Bihar has to a great extent improved the position of the sugar industry in that tract. For Co. 214, an early variety rich in sucrose, the factories are paying a premium to growers as they find that their working season can be increased by about a month by starting off with it before other varieties are ripe. Co. 205 has proved a very suitable cane for lowlying lands. The area under these new canes in the

United Provinces is reported to be about 44,000 acres. In this province Co. 290 appears to be the best of the Coimbatore varieties under trial. In the Punjab, the superiority of Co. 205 remains unchallenged as a cane for unirrigated lands; for irrigated tracts Co. 223 is coming to the front. When frost of unusual severity in the Punjab damaged some of the local varieties severely, the Coimbatore canes under trial proved much more resistant than others to the cold. In some districts of Bengal, Tanna has almost ousted the local cane. Co. 213, though a more recent introduction, appears to be even more promising than Tanna. In Assam, Co. 213 and Co. 210 are among the best of the varieties under trial. In the Central Provinces some of the Coimbatore canes have been found to give much larger yields than Khari—a heavy yielding variety introduced many years ago. The experimental station at Anakapalli in Madras is being extended in area and will be used in future as a testing station for the thick canes produced at Coimbatore. The McGlashan or Sindewahi furnace as it is some times called, is becoming very popular in the cane-growing tracts of the Madras Presidency. This improved furnace does not require any fuel other than the bagasse of the cane and it is reckoned that the saving in fuel consequent on its use amounts to Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 per acre of cane dealt with.....

The area under cotton fell to 24,976,000 acres, as compared with 28,491,000 acres in 1925-26, the estimated yield being 4,973,000 bales—a decrease of 1,277,000 bales. The weekly returns of cotton pressed indicate that the cotton crop in British India was underestimated by not less than 1½ lakhs of bales. Owing to the partial failure of the Punjab cotton crop and low yields in certain other staple cotton areas there was an actual shortage in India of staple cotton, and this was mainly responsible for the very considerable imports of American cotton into India which took place during the year though a contributory cause was certainly the low price of American cotton—especially of low grade American cottons which are not tenderable in Liverpool.

The Agricultural Departments' work on cotton aims at improving the quality of the lint and at increasing the yield per acre. The improved strains introduced were sown during 1926-27 on over three and a half million acres. The success achieved in improving

the lint may be easily measured when we consider that in the period 1915 to 1918 India produced on an average 1,161,000 bales of medium staple cotton, whereas in 1925-26 she produced 2,145,000 bales, the greater part of which has been used in Indian cotton mills for the production of finer warp yarns to the advantage of her textile industry. The increase in the area under medium staple cottons has been at the expense of the area under short staple varieties. The area in the Punjab under Punjab-American cottons which are of medium staple was nearly a million acres last year.

In Madras the strain known as Co. 1 (previously Cambodia 295) has proved over several years' tests to be of exceptionally high spinning value; in 1926-27 it was reported to be good enough for 38s warp counts. Another selection, Cambodia 440, though not equal to Co. 1 is nevertheless a good spinning cotton. Moreover, it is a high yielder and much more resistant to "black-arm" and stem-weevil than any other Cambodia selection tried up-to-date. The Bombay Agricultural Department's Cotton Breeder has achieved very great success in the production of types of Kumpta cotton with a higher resistance to the cotton-wilt disease. The tests carried out at the Cotton Committee's Technological Laboratory show that the hybrid Broach 1A. 9 intended for the Broach area north of the Narbada, is suitable for spinning counts up to 20s warp. The improved strains of Wagad cotton selected for Upper Gujarat are already in demand. Dhulia No. 1 is good as regards yield and ginning percentage; it is suitable for 20s counts.

The application of the Cotton Transport Act to parts of the Bombay Presidency has led to a marked improvement in the purity and quality of Surat, Kumpta and Dharwar cottons. With the co-operation of the Baroda, Rajpipla, and Chota Udaipur States, which have enforced similar legislation, good progress has been made in establishing the variety known as Surat 1027 in the region north of the river Tapti. The three zones of the Madras Presidency where the Act has been applied are the Northerns and Westerns, Cambodia, and Tinnevelly. The Cotton Committee has devoted much attention during the year to the working of the Cotton Ginning and Pressing Factories Act and similar legislation has been introduced by Indian States to a most gratifying extent. The marking of bales and weekly returns of cotton pressed will shortly be general throughout almost the whole of India. The Indian Central Cotton Committee is examining the question of

further legislation with a view to dealing with such abuses as the watering of cotton in pressing factories and the mixing of cotton of different growths. The Committee has also started enquiries into the difficulties experienced by cotton growers in marketing their produce.

The facilities offered by the Technological Laboratory of the Indian Central Cotton Committee for ascertaining the value of new cottons by spinning tests with 12 lb. samples are much appreciated by cotton breeders working in the provinces. During the year ending 31st August, 1927, no less than 79 samples were tested for the Agricultural Departments, in addition to 21 standard cottons which are dealt with in considerable detail every year. An outstanding feature of the year's work is the progress which has been made on the study of the fibre characters of Indian cottons. Methods have now been worked out for determining on each of the cottons undergoing spinning trial, the fibre-length distribution, ribbon width, convolutions, rigidity, hair strength, and fibre weight per centimetre. Work at the Indore Institute of Plant Industry has been steadily developed, and progress has been made with the general investigations into the botany, physiology, and cytology of Indian cottons, and of the special problems connected with cotton growing on the black-soils of Central India. The Indian Central Cotton Committee now finances 13 provincial research schemes of which five deal with cotton breeding, three with cotton physiology, two with cotton diseases and three with cotton entomology. The pink bollworm research scheme at Cawnpore has yielded very definite results. It has been practically established that if all the cotton-seed of a sufficiently large tract can be treated by heat, the pest can be controlled. When both yield and quality are taken into account, the benefit to the grower from the control measures should be at least Rs. 30 per acre, whereas the cost of treating the cotton-seed produced from an acre is not likely to exceed 3 annas.

In the supply of jute fibre North-East India enjoys a world-wide monopoly. With the revival of trade after the depression of the war and postwar period, the demand for this essential requisite of international commerce has increased, and the area put down this year exceeded the average for the preceding quinquennium by 59 per cent. Over 84 per cent. of the total jute area lies in Bengal

where two main species are cultivated, namely, *Corchorus capsularis* and *C. olitorius*. A high yielding variety of each of these has been isolated and brought into general cultivation by the local Agricultural Department. These improved varieties now occupy an area of over half a million acres, their yields in fibre exceeding those of the local races which they are replacing by about 25 per cent. There is a growing demand for them in Assam also, where they have proved the most productive of the varieties hitherto tried in the villages. The cultivation of jute is making steady progress in the Ganjar tract of the United Provinces where conditions are similar to those of large areas in Bengal.

On an average a little over a million acres are cropped with tobacco in India, about half this area being situated in Bengal and Madras. The other tobacco tracts of importance are in Bihar, Burma and Bombay. The tobacco most commonly grown is *Nicotiana tabacum*. In the drier and colder districts of North-West India, *Nicotiana rustica*, a hardier species with a shorter growing period, predominates. The indigenous varieties give a somewhat coarse leaf of low quality which is good enough for *hookas* and a demand has now arisen for tobacco of a better quality for the manufacture of cigarettes. The programme of the Agricultural Department therefore aims at producing a tobacco of the colour, flavour and texture of that commonly called Virginian which will be suitable both for home consumption and for export. Further trials at Pusa with the American tobacco Adcock and White Burley have shown that a good outturn of leaf can be assured in Bihar by sowing and transplanting these earlier than the indigenous varieties. Burley and Adcock yielded, during the year under report, 1,300 lb. and 900 lb. respectively of dry leaf per acre. The former when air-cured on racks takes a rich mahogany colour characteristic of the best grades of pipe tobacco. Flue-curing, on a small scale, in a specially constructed barn, gave very encouraging results with Adcock. A sample of Pusa Type 28 rack-cured in the sun and protected from the dew was valued by an expert as the most suitable for cigarette manufacture. The acclimatization of exotic cigar and cigarette varieties, and the improvement of the local races by selection are in progress at Burirhat in Bengal. Attempts are being made on the tobacco farm at Nadiad in Bombay to improve the

flavour of indigenous tobaccos by hybridization with American types.

Over 8 per cent. of the total cultivated area in India is on an average cropped with oilseeds, *viz.*, linseed, rape, mustard, sesamum, castor seed and ground nut. Crossing between linseeds of peninsular India and Bihar has given at Pusa types which promise to combine the bold-seeded character with a habit suited for growth in the Gangetic alluvium. The introduction of early maturing varieties of groundnut has given a great impetus to the cultivation of this crop and the area of 4,292,000 acres sown in 1926-27 was more than three times that of 1918-19. In Madras and Burma the area has more than doubled in the same period while the increase in Bombay is of over 400 per cent. In Berar, oilseeds give, at current prices, a gross profit which is approximately three times as much that obtained from cotton. In Khandesh and Upper Gujarat where the cultivation of short-stapled cotton was, during the year under review, less than usually remunerative owing to the fall in prices, an improved variety of groundnut has saved the situation and doubled the income of cultivators. The substitution of this valuable oilseed for inferior millets has, in other parts of India, raised the value of the return per acre from about Rs. 15 to Rs. 60. The Madras Department is now showing on 205 plots along a distance of 300 miles that cocoanuts can be raised under a dry system of cultivation. As a result, 10,000 acres have been added to this valuable crop on the West Coast on lands which hitherto had lain waste.

In the past when large grazing areas were available, the cultivator relied very largely on nature to produce food for his cattle in the form of pasture. As the pressure on the land increased, much of the best of the natural grazing land was converted into tillage land, for the ever increasing human population had to be fed. The area still available for grazing in British India is reckoned to be in the neighbourhood of 210 million acres, but the grass on much of this area becomes unpalatable for stock soon after the end of the monsoon, and no real effort is yet being made to cut and store the grass as hay or silage at a suitable stage, *i.e.*,

before it depreciates in quality. Cattle over the greater part of India have in consequence to subsist for about half the year on fodder consisting of drywithered grass in the grazing areas, and the stalks, stubble, and leaves of over-ripe grain crops. The provision of good quality fodder has, therefore, assumed paramount importance in the agricultural economy of the country, and the Agricultural Departments have, of late years, given much attention to the question of both growing and storing fodders. Luscious fodders unknown in India 20 years ago such as berseem (Egyptian clover) have been introduced and methods of storing them in the dry state or as ensilage are being demonstrated.

Berseem is grown on a large scale at Pusa, where it is followed in the same year by a crop of early maize. By thus cropping a comparatively small irrigated area, a large herd is provided during the winter and summer months with all the bulky green fodder it requires. Berseem has replaced shaftal (Persian clover) on 20 per cent. of the area under clover in the North-West Frontier Province. In Bihar and Orissa, Elephant grass and Rata grass are being successfully grown. The cultivation of the Japanese millet has proved useful as a fodder catch crop on departmental farms in Bengal, and is now being taken up in the countryside. Elephant grass and Guinea grass are becoming popular in Assam, and the demand from cattle-owners for clumps for planting is being met from the Jorhat farm. Among the exotic grasses, Merker grass appears to be very well suited for the upland laterite soils of Lower Burma. Rotational grazing has given good results in Bombay, where methods of renovating poor pastures are under investigation. On the Hosur farm in the Madras Presidency, spear grass when cut before flowering has been found to make good silage.

In addition to the economic work on crops, a considerable amount of research work bearing on fundamental problems of agricultural chemistry, agricultural bacteriology, plant pathology, mycology and entomology is being done by the various departments of agriculture in India. Among the investigations in progress during the year may be mentioned those dealing with the movements of nitrates in the soil, the possibility of producing artificial farmyard manure, the utilization of the sources of natural indi-

genous phosphate, the detection of adulterants in *ghee* (clarified butter), the mosaic disease of sugarcane and the control of insects infesting cereals in storage.

The study of the movements of nitrates in the soil and subsoil, which had been in progress at Pusa for some years in four areas under different cultural conditions, was concluded during the year. The results obtained point to the conclusion that nitrification becomes very active when the rains begin and soon reaches its maximum, that very considerable quantities of nitrates are, later on, washed into the subsoil and naturally lost, that very little of the large quantity of nitrates produced during the early rains is utilized by the crops grown during that period, that the nitrate produced during the latter part of the monsoon is utilised by the cold weather crops, and lastly, that there is no upward movement of the nitrates in the subsoil.

The investigations into the possibility of producing artificial farmyard manure have reached at various centres a stage when the methods evolved can be demonstrated with advantage to the Cultivators. Comparative field trials have shown that the organic matter so produced produces results similar to those obtaining by using cattle manure. Work on the utilization of the natural sulphur-oxidizing powers of certain soil bacteria for solubilization of the phosphoric acid of bonemeal by composting was continued at Pusa. In a compost of bonemeal, sulphur, sand and charcoal the percentage of soluble phosphate increased from 23·5 to 64·2 in 16 weeks. The superiority of the compost to untreated bonemeal as a manure for mustard, oats and potatoes was well marked in the field trials carried out. Ripening tests of sugarcane manured with ammonium sulphate or superphosphate are being carried out at Sabour in Bihar and Orissa, and a more extended test has been completed at Pusa. Of the various manures experimented with at Pusa, superphosphate produced canes the juice of which had the highest sucrose and the lowest glucose content. This result was also reflected in the quality of *gur* (raw sugar) prepared. In Bengal, timely irrigations seem to have a great influence in reducing the glucose content.

A further survey made at Pusa of the sugarcane-growing stations in different parts of India has revealed the presence of mosaic disease in 28 localities among 47 co. canes and 2 thin and 38 tropical varieties. Investigational work carried out during the year indicates that the disease behaves in India as in other countries;

that it is transmissible by sets and injection into the leaf and leaf-sheath; that it passes from one variety to another and from cane to maize and sorghum, and that natural infection occurs. Observations made on a plot plated with mosaic and non-mosaic sets of the Coimbatore seedling 213 suggest that roguing should be done in Bihar as early as the 1st of May, when 75 per cent. of the mosaic plants should be visible. Red Mauritius canes grown from seed from a very highly infected block in Sabour were only about 3 to 4 feet in length, while several other varieties in the same plot were from 6 to 8 feet long. Data collected during the year indicate that there is also a possible loss through lower germination in mosaic cane.

The use of mercury in stored wheat has proved effective at Pusa in eliminating the danger of damage by weevils which amounts at times to 20 per cent.

It is reckoned that there are in British India 151 millions of cattle and buffaloes. This works out to 61 per 100 of human population and 67 for every 100 acres of cultivated area. For each 100 acres of net area sown there are approximately 92 acres of uncultivated land available for grazing, so that this total area of 192 acres of cultivated and grazing lands has to support 67 head of cattle in addition to sheep, goats, ponies and other stock. Even with such over-stocking, the draught power available for tillage operations is inadequate, and there is a general shortage of milk and milk products. There are too many scrub half-starved cattle in the country and what is wanted is an improvement in the efficiency of both males and females. To this end, cattle breeding farms have been established, pure-bred herds are being evolved by selection, and continuous efforts are made to increase the milking capacity of cows of promising sound dual-purpose breeds. In the domain of animal husbandry feeding is as important as breeding, and special attention as we have seen, is being paid to the question of growing and storing fodders. With the object of demonstrating the possibilities of transporting milk from rural areas where it is relatively cheap to urban centres where it is dear, schemes have been promoted for supplying milk to the towns of Calcutta, Nagpur, Muzaffarpur, Agra, Hathras, Bareilly and Naini Tal. Dairy Managers are being trained at the Imperial Institute of Animal

Husbandry and Dairying at Bangalore, and the services of the Imperial Dairy Expert are being fully utilised by Provincial Governments, Indian States, Municipalities and private individuals in connection with their various dairy schemes.

With a view to stimulating and to some extent co-ordinating the efforts being made in the various provinces and Indian States towards cattle improvement, the Government of India have established at Bangalore a Central Bureau for Animal Husbandry and Dairying with the Imperial Dairy Expert as Secretary. Pending the appointment of an expert committee to guide the work of the Bureau, preliminary work for opening herd books of important breeds has been undertaken. So far 5,000 cattle have been offered for registration as foundation stocks for breed-herd-books.

Cattle-breeding operations at Pusa have been directed along two lines: (1) a herd of Sahiwals is being graded up by selective breeding, and (2) the poorer milkers of the same breed are being crossed with Ayrshire bulls of high milking pedigree with the primary object of obtaining reliable information regarding the inheritance of observable characters in the crosses. In the pure Sahiwal herd six cows gave during the year under report over 5,000 lb. each in a lactation period of 304 days, while among the half-bred progeny of rejected Sahiwal cows by Ayrshire bulls the yields of the first six cows ranged from 8,000 to 11,000 lb. In the Montgomery herd the average yield per cow per day was 11·7 lb., while in the latter it was 20·5 lb. To those familiar with the small yields obtained from Indian cattle, the fact that 4,000 lb. in a lactation period of 10 months is now the minimum standard for the retention of any cow in the herd tells its own tale. Compared with yields ranging from 6,000 to 8,000 lb. in a similar period from cross-bred Ayrshire-Montgomery cows the average yield of this fine Montgomery herd looks small. It must be remembered, however, that such cross-bred animals are less hardy and disease-resistant than those of pure indigenous breeds. The average percentage of cows in milk was 48 and 68 for Montogomeries and cross-breds respectively. Thus a cross-bred cow not only gives more milk than the best representative of her dam's family but also calves more frequently an important advantage in commercial dairying. Having produced a cross of good milking capacity by adding Ayrshire blood and having proved that the sire is prepotent as regards milk production,

attempts are being made to adapt the cross to the needs of the country by mating half-bred dams with Sahiwal bulls of good milch pedigree. Some of the ¼ Ayrshires thus produced have come into milk, and all that can be said at present is that they promise to justify the policy pursued.

In accordance with the breeding policy adopted at Pusa, most of the cross-bred cows on the Bangalore and Wellington farms are now sired by Indian bulls of good milch pedigree. There are also herds of Scindi cows on these two farms. His Excellency the Viceroy personally visited the Karnal cattle-breeding farm in November 1926 and the Imperial Institute of Animal Husbandry and Dairying at Bangalore in July 1927. At Karnal, pure herds of Thar-Parkar and Hariana cattle and Murra buffaloes are being established. The Creamery at Anand, which has been permanently taken over by the Imperial Department of Agriculture, has been equipped with an experimental milk condensing plant with a view to manufacturing sweetened and unsweetened condensed milk from village buffalo milk.

Over 700 pedigree bulls of different breeds were distributed from departmental farms in the provinces during the year.

With a view to stimulating and fostering the recently awakened interest in cattle-breeding and dairying matters a quarterly journal called " The Journal of the Central Bureau for Animal Husbandry and Dairying in India " has been started from April 1927. It will aim at disseminating information regarding the progress made in establishing pedigreed herds, the merits of the different breeds, new methods of growing and storing fodders in the dry state and as ensilage, animal nutrition, cattle diseases, courses of training in animal husbandry and dairying, etc. For the first number of this Journal, His Excellency the Viceroy graciously contributed a foreword which attracted much attention.

In last year's Report we mentioned that during the year ending 31st March 1926, which is the last year for which accurate veterinary statistics are available, rinderpest raged with an almost unprecedented virulence in all the major provinces except Bihar and Orissa. During the 12 months ending March the 31st, 1927, the ravages of the disease appreciably abated in the Bombay Presidency, the Punjab, the Central Provinces and Bihar and Orissa,

and the total reported mortality from contagious diseases dropped from 399,845 to 322,331 in 1926-27. Of the latter figure, as many as 203,717 deaths were from rinderpest. The provinces which suffered most were Burma, Bengal and Assam, each of which lost through rinderpest over 30,000 animals, while the Punjab, Madras and the United Provinces each recorded more than 20,000 deaths from the disease. The number of preventive inoculations performed, amounted to 1,527,213, as against 1,550,199 in the previous year. As inoculation is purely voluntary, except in notified areas in the Madras Presidency, these figures indicate that the confidence of the Indian peasant in the Veterinary Department is growing.

The number of hospitals and dispensaries maintained for the treatment of disease rose from 720 to 786, and the cases treated therein from 1,742,048 to 1,904,478. Also, 1,226,256 cases were treated by itinerant veterinary officers. The total number of 3,130,734 cases treated, as against 2,839,688 in the previous year, is another indication of the fact that old prejudices are dying out and that the beneficient work of the Veterinary Department is appreciated by cattle-owners.

In addition to the saving of cattle life from the ravages of disease, the Veterinary Department performs on a fairly large scale in some provinces the important function of emasculating inferior and undesirable bulls and of thereby rendering them incapable of propagating their kind. The department is thus preparing the way for the distribution of selected stud bulls. During the year under review, 343,443 scrub bulls were castrated, as against 195,427 in 1924-25. This increase of 75 per cent. in two years would be quite satisfactory were it not for the fact that it has been contributed mainly by one province. In other provinces some aversion to the operation still persists and it is not without significance that the number of bulls offered for emasculation is particularly small in provinces where the worst types of cattle are to be found.

In view of the continued heavy toll levied by Rinderpest it is not surprising that last year's record demand for the products of the Imperial Institute of Veterinary Research at Muktesar was exceeded and 63,18,758 doses of different sera and vaccines were issued. After meeting this heavy demand, over 4·8 million doses remained in stock at the close of the year. The capacity of the Institute to supply products for combating animal diseases has

been much increased by developing the resources of the sub-station at Izatnagar, where all the required anti-rinderpest serum is now manufactured. It is anticipated that there will always be three-yearly periods of depression alternated with similar periods of recrudescence of rinderpest in India until permanent immunity is conferred on all bovines, but the last two years' experience gives reason for hoping that when the next period of recrudescence arrives, Muktesar will be in a position to meet in full the consequent demand for serum.

For the training of students in veterinary science, there are colleges at Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and Lahore and schools at Insein and Taunggyi in Burma, and the school at Insein will from next year be raised to the status of a college. The veterinary college which is to be constructed at Patna in Bihar and Orissa will begin to admit students in 1929. This college will have a cattle-breeding and dairy farm attached to it where students will get practical instruction in animal husbandry and dairying. The number of students who passed the diploma examinations of the colleges was 59, as against 50 in the previous year, but the supply of trained veterinary assistants turned out by the colleges at present falls short of the requirements in some provinces. However, proposals are under consideration in Madras to raise the number of stipends, and in the Punjab to start a two-year vernacular course which will equip a man for field work in rural areas.

Another department whose operations have intimate and important relations with the progress of agriculture and the welfare of the agricultural population is the Forest Department. The Forest Departments in this country are organised on a provincial basis just as the Agricultural Departments now are, but just as the Central Government maintains establishments for education and research in agriculture, in the same way it shoulders the burden of expenditure on research into forestry problems and certain forms of technical education.

The great forests of India are located for the most part in the hills, but there are forests and woods in the plains interspersed with cultivation. More than 20 per cent. of the surface of British India is land classified as forest and administered by the Forest Department. In spite of this, however, such a large proportion of the

forests is situated in high and inaccessible hill localities that it is generally true to say that the most of them are inaccessible to cultivators the majority of whom derive no direct benefits from the forests proper. Nevertheless, there is cultivation on the fringes of many of the forests, and many cultivated or grazing areas are to be found within their limits amounting in the aggregate to a considerable area. More than 30 years ago the forests of India were officially divided into the following four classes; forests, which are important for climatic or physical reasons; forests, from which the main supplies of valuable or useful timbers are derived; forests, which yield the minor timber or other products or small supplies of the more valuable timbers; and lastly, forests, which are really grazing grounds. This classification shows how largely the forests of a country can influence its general welfare, for they are more than a mere factor in its economy. They are part of its very make-up, influencing its climate and other natural conditions, not, perhaps, so powerfully as its hills and mountains, but still appreciably, and capable of proving an immensely valuable asset in its commerce, its agriculture, and its animal husbandry. Here, however, we are concerned only to show how the work of the Indian Forest Department concerns the general welfare of the people of India and more particularly of the agricultural population of this country.

We said above that the great mass of the agricultural population derive no direct benefit from the forests proper, but the indirect benefits are immense and in considering them we can start with the very foundations of agriculture—with climate, rainfall and the preservation of cultivable soil. Forests hold together the fertile surface soil; they store water and dole it out gradually, thus preventing disastrous floods and the formation of ravines; by checking erosion they prevent good soil from being washed into the rivers, and carried away to waste. They also directly increase the fertility of the land, being capable of forming rich vegetable mould even from mineral soils. Finally, in India, forests are a valuable asset in times of scarcity or famine, for they yield vast quantities of fodder and provide edible fruits and roots of which the poor readily avail themselves. Advantage of the visit of the Royal Agricultural Commission has been taken by forest officers to lay stress on the immense benefits that forestry can bestow on the cultivator by providing him with wood fuel so that cow-dung may be used as

manure. Like nearly every other division of the earth's surface, India was once far more densely wooded than she is at present. It seems probable that for centuries before the British Government in India took cognisance of India's forest problem, the process of deforestation went on steadily. The historic forests of the Gangetic plain have been sadly depleted, and although in some places the disappearance of the forests made for the spread of cultivation, in other places the once wooded slopes and plains are now barren and desolate. As the traveller goes about India, he will encounter many examples of the resentment of nature at the thoughtless or ignorant dispoiling of her beneficial provision of forest trees and lesser growths of undergrowth and grass. He will see ravines and barren lands pouring down sand steadily to encroach on good tilt. Dim traces in now sterile hills, of dimunitive irrigation channels and tunnels mark the spots where springs and streams, long since dried up, enabled a vanished population to reap a harvest from ground which brings forth in these days nothing better than cactus or dwarf palm. Where there is good soil, it cannot yield its full return to the cultivator since the manure which ought to go into it has to be burnt in place of the wood fuel now unobtainable. Fortunately the forests of the high hills in which India's mighty rivers rise, were always too vast and remote for them to suffer from human inroads. Had they been deforested in days gone by, it is certain that many of the great irrigation schemes of India, which depend for their existence on the perennial water supply of the great rivers, would not have come into being and the almost incalculable benefits which they have conferred upon the country would have been lost. For the past two generations it has been the duty of the Indian Forest Department to act as nature's steward, to reclaim for her as much as possible of her lost possessions, and to protect her from the ravages which folly or ignorance would still inflict upon her. Naturally enough their work sometimes brings the officers of the Department into conflict with those who are affected by their operations. Restrictions upon the grazing of cattle, the felling of trees and the lighting of fires, all of which are so necessary for the conservation of India's forest wealth, are frequently resented by those classes of the population whose activities are thereby restrained, and from time to time agitations, more or less serious, are set on foot against the Department. But on the other hand, the more sagacious of those who are affected by the

working of the Forest Department realise that they must forego immediate and temporary advantages if they are to receive the permanent benefits which work of the Forest Department can bestow, and public opinion is in some places being enlisted in support of the Department. In Madras, for example, considerable tracts of forests covering, in the aggregate, about 3,200 square miles have been handed over to the management of village panchayats or committees of leading men, who, it is believed, have understood their responsibilities. A special officer attached to the provincial Board of Revenue scrutinizes the work of the panchayats. The Board decides how many cattle should be allowed to graze in any particular panchayat area and also settles the rent for that area, but everything else is left to the panchayats themselves. At present it is not possible to say whether this system is likely to be extended to other provinces, but an officer belonging to the Forest Department of the United Provinces has recently been put on special duty to study the working of the Madras scheme.

It will hardly be denied by any one who studies the conditions that the provincial forest departments have done their best to hold the balance even between the rights and conveniences of the agriculturists and the latters' and the country's permanent interests. Even if we exclude Burma, no fewer than 13 million animals graze in Government forests at nominal fees varying from 2 annas to Rs. 2 per annum, and of these animals, 4½ millions get free grazing. Moreover, it is estimated that the total value of rights and concessions enjoyed by villagers every year from the administered forests amounts to more than half a million sterling. Rights so extensive, unless carefully controlled and scientifically regulated, are capable of inflicting severe damage upon the forest resources of the country, and Mr. A. Rodger, the Inspector General of Forests and President of the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun, has spoken of the "terrible damage caused in India by excessive grazing". A few figures will show how extensive are the rights of grazing enjoyed by villagers in Government forests. All unclassed forests, or those areas which have not been reserved or protected and are for the most part situated in inaccessible and undeveloped tracts, are open to grazing, whilst of 85,074 square miles of reserved and protected forest, 43,502 square miles are open to grazing. More than a quarter of all the cattle of the Central Provinces and Berar graze in Government forests, and the percentage of the cattle of the

Punjab and Bombay, which graze in the Government forests of those two provinces is also appreciable. It is commonly assumed by opponents of the Forest Departments that an almost limitless extension of grazing in government forests is possible. The figures already quoted show that this is not true. In fact, it has been authoritatively estimated that the useful grazing land enclosed in forests, where neither grazing nor grass-cutting is at present allowed, is probably less than 5 per cent. of the total area available as grazing land in British India. The Forest Department now manages to return an appreciable net profit to the Government of India every year. In 1925-26 this profit was more than Rs. 2½ crores, a very gratifying result when it is remembered that in neither the United States nor Canada are the State forests paying concerns. There is no reason to doubt that the Indian forests will become increasingly profitable to the Indian Government as improvements in methods of transportation, in silvicultural research, and other technical matters are effected, and as the work now being carried on in the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun is enlarged. The area of the forests in connection with which the Research Institute works is 160,000,000 acres, indeed more, because Indian States have also large forests in addition to the above area. This area is about one quarter of the area of British India, and the gross revenue realised from the forests in the year 1925-26 was Rs. 5·98 crores. In the year 1912-13 the gross revenue was Rs. 3·22 crores. This all but doubling of the gross revenue in 13 years may fairly be ascribed in part to the work done in forest research in India since 1906. This research is principally economic, but a great deal of work has also been done by the silvicultural and chemical branches of the Research Institute, and the results of this have already been apparent. In the botanical and entomological branches it is naturally much more difficult to make visible and measureable progress within a short period of years.

Silvicultural research has helped largely by developing the scientific side of tree growing and by introducing more correct methods of estimating the correct yield from a forest. In many instances the volume of timber annually removed from an area is too small and it has been found that the forests can yield more timber and can be worked profitably under a shorter rotation. But it must be remembered that by far the greater part of the silvicultural experimental work is not nearly complete and will not be

really useful for some years to come. When we know how all our best forests should be worked, the increase in revenue from them is bound to be very large.

Turning to economic research we see that this branch at Dehra Dun has developed more than any other during the last ten years. To give only one example, the important subject of lac propagation, into which research is undertaken both at Dehra Dun and at Ranchi in Bihar and Orissa, has received much attention and many new facts about it have been observed and recorded. The methods of sowing and harvesting lac have been much improved, and the area under this product has been largely extended. Lac provides a very large annual revenue to the department, and the value of this exported last year was Rs. 7·55 crores. India provides practically all the shellac in the world. In the matter of timber research a great deal of information has been collected about the qualities of the more important timbers available all over the Indian Empire and this has been recorded and published. During the last few years several sections of the economic branch have been established which submit all the important timbers to every conceivable kind of test, and in addition investigate other products on a large scale.

The important subject of Wood Technology has been the subject of study for some years at the Research Institute and valuable results have been obtained. Timber Testing has also been carried out on a large scale at Dehra Dun with the object of establishing the relative strengths both of well-known and of unknown Indian woods, and also their relative strengths as compared with well-known foreign timbers. In this way a mass of reliable data, constantly growing in value, is being collected with the object of determining the suitability of Indian woods for specific uses, such as for beams, sleepers, bridge parts and other common uses. Nearly a dozen complete electrically fitted testing machines have been installed at Dehra Dun, and it is doubtful whether a more complete testing shop exists anywhere in the world. The Expert-in-charge of the Timber Seasoning Section has done a great deal of valuable work on the seasoning of timbers by air and by the Tiemann and Sturtevant processes. His task is to show how timber may increase its value by careful and scientific seasoning, to turn perishable soft woods into useful timber, and to defeat the

many parasites, insect and vegetable, which ruin growing wood in India. The institute is also going thoroughly into the question of the minor forest products of India. In addition to lac, which has already been mentioned, the many bamboos, canes, fodder plants, resins, oils, gums, dye-stuffs, drugs and so on, need to be developed. As the President of the Institute says, few forest species can be found which yield nothing of use to man, and as Burma alone has about 3,000 woody plants and bamboos the extent of the field open to investigation is easily imagined. The Institute can now teach paper pulp manufacturers how to treat the different kinds of bamboos in the best and most economical manner, and when the price of pulp becomes favourable, there should be great wealth in the enormous bamboo forests of India and Burma. In silviculture some exceptionally valuable work has been done. Transplanting experiments with seedlings under various conditions have been carried out, and much research on regeneration, particularly the difficult subject of *sal* regeneration, has been done.

The Entomological Branch of the Dehra Dun Institute was the first to show that the large scale control of a forest insect in India could be a profitable operation. A serious investigation into defoliators of teak has been carried out in Madras, and 24,000 insects have been bred out. The immense damage done by a beetle to the valuable *sal* trees of Central and Northern India has been investigated and stopped by the Entomological Branch—an achievement of prime economic importance. The Chemical Branch too, comparatively small though it is, has done a great amount of very useful work in collaboration with the Economic Branch, especially in the investigation of Minor Forest Products and wood preservatives.

The building of the new Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun, which, it is hoped, will be the finest Forest Research Institute in the world, is nearing completion and the new Insectary for the study of Indian forest insects has already been occupied.

We may now glance very briefly at the progress of Forest Research during 1927-28 under a few of its more important heads.

Silviculture.—The Silviculture work undertaken both at Dehra Dun and in the Provinces in connection with sample plots in the

forests continued to expand. In Forest economy much progress was made in investigations into timber testing, artificial seasoning of timber, wood-working, the manufacture of pulp from bamboos and grasses, and the utilisation of minor forest products, such as oils, seeds, and resins. Work was done at Dehra Dun, in Madras, Burma and elsewhere.

Much progress was made in systematic work in Forest Botany and a Forest Mycologist was appointed at the Forest Research Institute.

The most important problem of Forest Entomology dealt with during the year was a severe attack by a borer on *sal* trees in the Central Provinces. The measures initiated to control it were most successful.

Increasing attention has been given during recent years to the problem of markets for Indian timbers and Mr. C. S. Martin, Chief Forest Engineer in Madras, has recently visited Egypt, the Sudan, Iraq and East and South Africa and has made many valuable suggestions for introducing to those countries the woods of the Andamans, Bombay, Madras and Burma. Further, in order to examine thoroughly the whole question of marketing in Europe and to assist the High Commissioner in clearing up the stocks of Indian timber remaining unsold in London, Sir Peter Clutterbuck was appointed Timber Adviser to the High Commissioner for a period of one year from 1st January 1927. The results obtained by him have been highly satisfactory in so far as orders to the extent of £22,535 have been booked with his assistance during the ten months ending October 1927. The Secretary of State has, therefore, decided to retain his services experimentally for a further period of 3 years as a whole time Timber Adviser.

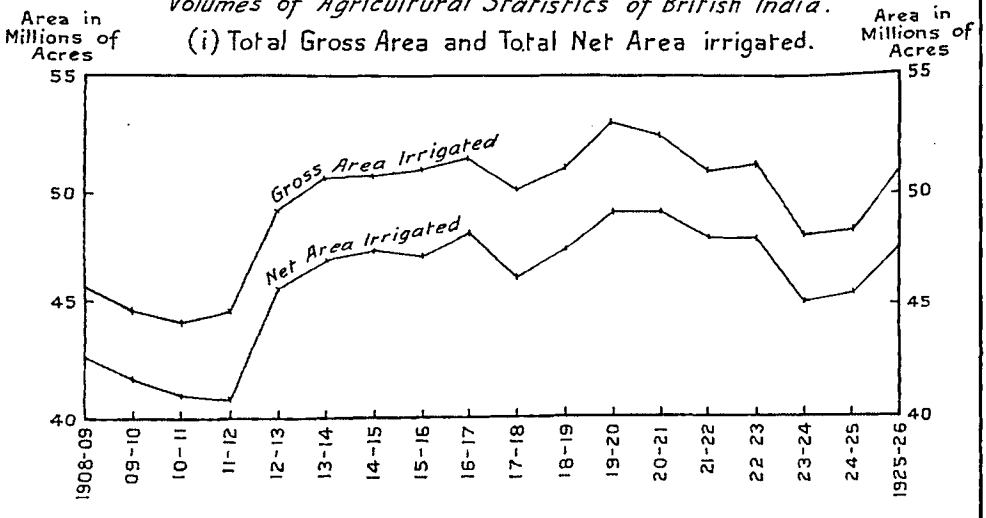
The invitation extended by the Commonwealth Government of Australia to the Empire Forestry Conference to be held in Australia and New Zealand in the Autumn of 1928 has been accepted by the Government of India and both they and Provincial Governments will be suitably represented.

From Forests we turn to the consideration of irrigation, another master factor in Indian agriculture. Except in the sub-montane

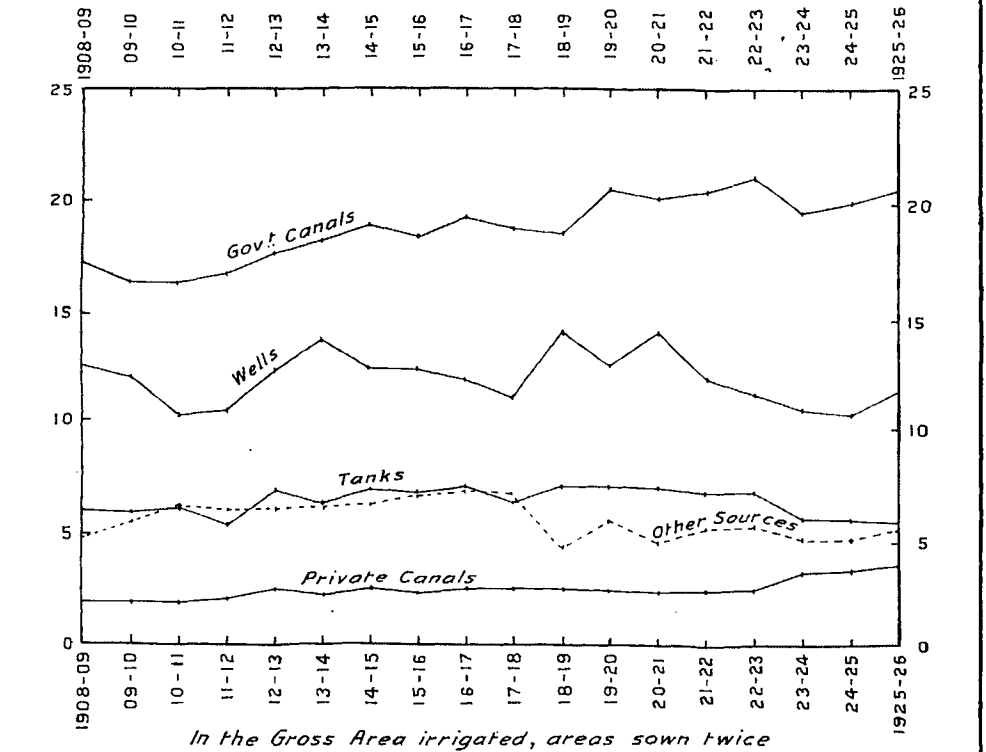
AREA IRRIGATED IN BRITISH INDIA

Note:- *The figures for this graph have been taken from the annual Volumes of Agricultural Statistics of British India.*

(i) Total Gross Area and Total Net Area irrigated.



(ii) Net Area irrigated by various sources.



In the Gross Area irrigated, areas sown twice under irrigation are counted twice.

tracts of the Himalayas, Eastern Bengal, Assam, Lower Burma, and the narrow strip between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea, the absolute security of the harvest throughout India depends upon some form or other of irrigation. From very ancient times, the different systems of irrigation now in employment were used in this country. Wells, storage reservoirs, damming the beds of streams and irrigation canals have all been familiar for long enough to Indian engineers and agriculturists. The natural factors to be redressed by irrigation, and the systems of irrigation adopted, are, of course, different in different parts of India on account of the varied physical conditions. In Sind and many parts of the Punjab there would be no crops at all were it not for irrigation; in parts of Central India, although a satisfactory crop may often be harvested by the help of the rainfall, some form of irrigation is needed as an insurance in years of scanty rainfall, and, lastly, there are localities where canal irrigation, at any rate, is only necessary as a precaution against famine. The lines on which irrigation in British India have been carried on for the past quarter of a century were laid down by the famous Irrigation Commission appointed by Lord Curzon in 1901. Since 1908, accurate irrigation statistics have been recorded in the " Agricultural Statistics of India ", and it is interesting to note the progress in irrigation since that date. A glance at the graph facing this page will enable the reader to take this in without the necessity of recourse to columns of figures. The largest area hitherto irrigated was recorded during the year 1920-21 and since that time a succession of good monsoons has reduced the demand for irrigation, particularly in the United Provinces and the Central Provinces. It is specially instructive to examine the part played by irrigation in the agriculture of the different provinces, and in this connection the following figures, which are averages of the five years 1921-22 to 1925-26, may be admitted because of their great interest.

It would be wearisome to the reader to show the figures for government irrigation systems, that is, for irrigation under works which have been constructed or are maintained wholly or partially by the State but it may be mentioned that during the five years ending with the year 1925-26, on an average 11·8 per cent. of the entire cropped area of the country was irrigated by government irrigation works. The collective value of the crops raised on the area

so irrigated amounted to one-and-a-half times the total capital expended on the works.

Province.	Gross area sown.	Gross area of crops irrigated (from government and private sources).	Percentage of area irrigated to area sown.
	Acres (in 000's).	Acres (in 000's).	
Assam	6,379	364	5·7
Bengal	27,777	1,710	6·2
Bihar and Orissa	31,021	5,386	17·4
Bombay Proper	27,764	1,092	3·9
Bombay Sind	4,451	3,281	73·7
Burma	17,172	1,436	8·4
Central Provinces and Berar	26,726	1,110	4·2
Madras	37,691	11,208	29·7
North-West Frontier Province	2,673	919	34·4
Punjab	30,970	13,644	44·1
United Provinces	43,739	9,630	22·0
Minor Administrations	807	156	19·3
TOTAL	257,170	49,936	19·4

Of the different systems of irrigation in use in this country, that is, canal, tank, well and other irrigation such as lift irrigation from rivers and the construction of temporary dams for holding up flood water or rainfall, canals are by far the most important, indeed, are of more importance than all the other classes combined. Government irrigation works comprise both tanks and canals, the former being generally small affairs which derive their importance from their vast numbers. In Madras alone there are over 35,000 petty irrigation works serving from 2½ to 3 million acres. Therefore tanks are entirely over-shadowed by the canals which are the glory of the Indian Irrigation System. Of two kinds, canals draw their supplies either from perennial rivers or from water stored in artificial reservoirs. The first kind are those based on rivers rising in the Himalayas where the snow acts as an inexhaustible source of supply during the dry months of the year, whilst the latter are principally associated with the rivers rising in the Peninsula proper, where no such natural storage is available. The most important storage works are those in the Madras

Presidency, the Deccan, the Central Provinces, and in Bundelkhand ranging in size from small earthen embankments to enormous dams such as that now under construction at Mettur on the Cauvery, in the Madras Presidency will be capable of impounding over 90,000 million cubic feet of water. Canals which draw their supplies from perennial rivers may again be divided into perennial and inundation canals. The former are provided with headworks enabling water to be drawn from the river irrespective of its natural level by means of some obstruction placed in its bed whereby the water may reach the height required to secure admission to the canal. Within this class fall the great perennial systems of the Punjab and the United Provinces. Inundation canals have no such means of control, and water only finds its way into them when the natural level of the river reaches the necessary height. The most important inundation canals in India are those of Sind and, indeed, upon them depends the whole irrigation of the Province at present. But they also exist in the Punjab and draw their supplies from the Indus and its tributaries.

During the year 1926-27, the total area, excluding Indian States, under irrigation by Government works amounted to 28·2 million acres. This represented 13 per cent. of the entire cropped area of the country, and was slightly below the record area of 28⅓ million acres irrigated in 1922-23. The total length of main and branch canals and distributaries in operation amounted to about 67,000 miles, whilst the estimated value of the crops supplied with water from Government works was Rs. 140 crores. The area irrigated was largest in the Punjab where 10·5 million acres were irrigated during the year. In addition 6,42,000 acres were irrigated from channels, which, although drawing their supplies from British canals, lie wholly in the Indian States. Next among the Indian Provinces came the Madras Presidency, with an area of 7 million acres, followed by Sind with 3·5 million acres, and the United Provinces with 3 million acres. The total capital outlay on irrigation and navigation works, including works under construction, amounted at the end of the year 1926-27 to Rs. 108·1 crores. The gross revenue was Rs. 11·5 crores, and the working expenses Rs. 4·5 crores. The net return on capital is therefore 6·5 per cent.

Irrigation development proceeds apace and the more important of the new projects under construction may now be described. The greatest of these are the Sukkur Barrage in Sind and the Sutlej Valley Project in the Punjab. The object of the former is to give an assured supply to, and extend the irrigation now provided by the numerous inundation canals in Sind. This will be achieved by the construction of a barrage nearly a mile long between abutments across the Indus, and it will be by far the biggest work of its kind yet built. From above the barrage seven canals, which, with their branches, will total nearly 1,600 miles, whilst the total length of the distributaries will be about 3,700 miles, will take off irrigating over 5 million acres. Of this area, 2 million acres represent existing inundation irrigation to which an assured supply will be given, but the remainder of the area is at present entirely uncultivated. The sanctioned estimate of the cost of the scheme amounts to £13·8 millions. Steady progress was made on this scheme during the year 1926-27. The first season's programme of permanent works on the river was carried out with complete success, and substantial progress has been made with the excavation of canals and branches.

Coming now to the Sutlej Valley project in the Punjab, there are on either bank of the Sutlej, in British territory on the north, and in Bahawalpur territory on the south, a long series of inundation canals, which draw their supply from the river whenever the water is high enough to permit it. These canals are liable to all the drawbacks of irrigation by inundation. There are no weirs at their heads, and, in many cases no means of controlling the volume of water entering them. Consequently while the water supply is assured during the monsoon months of a normal year, it is liable to serious fluctuations according to seasonal conditions. In a year of inferior rainfall, little water enters the canals; in a year of heavy rainfall, they are liable to grave damage by floods.

It is to remedy this state of affairs that the Sutlej Valley project has been taken in hand. By it, the existing canals will be given an assured and controlled supply from April to October and their scope will be extended so as to embrace the whole low-lying area in the river valley. Further, perennial irrigation will be afforded to the uplands on both banks, which are at present entirely unirrigated, and, owing to the low rainfall of the locality are lying waste. The project consists of four weirs, three on

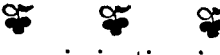
the Sutlej, and one on the combined Sutlej and Chenab, with ten main canals taking off from above them. This multiplicity of canals and weirs seems a peculiar feature of the scheme, until it is realised that the project consists of four inter-connected systems, each of the first magnitude. The canals are designed to utilise 48,500 cusecs during the hot weather and the monsoon, and 7,000 cusecs during the cold weather. Over 5 million acres will be irrigated, of which 2 million will be in the Punjab, 2·8 million in Bahawalpur, and 0·34 million in Bikanir. The full value of the project will be understood when it is said that the project will bring $3\frac{3}{4}$ million acres of desert waste under cultivation. Three out of the four headworks projected have now been completed and a total of Rs. 1,201 lakhs had been expended by the end of the year 1926-27. A fresh estimate for the project amounting to Rs. 2,376 lakhs received the sanction of the Secretary of State in November 1927.

Another project of the first magnitude, which is at present under construction in the United Provinces, is the Sarda Canal. This scheme was originally sanctioned in two portions, the Sarda Kichha Feeder Project, comprising the head-works and the main line and western branch of the system which were sanctioned in 1919 and the Sarda (Oudh) Canal, comprising the Southern branches which were sanctioned in 1921. The whole system embraces some 650 miles of main canal and branches, 3,600 miles of distributaries, and 110 miles of escapes. Work on the project is nearing completion and it is anticipated that construction will be finished and the canal opened for irrigation, during the year 1929-30. The entire system is expected to irrigate over $1\frac{1}{3}$ million acres and to produce a return of 7 per cent. on the estimated capital cost of £7 millions.

In March 1925, the Secretary of State sanctioned the Cauvery Reservoir Project in the Madras Presidency at an estimated cost of £4·6 millions. The project has been framed with two main objects in view; first, to improve the existing fluctuating water supplies for the Cauvery delta irrigation of over a million acres, and secondly, to extend irrigation to a new area of 301,000 acres, which will, it is estimated, add 150,000 tons of rice to the food

supply of the country. The scheme provides for a large dam at Mettur on the Cauvery to store over 90,000 million cubic feet of water, and for a canal nearly 88 miles long with a connected distributary system. Good progress was made during the year 1926-27 on preliminary and preparatory works for this important project, and work on the excavation of foundations for the main dam has also been started.

Among other irrigation projects which deserve notice, we may mention those which are now being carried out in the Deccan. The Bhandardara dam, which is the highest in India, has been completed, and the Lloyd dam, which is the largest mass of masonry in the world, is nearing completion. Irrigation from the great lakes formed by these dams is rapidly being developed in the valleys below them, the Bhandardara dam supplying the Pravara Canals and the Lloyd dam supplying the large Nira Canals system. Irrigation in the Pravara area has grown very rapidly, and lands on these canals are now covered with valuable sugarcane crops where before hardly any crops could be grown. The Nira valley project, consisting of the new Nira Right Bank Canal and extension of the Nira Left Bank Canal, will, when completed, command a total culturable area of about 675,000 acres, and this scheme will then be the largest in the Deccan. The completion of the great storage works at Bhandardara and at Bhatgar will allow a considerable extension of the total irrigable area, and, when fully developed, the present major irrigation schemes in the Deccan will be capable of irrigating over 450,000 acres annually. Almost every other province has irrigation projects in preparation, and those which are likely to be completed within a reasonable time will, it is estimated, add over 6 million acres to the irrigated area, whilst by the time the projects now under construction are in full working order, a total of 40 million acres under irrigation is expected. When allowance is made for the natural expansion of existing schemes, an ultimate area of 50 million acres under irrigation by Government works is not improbable.



As we have seen above, irrigation in India does not end with her canals. Wells are and always will be a vital factor in Indian irrigation; in these also, Government takes an active interest, which is continually increasing. The improvement of their efficiency by

MAMMOTH IRRIGATION SCHEME.

This is the easterly portion of the Sukkur Barrage Area viewed from the air comprising the familiar Gorge and Bridge.

subartesian bores and the installation of power pumping plants form one of the principal features of the programme of the engineering sections of the Agricultural Department. During the short period of its existence, the department has been instrumental in increasing the capacity of thousands of existing wells and in digging or sinking an equally large number of new ones. In 1926-27 the number of wells bored by Government was 2,769, of which 2,125 were successful. The number bored in the preceding year was 1,879 of which 1,293 were successful. There is great scope for the instalment of power pumps for water lifts driven by bullocks or man power. Some progress in this direction has been made, but the plant will require to be standardized, and capital, or at least credit, provided before this method of lifting water is adopted on a large scale.

We have now surveyed the work, and the relationship which it bears to the welfare of the agriculturist of the vast majority of the Indian population, of these three great departments, Agriculture, Forests and Irrigation. In their operations we see human knowledge and ingenuity busying themselves on the fringe of great natural processes, harnessing and using them as far as our limited powers and the forbearance of nature will permit. Enough has been said in the preceding pages to show that any improvement in the general welfare of the agricultural population of India will not result from the adoption of any facile formula or dogmatic theorising, nor will it be achieved by progress along any one line. It will come slowly and as the result of developments, changes and improvements in many varied fields of activity—in agricultural and veterinary research, in education, hygiene, road building, well sinking, co-operative buying and selling, and so forth—from changes in social customs, laws of inheritance and traditional beliefs, from the development of banking to provide in greater abundance the vitalising streams of credit whereby the growth of India's industries will be fostered and with them the rise of nearby markets for agricultural produce and outlets for the increasing population which presses now so heavily on the land. Along all these ways the increased well-being of India's agricultural masses must be sought.

The percentage of the Indian population, which is occupied in industrial occupations of all kinds, may seem small when compared with that major portion which gains its living from agriculture and allied pursuits. Nevertheless, in the aggregate it is large, and a recent writer has pointed to the very striking fact that Indian workers in industries, mines, and transport outnumber the whole population of Spain. India holds undisputed rank among the great industrial countries of the world and the memorandum sent from the India Office to the Secretary General of the League of Nations in 1921 stating India's claim to be regarded as one of the eight states of chief industrial importance in the world shows the grounds on which the claim is based. In the Jute industry she leads the world. The size of her Cotton industry is surpassed by only four other countries in the world. She possesses important and flourishing iron and steel works, mills and foundries of all sorts, dockyards, paper mills, match factories and so on. As far back as 1921 the census report showed that not far short of 16 million persons were engaged in industrial pursuits in India, nearly 2 millions in transport, and over quarter of a million in mining. Altogether about 18 million persons are occupied in these three great branches of labour alone, in India. In the year ending March 31st, 1927, the value of manufactured articles exported from India reached the great sum of over 853 millions of rupees, that is roughly £64 million sterling—a high figure when one remembers India's enormous home market and that she has a virtual monopoly in that market for some of her productions.

The condition of Indian industrial labour is, therefore, an element of vast importance in the welfare and well-being of the Indian population generally. In this report it would not be possible, even were space available, to do more than state the condition of Indian labour in the very broadest outlines. Here and there, notably in Bombay, enquiries have been made into the conditions of life, the housing, wages, and standard of living generally, of the industrial population, but hitherto hardly more than the outer fringe of the subject has been touched. There is a great dearth of accurate statistical and other data concerning the conditions under which the working classes live in towns. The Labour Office of the Bombay Secretariat, the Central Government's Report on the working of the Mines and Factories Act, the Reports of the Labour Commissioner in Madras, and the activities of various other

General view of the Chawls occupied by the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway Workshop's Employees at Worli.

Government officials, of Government or *quasi*-Government institutions, and of a few private bodies, are beginning to lighten the darkness which hangs over this part of the Indian scene, but a comprehensive survey into Indian Industry and industrial labour conditions, on the lines of that recently undertaken by the Royal Agricultural Commission, is becoming steadily more desirable.

In spite, however, of the large number of persons engaged in industrial and kindred pursuits in this country, and in spite of the somewhat impressive development of Indian industry during the past half century, it is still true to say that the Indian industrial army is not entirely composed of regulars. The greater part of Indian industrial labour army is supplied by the lowest stratum of agricultural labour, namely, the landless labourers. The lot of these people in their villages is not a happy one and as the isolation of the Indian village is increasingly breaking down—a process which we glanced at earlier in this chapter—the agricultural labourer is given a chance to try to improve his position by migrating to the towns. He is joined by the small land-holder who, for some reason or other, has lost his land, and by many who still farm their ancestral holdings, but find it necessary to supplement their holding by spells of work in the towns. Many of the industrial labourers remain permanently in the towns with their families, but the hearts of the vast majority are in the villages to which they return at intervals more or less frequent. A severe or prolonged strike will send them flocking by tens of thousands out of the city back to their own homes (from which some of them may not return). This temporary and migratory character of Indian labour is one of the causes of its comparative inefficiency both in industrial achievement and in organisation. It is one of the reasons for the low level of industrial wages in India. It causes rises in wages, for example, to be often swallowed up in increased absenteeism, and it enables other classes, such as the labour jobber and the money-lender, to batten on the wage-earners. Low as are the average wages of the Indian industrial worker, they would yet be sufficient to give him a better standard of living if the receipt of them in their entirety could be guaranteed him. Fortunately a good beginning has been made in this desirable direction. All over India, humane and progressive employers are

developing welfare work among their workmen, and here and there, social service and other philanthropic bodies are assisting in the development of co-operation as an alternative to the money-lender. The drink traffic is being ever more strictly regulated, and the housing problem has, in many places, been receiving considerable attention for some time past from employers as well as from municipal and other public authorities.

It is, unfortunately, impossible to say much that is of general application about the wages of industrial labourer in India. We have already referred briefly to two enquiries carried out in Bombay and the Punjab which showed that the real wages of both agricultural and industrial labourer had increased appreciably during the ten years ending with 1922. Bombay is unique in her possession of fairly extensive though now not very up-to-date statistics of wages paid in the principal industries in Bombay City and in one or two other cities within the Presidency, and the following representative figures taken from statistics published by the Bombay Government may be regarded as giving some idea of the probable figures in the big industrial areas elsewhere, and as indicative of a standard of living which possibly does not vary very considerably from one industrial area to another.

The statement which is given as Appendix No. III to this book shows the budgets of married and single men belonging to five classes of labourers in the Bombay Presidency. The figures are out of date as they relate to a period as far back as May, 1921 to April, 1922, but they are the latest we have got. And in any case, if a similar survey of the working man's budgets were taken at the present day it is likely that the percentages arrived at in 1922 would repeat themselves to-day. Working then with caution and reserve we may take it that the highest incomes of each of the five classes of working men shown in the statement represent in each case a fair average of the incomes of each of those classes at the present day. This is of course only a guess.

On an analysis of that part of the statement relating to the budgets of married men, we find that the income of Weavers exceeds their expenditure by 19 per cent. and that they, as a class,

save most. Next after weavers, in living well within their income, come spinners, whose income exceeds their expenditure by almost 14 per cent. Indeed, from the statement it appears that the workers in the Spinning and Weaving Mills in Bombay are more thrifty, as a class, than those of any of the other three classes. The statement also shows that Dock Labourers are, at first sight, the least thrifty of the five classes whose budgets are before us. The reason for their apparent thriftlessness, however, will be explained further on.

Looking now at the various items of expenditure, we learn that food accounts for more than 50 per cent. of the working man's expenses. As a matter of fact, the Dock Labourer spends 60 per cent. of his income on food, no doubt because his work makes it necessary for him to take more nourishment than those need who are engaged in less strenuous manual work. It also accounts for his very small savings at the end of the month. The item "Common Conventional luxuries" is made up of liquor and betelnut and works out, roughly, to 5 and 6 per cent., respectively, in the case of all workers, except the scavenger who spends 1 per cent. more on liquor than do the other classes. The expenditure on the two items Clothing and House rent is fairly equal throughout all the five classes, ranging between 6 to 9 per cent. of their total expenditure except again in the case of the scavenger. The interest the working man pays on debts amounts to rather less than 2 per cent. of his expenditure (1·5 to 2·3, roughly, of his income), which, considering all things, cannot be said to be excessive. The contrast between the budget of the scavenger and those of the other classes included in the statement is curious. He spends as much as 12 per cent. and more on common luxuries, 10 per cent. on clothes and only 2 per cent. on house-rent, but he pays more than 6 per cent. in interest on debt, that is, more than three times what the other workers spend.

Turning now to the Single man's budget we might begin by explaining that the term "single man" is meant not an unmarried man without any dependants, but a married man whose family and dependants are living away from him.

The budget shows that the single man like the married man spends most of his income on food, this item in his budget bearing

much the same ratio as the married man's to his total expenditure. But whereas the married man's expenditure on common conventional luxuries amounts to 11 or 12 per cent. of his total expenditure, the single man's expenditure under this head reaches a percentage of from 21·5 to 27. The interest he pays on debts is also higher than the interest paid by his married brother.

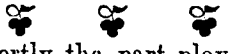
The general conclusion to be drawn from the statement is that the standard of living or of comfort among the working classes in India is low, and, in the cases of families earning under Rs. 30, very low indeed.

One fact which is not brought out in the statement is that the expenditure on Education is still disappointingly low, being *nil* in the lowest class, and negligible in the other classes, except in the highest. The average expenditure per month on this head among the working classes works out to two annas eleven pies per family!

However, in spite of the generally depressing appearance of the wages statement which we have been examining, it can be said with confidence that for some years past the real wages of labour, both agricultural and industrial, have tended to rise. But the increase in industrial wages is attended by a strange paradox. The wants of the labourer are few and do not expand very readily, and an increase in wages enables him to satisfy his wants at the cost of less work. With higher wages, therefore, he tends to work for fewer days in the year, and prominent employers in India have on more than one occasion spoken bitterly of the effect of increased wages as a direct incentive to increased idleness.

However this may be, there is no doubt that all but the most highly skilled workmen in India receive wages which are barely sufficient to feed and clothe them or to enable them to live with more than the minimum of comfort or even decency. The proof of this can be seen in the course of a visit to those quarters of any big town where the lower classes of labourers live. A small and utterly insanitary house will accommodate a number of families. Everywhere will be seen overcrowding, dirt and squalid misery. And yet, even the worst of the Bombay Chawls or labourers' tenements, with their badly ventilated rooms, blocked up windows, refuse strewn court-yards, and all the other concomitants of slum life at its worst, represent a standard of housing higher than that engaged by many of the poorest labourers in Indian towns. A few scraps of dirty sacking eked out by the disjecta

membra of ancient kerosine tins have all too often got to suffice to shelter the poorest paid labourer and his family. It is true that the climate of Bombay or Madras is not the climate of England, but even in India we have rains and storms. However, in the past, and particularly within recent years, much has been done to ameliorate the housing conditions in the poorer quarters of Indian towns. In the big presidency cities the improvement trusts have done work of untold value in sweeping away many of the worst and foulest slums and replacing them by dwellings fit for human beings to live in. Municipal authorities also have begun to tackle the housing problems here and there, and much has been done by public bodies and private employers for their workmen. There is a distinct tendency on the part of big employers in India to develop the welfare side, in which housing is one of the most important factors, of their relations with their employees, and a particularly good example is the great industrial town of Jamshedpur where the Tata's Iron and Steel Works are situated. The attention paid there to the housing and general comfort of the work people will stand comparison with that devoted by most employers elsewhere.



We shall discuss shortly the part played by the State, particularly through its mining and industrial legislation, in the uplift of industrial labour in India, but before we do so, it is fitting that we glance briefly at the welfare work now being done by private employers and philanthropic associations. It is true to say that important employers all over India are now taking an active interest in the conditions and surroundings in which their work people live. Not only do the tea gardens, transport companies of all sorts, and the big factories and works keep their own doctors and in many instances run maternity benefits schemes and creches, but some of them provide recreation for their people out of work hours and help to keep them out of drinking and gambling dens. The formation of co-operative stores and credit societies is becoming more and more common, and workmen's institutes are springing up here and there. The Social Service League of Bombay, the famous Servants of India Society, the Poona Seva Sadan Society and others less well-known are all undertaking welfare work of great value and much promise for the future. In most provinces, municipalities are now empowered to make the education of children

between certain ages compulsory, and the Bombay Municipality has already begun to exercise its powers in this respect on a large scale. It is to the education of children of the working classes that we must look for the most hopeful line of attack on the present unsatisfactory conditions in which the great majority of industrial labourers in India live. For, with greater knowledge will come greater discontent with prevailing disabilities, and, what is more, greater capacity to remove them. One of the most satisfactory developments of recent years has been the fall in the employment of children in industry. Already we see in India the first beginnings of a clash between labour and capital and the betterment of the labourers' lot in this country as elsewhere will prove to be a policy not only of humanity, but of good business. Already Indian labour has been " internationalised " and India is one of the original members of the international labour organisation established by the Peace Treaty. Her delegates regularly attend the International Conferences which are held, and conditions of labour in this country must tend more and more to come into line with those in the more advanced countries of the West. Following the adoption of the Draft Conventions and the Recommendation concerning workers' sickness insurance by the International Labour Conference at its tenth session in May and June, 1927, the Government of India propose to ask the Provincial Governments their opinion on the subject of the possibility of introducing into this country a system of sickness insurance either on the lines of the above mentioned Conventions or on different lines. The draft convention concerning workmen's compensation for occupational diseases which was adopted at the Seventh Session of the International Labour Conference at Geneva in 1925 has been ratified by the Government of India.

Rapidly as the above sketch has been drawn, it has yet been done in sufficient detail to show that attempts are being made towards, and that some progress is being achieved in, the improvement of the conditions of life and work of the large industrial population of India. Visitors to India from other countries, who are interested in labour conditions, are apt to express strong condemnation of Indian employers and the Indian Government as a result of their first impressions of the conditions under which the

workmen in the big cities of India have to live. Unfortunately many of these visitors have time for nothing more than an inspection of the three or four biggest cities in India, and it is only natural that the vision of the worst of Bombay chawls or the foulest of the *bastis* in the jute area should be the one which makes the strongest impression on their mind and stays longest with them. But a visit to Jamshedpur or to those parts of Bombay and Calcutta where Improvement Trusts, Municipal authorities, and enlightened employers are providing model accommodation for work people would undoubtedly tone down many of the dark patches in the pictures which are presented as true representations of the town labourers' life in every industrial occupation all over India. And State action during recent years has powerfully supplemented the action of provincial and subordinate public authorities and employers in this matter of labour uplifts and has applied to Indian conditions many of the results of the experience gained, often with much pain and expense, by the pioneer industrial countries, particularly England. Inevitably, the action of the Central Government is practically confined to legislation, that is, to marking a level below which conditions of labour in factory, mine, dockyard or railway repairing shed, shall not fall, to protecting the labourer and his wife and children against exploitation by unscrupulous employers, to recompensing him for injuries received through accidents arising out of and in the course of his employment and to making available for him the incalculably beneficial effects of organisation. We have already in previous reports seen something of the scope and possibilities of the Indian Trade Unions Act which was brought into force on 1st June, 1927. During the year under review, the necessary regulations for bringing its provisions into effect have been framed and promulgated by Provincial Governments. Under it Indian labour now has the opportunity to do much to shape its own conditions. At present, Indian Trade Unionism is in its infancy. It has met with some success on the railways, but has not spread with any rapidity among the big textile and mining industries. The coming of the Indian Factories and Mines Acts has meant immense and measurable improvement in the circumstances of the majority of Indian industrial labourers.

The history of the modern Factories Act can be traced back definitely to 1911, but in its present shape it may be said to date from 1922. It has introduced a 60 hours week, has provided for the exclusion from factories of children below the age of 12, for the abolition of night work for women, and for various other reforms. Practically all the responsibility for its enforcement now rests on a well-qualified, whole-time staff. The latest report on the working of the Factories Act relates to the year 1926, when an Amending Act was passed to remove certain administrative difficulties which had arisen in the course of its working. One of the provisions of the Amending Act is designed to assist those who are engaged in stamping out the abuse arising from the double employment of children under two certificates. The Act as now amended renders liable to prosecution the parents or guardians who have legal custody over such children or derive any direct benefit from their wages. The number of factories rose during 1926 from 6,926 to 7,251, but a large part of this increase is accounted for by the addition of 112 rice mills and 97 cotton ginning factories to the list. It should be explained that under one of the sections of the Factories Act Provincial Governments are empowered to notify as factories establishments which employ simultaneously not less than ten persons on any one day in the year. Increasing use of this power conferred by this section is being made in the provinces and during the year the number of notified factories was 122 as compared with 100 during 1925. The factory population has now risen from 1,494,958 to 1,518,391. The only provinces and administrations which have not shared in this increase are Bengal, the Punjab, Assam, Delhi and the North-West Frontier Province. In Bengal there was a decrease during 1926 in the number of factory employees and this is attributed to the changing over of a number of jute mills from a multiple shift system to a single shift system whereby a reduction in the strength of the labour force was caused. On the other hand, in spite of the depression in the cotton textile industry, there was a substantial increase in the average daily number of persons employed in cotton factories, the number so employed in the Bombay Presidency being 4,500 greater than in the preceding year, 1925.

The steady increase in the employment of women which has been noticed in previous reports went on unchecked in Bombay where the total number of women employed in factories rose from

77,624 to 81,104. The total number of women employed in factories throughout India increased by about 2,000 to 249,669 which represents a little over 16 per cent. of the total factory population. The number of children employed in factories fell from 68,725 in 1925 to 60,094. A very substantial reduction was effected during the year in the number of children employed in jute mills. The following statement will show the decrease of child labour in factories during the last four years:—

Year.	No. of children employed.
1923	74,620
1924	72,531
1925	68,725
1926	60,094

This is largely due to the increasing efficiency of the arrangements made in the provinces for the certification of children and in Bombay, the recent amendment of the Act making parents and guardians responsible for the double employment of children under two certificates has proved to be very useful in checking this abuse.

The percentage of factories maintaining a week of 48 hours for men is 27. In 13 per cent. more, the men employed worked 54 hours or less. The number working more than 54 hours is 60 per cent. For women the corresponding percentages are 32, 11 and 57, figures which show no improvement over those of the preceding year. The percentage of factories limiting their child employees to 30 hours or less in the week has fallen from 34 in 1925 to 30. No reduction has been effected in the number of factories in which the majority of the operatives are exempted from the various sections of the Act. The number of such exemptions is comparatively small in Burma, the Central Provinces, Bombay and Madras, but it is only in the last named province that the figures show any substantial reduction over those of the preceding year. The largest number of exemptions was granted in Assam, but the factories in this province are mostly seasonal.

The number of reported accidents, which has been increasing steadily for some years, showed a further large increase from 12,645 in 1925 to 14,866 in 1926. The increase was particularly large in Bombay and Bihar and Orissa, and substantial in Bengal, the United Provinces, and Madras. In Bihar and Orissa, the year

was a particularly bad one. The number of fatal accidents rose from 25 to 54 and the total number of accidents rose by about 500 or 29 per cent. over the previous total. The worst accident of the year occurred in this province, 16 people being killed and 15 injured owing to the fall of a ladle of molten iron in an Iron and Steel Works. The Chief Inspector has made a careful analysis of the causes of accidents and in the course of an important discussion of their causation he remarks that the most lamentable feature of the year was " a series of catastrophies due to technical incompetence ".

Outside Bihar and Orissa, the number of fatal accidents fell from 238 to 216, and although the numbers of reports, both of serious and minor accidents, increased substantially, there is good reason for believing that the increase is, to a large extent, an increase in reports rather than an increase in accidents. In Bombay, where the total increase is largest, the Chief Inspector writes:—

" The writer is in the somewhat invidious position of claiming a distinct advance in the safe-guarding of machinery *pari passu* with an increasing accident rate. The latter is due to improved reporting, the tendency of operatives to stay away longer than is necessary, and also to the extreme liberality of the two large railway companies in Bombay. These give full pay for absenteeism due to accidents. Possibly their liberal attitude pays in the long run, since, although a number of accidents occur, yet a tetanus case is extremely rare."

The Chief Inspector in Bengal also comments on the manner in which the railway workshop figures affect the total, and, speaking of the Railway Administration mainly responsible, says that the high rate " is not due to want of fencing or efficient supervision as their workshops are as well fenced and supervised as any other railway workshop in the province, but by a too liberal payment of full wages to injured workers during absence. Slight injuries are treated as accidents reportable under the Act ". In the United Provinces where about 80 per cent. of all the accidents reported occurred in railway workshops, the Chief Inspector writes:—

" The increase in serious accidents in railway workshops is regretted, and is due in many instances to persons, who are not seriously injured, but nevertheless absent themselves from work

for more than 21 days, and the accident is thus recorded as serious. The increase in the number of minor accidents is accounted for by better reporting and an increase in the number of persons employed."

In Madras, where railway workshops account for the majority of the accidents, the Provincial Government have directed the Commissioner of Labour to advise regarding the measures to be taken to minimize accidents. Investigations made by the Railway Board showed that railway workshops have been reporting in considerable numbers very trivial accidents which do not require to be reported under the Act and which were not formerly included in the statistics. The statistics, therefore, by comparison with previous years, do not present a true picture of the extent to which the incidence-rates of accidents have altered. There is, moreover, good reason to believe that in past years the number of non-fatal accidents which were not reported was large. To a considerable extent, therefore, the steady increase in non-fatal accidents reported in recent years can be traced to fewer accidents being unreported and to the inclusion of a substantial number of accidents which the Act does not require to be reported. But the present position deserves the most careful consideration of all concerned in the management of factories and the administration of the Act.

It is satisfactory, therefore, to note that vigorous steps are being taken in all provinces for the improvement in fencing and the guarding of machinery. Safety posters are also being used to an increasing extent to bring home to the workers the precautions which they must take in the performance of their work. That these efforts have not been in vain is shown by the fact that in some provinces, in spite of an increase in the total number of accidents there has been an actual decrease in the number of accidents, there has been an actual decrease in the number of in Bengal a Safety Committee similar to those employed in railway workshops was formed of five members selected from the various departments with the head of the Medical Department as the Chairman. Such Committees, by concentrating attention on all industrial risks in a factory, might play an important part in checking the increase in the number of accidents although it is not yet possible as in Europe and America to secure the full co-operation of the workers in this matter.

The number of convictions obtained during the year for the contravention of the Factories Act was 1,417, the number of persons convicted being 349. The corresponding figures for 1925 were 998 and 271. The large increase in the figures may be taken as a satisfactory indication of increasing strictness in the enforcement of the provisions of the Act. Unfortunately there are still complaints in some provinces as to the inadequacy of the fines imposed by Magistrates, particularly in cases connected with the illegal employment of women and children.

The percentage of factories inspected during the year was 88 as against 86 in 1925, the total number of factories inspected rising from 5,933 to 6,399.

The Mines Act of 1923 prohibiting the employment of children under 13 years of age and their presence below ground, limited the hours of work of adults to 60 a week above ground and to 54 below ground, and prescribed a weekly day of rest. It did not, however, impose any limits on the hours during which any person might work in a mine on any one day. Accordingly, a Bill further to amend the Indian Mines Act was passed by the Legislative Assembly on the 27th March, 1928, and will be referred to the Council of State during the autumn session of 1928 at Simla. But although the primary object of this Bill is to impose a limitation on the daily hours of work, it is not to be supposed that the hours of work in mines are generally excessive, for it is probable that a daily average of eight hours is exceeded in only a few places. The main advantage which the Bill is designed to secure is an alteration in the system at present in force in many mines which encourages miners to spend longer hours underground thereby making satisfactory supervision difficult. This system tends to increase the number of accidents in various ways and it diminishes the potential efficiency of the Indian miner. The shift system is working successfully in many mines and it would probably be introduced more generally without any compulsion but for the danger that labour may migrate to those mines where restrictions are absent. That danger will disappear when regularity in working hours is made a general rule.

The Annual Report of the Chief Inspector of Mines on the working of the Indian Mines Act during the year 1926, shows

that the daily average number of persons employed in mines during that period was 260,113—an increase of 6,256 persons as compared with the preceding year. Of these persons, 118,232 worked underground, 71,139 in open workings, and 70,742 on the surface; 181,616 were males, 78,497 females. In coal mines 170,628 persons of both sexes were employed, and of these, 35,607 women, chiefly loaders, worked underground and in open workings, and 14,825 on the surface. The corresponding figures for 1925 were 39,618 and 18,913. The actual number of women working underground in coal mines was 28,496. The average number of tons of coal obtained per person employed showed an increase over the figures of preceding years, the higher output being due to the increased use of coal cutting machines, the value of which in the mining of coal is now being fully recognised.

During the year 1926 there were 198 fatal accidents, 227 employees being killed, of these 190 were males and 37 females. The death rate from accidents was 87 per 100,000 persons employed, as against 92 in the preceding year, which, as we pointed out in last year's report, was the lowest figure recorded for many years. Of the fatal accidents, 152 occurred in coal mines, or 5 less than in the previous year.

We noticed a little while ago that the number of accidents to working people is fairly high, and the constant growth in the industrial population and the increasing complexity of machinery used, combined with a certain oblivion on the part of the workmen to the dangers arising from the use of modern machinery, are bound to keep up the number of accidents. The Workmen's Compensation Act, which was passed in 1923, is therefore a very beneficial and necessary addition to Indian labour legislation. For some time after it became law, the provisions of the Act were not well-known to the work people concerned, and even now are not as widely known as they ought to be. The latest reports from the provinces, however, indicate not only that the Act is working smoothly, but that in some places labour organisations are taking an interest in securing to the workers and their dependents the benefits to which they are entitled under the Act.

From our discussion of industrial conditions in India we arrive naturally on the subject of unemployment. It should be

pointed out at once that any treatment of this subject must be in somewhat vague and general terms because none of the statistical and other data which are required are available. It is, however, certain that the problem of unemployment in India is very different from the corresponding problem in England. In this country there is unemployment from time to time in particular industries, but normally all the labour available can be absorbed, and, very often, the trouble is not to find work for the workless, but to find workers for the work. Unemployment in Indian industries, in fact, occurs on a wide scale only when scarcity or famine produces partial or complete stoppage of agricultural operations over wide areas, thus throwing into the market, agricultural labour and labour employed in industries subsidiary to agriculture. But here it is necessary to draw a distinction between conditions in India at such times and analogous difficulties in Western countries, for a situation of this kind is met in India by the institution of a system of famine relief which has no parallel in the other countries referred to. When we talk of unemployment in India, what we have in mind usually is unemployment among the educated classes and there is not the least doubt that this constitutes a problem which is becoming more and more serious every year. Higher education in this country is still predominantly of the literary type, and the majority of the graduates look either to the law or to some form of clerical occupation for a livelihood. Probably nine graduates in ten of the Indian Universities look to Government service in the first place for a living, and if they are disappointed in their hopes in this quarter, their outlook is not a very promising one. Every year the Indian Universities, colleges and high schools turn out many thousands of educated or semi-educated youths in excess of the number of Government or other public service jobs available. Among the members of what we might call the educated middle class there is undeniably severe distress on account of unemployment, and in very many cases even where employment has been found, its remuneration is very meagre and often less even than that obtained by the higher classes of artisans. Obviously new avenues of employment for these classes are needed and the growth of Indian industry and the rise of new forms of industry in this country ought to provide these openings. Fortunately the scale and quality of education in scientific subjects are steadily rising and an increased supply of trained minds will, undoubtedly, prove

beneficial to the growth of Indian industry. The School of Mining which was opened at Dhánbad in December, 1926, the provision of facilities by the University of Rangoon for the training of engineers who would be able to take part in exploiting the rich mineral resources of Burma and other developments elsewhere are all encouraging signs of progress.

CHAPTER IV.

State and People (ii).

PUBLIC HEALTH, EDUCATION, DRINK AND DRUGS.

All three of the subjects discussed in this chapter will be found on reference to the Devolution Rules, to be Provincial Transferred Subjects, and the two first-mentioned are treated in some detail in Chapter X, the second of the two chapters devoted to the year in the Provinces. Some explanation of their appearance in this place is, therefore, called for. The functions of the Government of India in medicine are broadly speaking restricted to the assistance and guidance of research whilst in education their functions are restricted to the general control of the denominational universities at Benares and Aligarh and of the University of Delhi; general control of education in the areas under their direct control such as the North-West Frontier Province; control over Chiefs Colleges; and the safeguarding of the administration of central subjects. The Government of India also exercises certain powers in respect of infectious and contagious diseases, takes part in medical activities of an international kind and maintains certain departmental cadres to deal with these matters. In short, the Central Government's work in these subjects starts where the Provincial is brought to a halt by financial, administrative and territorial restrictions. The national government with its wider vision, ampler resources and more extensive and intensive responsibility for the welfare of the people of this country must inevitably be the authority to inspire and support general policy, and finance those higher activities which may not be immediately beneficial or remunerative, but on which all progress mainly depends.

It will be generally agreed that hardly any activity of the State, particularly in a tropical country, is as important as that which is exercised in the field of public health. Even if we are speaking only from the humanitarian point of view, this would be true, but, as is easily apparent from what we have said in the previous chapter, in addition to the alleviation of suffering—which results

from such activity, economic results of vast importance follow from every improvement in public health. Some of the most striking evidence given before the Royal Commission on Agriculture was concerned with this subject and we can draw a very good illustration of this argument from the most common disease of India, namely malaria. No part of India is free from this scourge and the number of days of work which are lost every year on its account must run into many millions. The members of every class and occupation in India are affected, and not only the actual days lost are to be counted, but the weakening effects of malaria on the human system must also be taken into consideration, for it saps the energy and reduces the efficiency of its victims. In other parts of India, commonly prevalent diseases like hookworm, beriberi, etc., supplement the havoc wrought by malaria, whilst destructive epidemics like cholera, plague and small pox, which so frequently sweep different areas of India, take heavy toll. It must be remembered that a death in India may be a very ruinous thing for a family since it may result in extravagant expenditure on funeral ceremony, may lead to the un-economic partition of land, and produce a number of other disastrous effects. The chart which is reproduced on the opposite page, will show the reader, without a wearisome repetition of statistics, the toll of human life taken in this country by diseases and insanitary conditions, many of which can be prevented or improved. The part played by the Central Government in the improvement of Public Health has been already briefly outlined and since the financial condition of India has improved appreciably in recent years the Indian Government is now able to give increasing help to Medical Research. During the year 1927-28 the Indian Research Fund Association received a total grant of Rs. 7,05,071 from the Central Government for the furtherance of Medical Research. The Association financed sixty-six inquiries in 1927-28 in the field of medical research, including investigations into various aspects of malaria, plague, cholera, tuberculosis, indigenous drugs, maternal mortality and morbidity in child-birth in India, anti-rabic vaccine experiments, drug addiction in this country, inquiry into the changes that occur in the blood in certain tropical diseases and numerous other matters and diseases. The Association also continued its contributions towards the cost of two professorships at the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, and the pay of Dr. Muir employed on the

leprosy inquiry at the same school, and also towards the up-keep of the Imperial Bureau of Entomology in London, and the Bio-Chemical Section at the Haffkine Institute in Bombay. A grant towards the cost of the Central Malaria Organization now called the Malaria Survey of India, was also sanctioned and during the year, Malaria surveys were carried out in Coorg and at Vizagapatam. As the Seventh Congress of the Far Eastern Association of Tropical Medicine was held at Calcutta in December 1927, the usual annual Conference of Medical Research Workers was not convened, but an extraordinary meeting of the Scientific Advisory Board of the Indian Research Fund Association, with seven co-opted members was called. A programme of work for 1928-29, which will absorb almost the whole of the Indian Research Fund Association's income, was recommended by the Board and finally approved by the Governing Body. It is very satisfactory to be able to report that the number of officers of the Medical Research Department provided for in the budget of the Director General of the Indian Medical Service was raised from four in 1926-27 to five in 1927-28, but it is obvious that this figure might advantageously be multiplied as funds became available. The Scheme for establishing a Central Medical Research Institute in India was considered by a very strong committee consisting of Sir Walter Fletcher, K.B.E., M.D., Sc.D., LL.D., F.R.C.P., F.R.S., Secretary of the Medical Research Council (Privy Council), as Chairman, and Lieut.-Colonel S. P. James, M.D., D.P.H., I.M.S., (Retired), Medical Officer and Adviser on Tropical Diseases, Ministry of Health, London, Dr. R. Row, O.B.E., M.D., D.Sc., Professor of Pathology, Grant Medical College, Bombay, and Bt.-Colonel S. R. Christophers, C.I.E., O.B.E., K.H.P., F.R.S., I.M.S., Director of the Central Research Institute at Kasauli, as members. The Committee has submitted its report to the Government of India.

Two International meetings of Medical and Public Health experts were held in India during the year under review. Between the 5th and 24th December, 1927, the Seventh Congress of the Far Eastern Association of Tropical Medicine was held in Calcutta under the patronage of His Excellency Lord Irwin. Fourteen delegates from Australia, the Dutch East Indies, the Philippines, Siam, the Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States, Japan, Ceylon, Indo-China, China and Hongkong and a representative of the League of Nations attended the meeting. A number of

delegates from the Government of India and from the Indian provinces and States were also present. The subjects discussed at the Conference ranged over the whole field of tropical medicine.

The second meeting referred to was the Second Far East Health Interchange which was held in India by the League of Nations in consultation with the Government of India in January, 1928. The League invited the Governments of Egypt, Ceylon, Siam, Federated Malay States, Straits Settlements, Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, Indo-China, French Indo-China, China, Japan, Australia and New Zealand to select delegates to attend this Health Interchange and sixteen representatives of the above mentioned countries came to India. The object of these Health Interchanges is to enable medical men of a number of countries to visit some foreign country and study conditions on the spot. Most of the expenses of the Indian Health Interchange were borne by the League of Nations.

The third session of the Advisory Council of the League of Nations, Health Organisation, Eastern Bureau, was held in New Delhi at the end of December, 1927 under the Chairmanship of Colonel J. D. Graham, C.I.E., I.M.S., Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India. Delegates from the countries which were represented at the two International meetings mentioned above were also present at this session, as also was the President of the Health Committee of the League of Nations. A number of resolutions relating to public health in eastern countries were passed.

During the year under review, the Government of India was well represented at a number of international medical conferences in England and on the Continent, these including the International Rabies Conference at Paris and the Conference, held at Geneva in July 1927, for the creation of an International Relief Union.

The Central Official Medical Service in this country is the world-famed Indian Medical Service, which has produced a number of devoted and brilliant investigators into tropical diseases. The members of this Service furnish the medical officers of the Indian Army, direct the medical administration of the Provinces, provide teachers in the medical colleges and serve as Civil Surgeons in charge of the more important districts in each Province. In last

year's report we said that a scheme for the reorganisation of the Medical Services in India had been submitted to the Secretary of State. The main features of the scheme are that the suggested unification of the Military Medical Services in India should be abandoned, that an Indian Medical Service constituted on the same broad lines as at present, should be retained primarily for the purpose of meeting the needs of the Indian Army and that in order to maintain the necessary war reserve of military medical officers and to provide European medical attendance for European Officers of the Superior Civil Services and their families, provincial Governments should be required to employ a stated number of Indian Medical Service Officers. The reply to this despatch was received in March 1927. The Secretary of State accepted the main features of the scheme, involving the employment on the civil side of 302 officers of the Indian Medical Service and a communique announcing the scheme in the final form was issued in May 1928. In brief, the result of the reorganisation is that fewer posts will now be reserved for officers of the Indian Medical Service than before, and Provincial Governments will now be able to add a larger number of higher posts to their own provincial services.

An event of much importance in medical education in India was the inspection of the courses of medical study and examinations of Indian Universities carried out during the latter half of 1926-27 by Sir Norman Walker and Colonel R. A. Needham, I.M.S., on behalf of the General Medical Council of Great Britain. On their recommendation the Council decided to renew for a further period of one year the recognition accorded to the medical degrees of the Universities of Madras, Bombay, Lahore and Lucknow. The question of the recognition of the degrees of the Universities of Calcutta and Patna is to be considered further on the fulfilment by those Universities of certain conditions laid down by the Council. The application of the Andhra University for the recognition of its degrees of M.B., B.S., was rejected. The reports of Sir Norman Walker and Colonel Needham were received by the Government of India at the end of September 1927 and copies were communicated to the Provincial Governments concerned for such action as they might consider desirable with reference to the comments made in the reports. In one of these reports Sir Norman Walker expressed the opinion that the periodic visitation and inspection of medical colleges and examinations in India through

the direct agency of the General Medical Council was no longer practicable, and suggested that steps should be taken to create some co-ordinating authority in India to enable the General Medical Council to obtain the information which it required for the discharge of its statutory duties. He looked forward ultimately to the establishment in India of some central authority comparable to the General Medical Council and suggested that pending its establishment, a Commissioner of Medical Qualifications and Standards with headquarters in Delhi should be appointed to continue and expand the work done by Colonel Needham as Inspector of the General Medical Council. Even before the receipt of the reports of Sir Norman Walker and Colonel Needham, the question of the establishment of an all-India Medical Council had been brought to the forefront in connection with a Bill introduced in the Council of State by the Hon'ble Dr. Rama Rau in February 1926, and as a result of further consideration of the matter the Government of India contemplated bringing forward a Government Bill providing for the establishment of an all-India Medical Council. They now propose to consult Provincial Governments regarding the proposed legislation and the suggestion of Sir Norman Walker that, pending the establishment of an all-India Medical Council, a Commissioner of Medical Qualifications and Standards should be appointed in this country.

The publication of Miss Mayo's book " Mother India", to which reference was made in the opening chapter of this report, has fixed the attention of people all over the world on the circumstances in which many of the women of India live their lives, and has aroused widespread interest in the institutions of child marriage and in the provision of medical attendance for the millions of women whom ancient custom keeps behind the purdah. These things have occupied the attention of private and official persons and institutions in this country for many years past, and of late the interest taken has gathered momentum. An examination of the reports of the debates in the Legislative Assembly since 1921 will show how Indian opinion is concerned more and more seriously with the grave problems arising out of these circumstances and how the views of advanced reformers like Sir Hari Singh Gour, are gaining increasing support year by year As far back as the end

of the eighties of last century the provision of medical assistance for Indian women was definitely undertaken by the Countess of Dufferin, wife of the Viceroy of India in those days. She it was who first lifted the purdah to admit skilled assistance to women and girls who lived behind it, and the wives of other Viceroys since that time have carried on and expanded and developed her work until now there are three institutions at work which provide medical relief for Indian women—institutions which possess the wonderful attributes of being neither entirely official nor entirely non-official and incapable of classification either as central or provincial subjects. The first of these institutions, founded by the Countess of Dufferin and commonly known by her name, has for its object the training of women as doctors, hospital assistants, nurses, and midwives, as well as the provision of dispensaries, wards and hospitals. This institution did excellent work; but, after some years, it became clear that its income had become insufficient for the fulfilment of its objects and that the remuneration which it offered to women doctors was inadequate. This resulted in 1914 in the establishment of a Women's Medical Service, and the Government of India now pays the Countess of Dufferin's Fund a subsidy of three hundred and seventy thousand rupees per annum. At the end of 1927 the Service had a cadre of forty-four. Owing, however, to the financial position of the Service, the question of reducing the cadre to forty-two was considered, and this in spite of the fact that two applications for two new posts to be filled by Women's Medical Service Officers had to be refused. The Dufferin Fund Council at a meeting held at Viceregal Lodge in Delhi on 19th March, 1927, passed a resolution asking the Government of India for an increased grant to provide eight more doctors for the service. This, however, the Government of India refused to do because the majority of the Women's Medical Service doctors are serving in Governor's provinces, where, since the reforms, medical relief has been a transferred subject. For this reason, they argued, the cost of the Women's Medical Service doctors should be paid by the Provinces. The Council then approached each of the Provincial Governments requesting partial support for the Women's Medical Service doctors serving in the Governor's provinces using as an argument in support of their plea the recent remissions of provincial contributions to the central revenues. Bengal and Bombay, where three and five Women's Medical Service officers are

serving respectively, refused to give any financial assistance. The other provinces promised help provided their Legislative Councils were willing to vote the money. Another application was made to the Government of India for a non-recurring grant to enable the Women's Medical Service to carry on till help from the provinces materialised, but no reply has yet been vouchsafed to this second appeal. The reports from nearly all the hospitals staffed by Women's Medical Service officers record increased opportunities for work and a difficult financial position. Members of the Women's Medical Service teach in the Lady Hardinge Medical College, Delhi, and in the Medical Schools at Madras and Agra. In these training institutions eleven Women's Medical Service officers were engaged in tuition during the year, eight at the Lady Hardinge Medical College, two at the Agra Medical School, and one at Madras. In the Central Provinces two new hospitals have been opened for women. At Chhindwara and Khandwa, research work into the causes of maternal mortality in child-birth has been going on in connection with the Haffkine Institute of Bombay, under medical women assisted by the Women's Medical Service. The latter, it should be said, is recruited in the proportion of 50·50 from among Europeans and persons domiciled in India, but its present strength is proving unequal to the demand for trained medical women.

The second institution working in this field is the Victoria Memorial Scholarships Fund, raised by the late Lady Curzon. Its object is the training of local *dais*, or midwives, so as "to enable them to pursue their hereditary calling in the light of modern sanitation and medical knowledge". Anyone familiar with the crude and dangerous conditions in which births take place in India will readily realise the pressing need for some such training. The Fund began to furnish this training in 1902, but owing to the ignorance and stubborn prejudices of the class for whose welfare it was established, progress has been painfully and lamentably slow. Nevertheless, a great deal has been accomplished, but progress must depend as much on the education of public opinion as on the provision of well-trained *dais*. Happily, there are signs of an awakening consciousness in this matter, due probably to the propagandist effects of such movements as Health Visitors in the Punjab, the innovation of providing quarters for *dais* willing to receive a nine

months' intensive training in Dera Ismail Khan, and the exertions of the Municipal Welfare Scheme in Simla. Throughout the year under review the work of training *dais* has gone steadily forward and at the 1927 All-India Conference for Maternity and Child Welfare work, the following views were expressed:—

> " In South India the indigenous *dais* are being extensively replaced by better educated women who are trained midwives. In North India the untrained indigenous *dais* are being gradually replaced by trained indigenous *dais*. The problem of providing the village woman with a trained attendant at her confinement is still a difficult one, but in small areas it is being tackled."

The vitally important work performed by the administrators of the Fund is thus being pushed forward steadily if slowly and in many places in India now municipal and other local authorities retain trained midwives for maternity cases.

The third institution working for the welfare of Indian women is the Lady Chelmsford League, founded to " promote Maternity and Child Welfare generally in India ". The high rate of infant mortality in India was felt to be a blot on her health administration; but " lack of funds " was the official excuse for not tackling the problem. Lady Chelmsford determined to fill the gap and collected a sum which yields an income of over half a lakh of rupees.

The League has done admirable work in maintaining health schools and health centres and in carrying on educational propaganda. Schools for the important work of educating Health Visitors have been opened in Delhi, Lahore, Madras, Calcutta, and Nagpur, while some training is given also at Poona under the *Seva Sadan*. The first four were assisted by the Lady Chelmsford League until 1927 when the Punjab Government decided to take over the Lahore school thus setting funds free to be used in expanding the work of the Delhi and other schools. Offers of help have been made to the Poona *Seva Sadan* Health School and also to Madras and Calcutta and the United Provinces for training Health Visitors, provided their institutions give instruction up to the standard maintained at the Lady Reading Health School at Delhi. The latter opened its first session during 1926-27 in its new buildings,

and, although the number of students was small, reports of their work have been satisfactory. The second session opened in October 1927 with a full number of students of good average ability. Owing to the low ability of the students, a vernacular class proved no more satisfactory than on the previous occasions when it was held. The difficulty experienced by the League officers in instilling principles of preventive medicine is very great. Local bodies and others employing Health Visitors are apt to look upon these workers as embryo doctors and to require them to treat, rather than try to prevent diseases. The good results which can be achieved by Health Visitors is shewn by Lahore's report of a reduction of infant mortality to 96 per thousand as against 201·2 per thousand a few years back. It is discouraging to note, however, that notwithstanding the good work being done by Health Schools, candidates do not come forward in sufficient numbers.

The League's propaganda consists in publishing leaflets, pamphlets, books, and posters in various languages and in providing travelling Exhibitions of Maternity and Child Welfare. The League also acts as a bureau of information for the whole of India and is in touch with Child Welfare all over the world. "Baby Week" is a development of one side of the League's activities, and was organised in its present form by Lady Reading. It would be difficult to exaggerate the practical importance of the stimulus afforded to the Infant Welfare movement by Baby Week. The exhibitions, lectures, and baby shows which annually take place in all the most important centres of India have aroused public interest in an unprecedented degree. The local operations are directed by Provincial Committees of the National Baby Week, whose members display the keenest enthusiasm. Year by year the number of new towns applying for assistance in organising a Baby Week increases. There is an evergrowing demand for leaflets, pamphlets, model lectures, cinematograph films, and magic lantern slides. Various benevolent institutions such as the Poona *Seva Sadan* Society, have thrown themselves with enthusiasm into the task of furthering the campaign. The Poona *Seva Sadan* Society has a number of Infant Welfare centres and antenatal clinics working in conjunction with the two maternity hospitals it conducts. In short, a great national organisation has been created for the diffusion of knowledge concerning the requirements of babies both before and after birth. The new Baby Week movement is sup-

plementing the efforts of older institutions such as the National Association for Supplying Female Medical Aid to the Women of India. Further, Lady Reading has initiated a scheme for training Indian nurses and doctors in larger numbers, which, as time goes on, should do much to improve the situation. Her Excellency Lady Irwin has continued the work of her predecessor and this year's Baby Week, like its predecessors, aroused immense enthusiasm. As a means of focussing attention on the problems of motherhood and infancy it is unrivalled and more than maintains both its popularity and its efficacy. The Silver Challenge Shield donated by the " News of the World, London " for annual competition for the best " Baby Week Campaign " held throughout the Empire (excluding the British Isles) was awarded in 1926-27 by the National Baby Week Council to the Baby Week Committee at Bellary, Madras Presidency. Amongst those who were highly commended in the competition were the Simla, Delhi, and Secunderabad Deccan Baby Week Committees. This year a Challenge Cup, called the Irwin Cup, has been presented by Raja Raghanandan Prasad Singh, a member of the Legislative Assembly, for the most effective Local Health and Baby Week Campaign held anywhere in India during the twelve months preceding August 31st, 1928. Each campaign will be judged on its merits, particularly in relation to value of its device in coping with the peculiar circumstances of the area with which it is concerned.

The foregoing discussion, brief as it is, backed by a glance at the map on the opposite page, will enable the reader to appreciate the magnificent work which is being done by members of the Women's Medical Service, and it will be agreed that any expansion of its activities will result in benefits to the women and children of India vastly out of proportion to the expense incurred. As we have seen, however, it is at present hanging between earth and sky. The Central Government is unwilling to incur additional expenditure because the women doctors work mostly in the Governors' provinces, whilst certain Provincial Governments are unwilling to make any contribution to the cost of women doctors because they apparently think that the Central Government should bear all the expense. Meanwhile, the members of the service work under many great disabilities. There is, of course, far more work

INDIA
SHEWING THE
PROVINCIAL CENTRES OF THE COUNTESS OF DUFFERIN'S FUND,
AND LOCALITIES ENGAGED IN FURTHERING THE
OBJECTS OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION.
BAY of BENGAL
BRITISH ISLES

LIBRARY
OF THE
BOMBAY
BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

than they can cope with, and their service is not pensionable. It is very desirable that the position of the service should be made quite clear and that satisfactory arrangements be made for its maintenance and steady development.

It was said at the beginning of this chapter that the Government of India exercises only certain restricted functions in regard to education, and there is very little to say about these in this year's report. Two events, however, have some general interest.

Prior to 1920 when the Reforms were introduced it was customary for the Government of India to convene periodical conferences of Directors of Public Instruction and other provincial educationalists for the discussion of matters of common interest. With the provincialisation of education under the Reforms this practice was discontinued. The place of these conferences was to some extent taken by the Central Advisory Board of Education which was constituted in 1920 but the Board was abolished as a result of the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee in 1923. After its abolition no opportunity was provided for educational officers from different provinces to meet for the purpose of exchanging ideas and discussing their problems until 1927, when the Government of India decided, with the concurrence of Provincial Governments to convene a conference of provincial educational administrators. The conference met at New Delhi, from the 10th to the 14th January 1927, under the chairmanship of the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India. It was attended by the Ministers for Education in the Punjab and Assam, all the Directors of Public Instruction in India and the Superintendent of Education in Baluchistan. The conference discussed a wide range of subjects and though no formal resolutions were recorded, it proved an unqualified success.

A combination of circumstances made it desirable to hold an enquiry into the affairs of Delhi University during the year under review. The University has hitherto been in the habit of budgeting for a Government grant to the amount required to cover the excess of its expenditure, whatever that might be, over its income. The Government of India could not acquiesce in an arrangement

of this kind which both left them uncertain as to their financial commitments and provided no incentive to the University to exercise economy or to raise funds from private sources. Further, the question of selecting a suitable site for the permanent buildings of the University which is housed at present in rented premises, has by now become pressing. The Government of India therefore appointed a committee in June 1927 to enquire into, and report on the question of the allocation of a permanent site for the University buildings, their character, construction and equipment and the extent and kind of assistance, both capital and recurring, which the Government of India might give to the University for a certain number of years. The Committee submitted its report on the 28th December 1927.

We will close this chapter with an account of the steps which the Government of India and certain Provincial Governments are taking to deal with the drink and drug evils.

The interest which the League of Nations has displayed in the suppression of the traffic in dangerous drugs has caused much attention to be devoted to the Indian opium trade, and a few years ago the attitude of the Indian Government towards the preparation and sale of opium in India and abroad was much misunderstood. The efforts and the sacrifices made by the Government of this country in the suppression of the opium traffic are now better known and the position may be briefly described. It may as well be explained at the outset that as far as opium is concerned the sphere of the Government of India is practically confined to its international obligations in connection with the export of Indian opium to foreign countries, and to the control of the cultivation of opium in British India, and its distribution to the Provincial Governments. Apart from this the control of the opium traffic in British India is entirely left to the Provincial Governments.

The policy of the Indian Government in the matter of opium exports is governed by international agreements. The export of opium to any non-Asiatic country other than the United Kingdom is prohibited, and export to the latter is for medicinal purposes only and is strictly controlled by the Import Certificate system. The same system was applied to other drugs covered by the Hague Convention in 1923 by an order which was revised in 1926 so as to

fall into line with the definitions contained in the Geneva Convention. In June, 1926, it was announced that the extinction of exports of opium for other than medical and scientific purposes would be accomplished in ten years, that is, no opium will be exported for purposes other than medicinal and scientific after December 31, 1935. The exports in 1927 will be 90 per cent. of the exports in 1926, then in 1928, 80 per cent. of the exports in 1926, and so on. With effect from the 19th of March 1925 the transhipment at any port in British India of any of the drugs covered by the Hague Convention was prohibited unless covered by an export authorization or diversion certificate issued by the exporting country, and this order was revised in the light of the Geneva Convention on the 12th of February 1927.

Naturally, the present opium policy of the Government of India has not been adopted without considerable financial sacrifices, the extent of which is a measure of the Government's sincerity. During the last eleven years, that is, between 1916-17 and 1927-28, the area under poppy cultivation in India has been reduced by more than 76 per cent. In the former year the area under poppy stood at 204,186 acres, a figure which had fallen by the end of March 1928 to 48,083 acres. And not only have the Government of India devoted their attention to reducing poppy cultivation in British India, but they have entered into prolonged and earnest negotiations with those Indian States in which opium is produced. As a result of these negotiations they have already been able to reduce the total quantity of crude opium to be purchased from Indian States from about 11,400 maunds (a maund is approximately 80 lbs.) in 1924-25 to 6,500 maunds with effect from the season of 1925-26. Since January 1926 the Government of India have prohibited the cultivation of poppy in Ajmer-Merwara, and within British India it is now confined to a limited area in the United Provinces. On the 20th March 1926, a Conference was held in Ajmer to consider what arrangements should be made by the Indian Government to check opium smuggling from Rajputana and Central India into British India. As a result of the recommendations of the Conference a special preventive staff under the control of the Government Railway Police at Ajmer has been appointed to control the illicit traffic. Lastly, in May 1927, a Conference was held in Simla between the representatives of the Government of India and of the various Indian States interested in the cultivation and con-

sumption of opium, and the relations of these States to the Government of India's opium policy, both external and internal was discussed. It was resolved at the Conference that the whole question of the relations between the Government of India and the Indian States in the matter of opium, including the Government of India's suggestion that the cultivation of the opium poppy should be discontinued in the States, be investigated by a committee composed of one officer with special knowledge of the opium question, one agricultural expert, and one officer representing the States. In pursuance of this recommendation, the Government of India appointed a committee which started its work in November 1927 and consisted of the following members:—

(*i*) Mr. J. A. Pope, I.C.S., Excise Commissioner for Central India and Adviser on Opium Affairs for Central India and Rajputana	President.
(*ii*) Mr. G. S. Henderson, Imperial Agriculturist at Pusa	Member.
(*iii*) Khan Bahadur Qazi Azizuddin Ahmed, Dewan, Datia State.	Member.

This Committee has now finished its enquiries and has submitted its report which is under the consideration of the Government.

Statistics and reports issued by the League of Nations Secretariat afford ample proof of the earnestness and success with which the Government of India have fulfilled the duties imposed upon them by international obligations. We have seen also how they have tackled the problem of their *quasi*-international relations with the Indian States in this matter of opium. Within their territories both the Central Government and the Governments of the Provinces are grappling seriously with the problem of " black spots " in British India. It might be explained at this point that except in Burma and Assam opium smoking, which was recognised by the First Opium Conference, Geneva, 1925, as being the real opium evil, is not a general practice. The Governments of the Provinces have acted in this matter both singly and in consort with each other. In September 1926, a conference of provincial ministers charged with the administration of excise was held to discuss the co-ordination of excise policy in certain matters throughout India. As a result of this conference the Government of India

suggested to the Provincial Governments certain measures which might contribute towards the solution of the problem of cleansing the "black spots" referred to. The measures suggested were:—

(1) The appointment of Committees to conduct separate local enquiries in areas where the average consumption of opium exceeds 60 lbs. per 10,000 inhabitants.

(2) The investigation of the special problem presented by the large industrial areas.

(3) The application of a system of rationing and registration of consumers in areas of excessive consumption.

(4) The possibility of organising a system of liaison between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments for the purpose of assisting the latter in their local investigations.

The Governments of Bengal, the Central Provinces, Bihar and Orissa, Bombay and Madras, all appointed committees to enquire into conditions in certain specified areas and the Government of the United Provinces asked its existing licensing boards to state their views in regard to the position within certain municipal limits after such enquiry as they consider necessary. The proposal to organise some system of liaison between the various governmental authorities has been dropped and the Government of India are now considering the desirability of holding a conference after the various local investigations have been completed for the purpose of collating and comparing the results obtained before the different Provincial Governments decide individually on the action to be taken in regard to these reports.

The figures showing the decline in the consumption of opium throughout India during the past decade or two are very striking. Between 1910-11 and 1926-27 the consumption has fallen in Madras from 1,039 maunds to 872 maunds; in Bombay from 1,435 maunds to 737 maunds; in Bengal from 1,626 maunds to 995 maunds; in Burma from 1,444 maunds to 627 maunds; in Bihar and Orissa from 882 maunds to 621 maunds; in the United Provinces from 1,545 maunds to 557 maunds; in the Punjab from 1,584 maunds to 978 maunds; in the Central Provinces from 1,307 maunds to 718 maunds; in Assam from 1,509 maunds to 750 maunds and in the North-West Frontier Province from 69 maunds to 40 maunds; and in Baluchistan from 15 maunds to 6 maunds.

In 1910-11 the consumption for the whole of British India was 12,527 maunds; in 1926-27 it was 7,021 maunds. At the same time the revenue derived from opium in the various provinces of India, owing to the enhanced price at which the drug is sold, has risen from Rs. 1·63 crores in 1910-11 to Rs. 3·36 crores in 1926-27.

Of late years, much has been heard of the increased use of cocaine and allied drugs in the bigger cities in India and from time to time newspapers print somewhat alarming articles on this subject. It would be idle to deny that this feature of life in the big cities is a matter of much concern to excise and police officers, but the authorities are fully alive to the danger and have developed and are continually improving detective and preventive measures, and captures of this drug and arrests of those who traffic in them are common occurrences. In Assam, Bihar and Orissa and the Central Provinces the Provincial Legislative Councils have passed Acts prohibiting the cultivation of cocaine-yielding plants as a precautionary measure (although no abuse actually existed) and these Acts have received the assent of the Governor General.

As regards opium smoking the following is now the general position in India. Only the Governments of the Punjab, the United Provinces, Assam, and Bihar and Orissa have hitherto undertaken legislation to control the practice. In other provinces, however, the import, export, and sale of prepared opium are penal offences and the maximum limits of possession, varying between $\frac{1}{4}$ and 1 tola (a tola is less than half an ounce) allowed to individuals, and between $\frac{1}{2}$ and 2 tolas allowed to two or more persons, have been prescribed. In the Punjab an assembly of three or more, and in the United Provinces an assembly of two or more persons is designated an opium smoking assembly if the common object of persons assembling is to smoke opium or to prepare opium for smoking purposes. Penalties are prescribed for a breach of the law. The Bihar and Orissa Opium Smoking Act prohibits opium smoking except by licensed smokers. In Assam, under an Act passed in 1927, it is unlawful for any person to smoke opium or any preparation of opium, even if he should do so by himself. Smoking in company is treated as a more serious offence than private smoking, and joining a smoking assembly is a more serious offence still. In Bengal, legislation is being initiated to make opium smoking by persons other than registered smokers a penal offence, and a smokers' register will be prepared with a view ultimately to stamp-

ing out opium smoking altogether. In Madras, in a draft Bill to amend the Opium Act of 1878 now under the consideration of the Madras Government, a provision has been made for prohibiting opium smoking altogether in the Presidency. The Government of Bombay believe that the only way to stop opium smoking is to prohibit the possession of prepared opium and they are now considering measures to bring about the suppression of opium smoking in the Bombay Presidency. The Government of the Central Provinces are proposing to introduce a Bill into their legislative council with a view to prohibiting opium smoking in assembly. They also propose to introduce a system of registration and rationing of habitual addicts. The Government of Burma have adopted the most stringent measures for the gradual suppression of opium smoking. Years ago they devised and put into force a system of registration and rationing of all consumers whether eaters or smokers and in 1924 they introduced a special system of registration of smokers and no person not so registered has since that date been allowed to possess prepared opium. On the 31st March 1927, the number of Burmans and non-Burmans registered as smokers was 306 and 14,714 respectively. No new names can be added to the register and with the gradual disappearance of the persons now on the register, opium smoking will cease to exist in Burma. The case of Ajmer-Merwara, which is a British enclave surrounded by Indian state territory, is somewhat peculiar. The policy of this administration has for its aim the ultimate extinction of opium smoking. Keeping this aim in view rules have been framed according to which a person cannot lawfully possess more than half a tola. The prescribed limit of possession allowed to two or more persons is one tola. It is not possible to make any further advance until the problem of smuggling from Indian States has been effectively dealt with. The problem is engaging the close attention of the Government of India.

The consumption of alcoholic liquors does not provide a serious problem in India except in those bigger centres of population in which industrial labour is concentrated. About a quarter of the total population of India—the Muhammadans—are practically outside the range of the drink evil since their religion forbids them to take alcoholic liquor and this prohibition is for the most part

faithfully obeyed. Among the congested labouring population of Bombay and Calcutta and a few lesser places the evil exists to some extent but on the whole it is true to say that the drink problem is not much in evidence in India. There has, however, been a good deal of talk of recent years in most of the Indian Provinces about compulsory prohibition. For many people in India the ideal of total prohibition is not unconnected with politics for, during the non-co-operation agitation, considerable pressure was brought to bear in some places on drink shop proprietors and would-be drinkers in order to prevent the one class from plying their trade and the other from satisfying their appetite. The object of this pressure was to destroy an important item in the revenues of the Government, chiefly the revenues of the Provincial Governments. Nevertheless the movement towards total prohibition is very largely inspired by genuine reforming zeal and the general trend of every governing authority in India is to minimise the consumption of alcoholic liquors. Absolute prohibition, in the sense of ensuring that there shall be no consumption of liquor except such as is allowed by law, is quite impossible for India in her circumstances. An immense army of preventive agents would have to be employed in every province in order to ensure complete obedience to any law enforcing total prohibition, and the better plan appears to be to continue in the present policy adopted by the Government of India and some Provincial Governments in this matter, a plan which aims at inculcating temperance whilst providing facilities for persons requiring wholesome refreshment, but at a price likely to discourage the abuse of intoxicating liquors. The Government of India is not now primarily concerned with the consumption of alcoholic liquors except those imported from abroad, the duty on which forms a useful item in the central revenues of the country. From time to time, however, the subject of alcoholic drinks comes up for discussion in some connection or other in the Legislative Assembly or Council of State, when the Government of India make it clear that their policy in the area subject to their direct administration is to promote and ensure moderation in the use of such liquors. At different times the Governments of Bombay, Madras and the United Provinces have accepted prohibition or abstinence in general terms as the goal of their policy and on October 22nd, 1927, the Madras Legislative Council passed a resolution recommending that the total prohibition of alcoholic drink in the

Presidency within the next 20 years should be the declared object of the Provincial Government's policy. In 1926, a local option Bill was passed in Assam, and the Government of the Central Provinces aim at the ultimate extinction of the consumption of country-made spirit. There is, however, reason to believe that there are limits to the policy of checking consumption of liquor by raising the price to a very high figure, for this encourages the manufacture of illicit liquor. The Punjab Government have had to reduce the duty on country spirit, and the Bombay Government, in their review of the Administration Report of their Excise Department for 1926-27, explained certain financial and administrative difficulties which had arisen out of their policy of partial prohibition, and in their resolution of the 11th April, 1928, in which they passed orders on the report of a prohibition (financial) committee appointed by them in 1926, they stated that on account of financial considerations further progress in the direction of prohibition must necessarily be slow. On the whole, therefore, the various governing authorities in this country are adopting all reasonable measures within their power to guard against the spread of the drink habit and to make it difficult and expensive to gratify it.

CHAPTER V.

Communications.

In the preceding chapter something was said about the connection between the development of communications in India and the growth of her material prosperity. The opening of each additional mile of railway, or of good road suitable for wheeled traffic, is a contribution towards the closer unity and the greater strength and resisting power of India's economic life. New markets, new industries, and new opportunities and prospects of all sorts come with the extension of communications, and modern India, economic, political, and, to a gradually increasing extent, social also is the creation of the communications, particularly the railways, which, during the last seventy years or so, have brought her different peoples and parts ever more closely into contact with each other. In the highly developed countries of the West, additions to railways or roads are merely matters to be entered in tables of statistics, but in a country like India, whose many peoples are now being welded into one nation, such things as these take on a certain esoteric significance, for they are in the true sense of the words nation building instruments.

Naturally the Indian railways are at present far and away the most important part of her system of communications, and, as far as can now be seen, it will be long enough before the motor car or the aeroplane or airship seriously threatens their predominance. In a few places, as for example where a good road and railway run parallel between two big towns or where a small mountain railway winds up to hill station, the motor car may beat the train as far as cheapness and the convenience of passengers are concerned, but, of course, these conditions are still very exceptional, and the railway is and must long continue to be the master factor in the Indian system of transport and communications. Nevertheless, reports from many parts of the country show that where roads run

parallel to or short circuit railway lines encroachment on short distance railway passenger traffic is steadily increasing.

Before we discuss the more important developments of the year in the different departments of railway working, readers may find it helpful to know something of the organisation of the railway system in this country. Over seventy per cent. of the total route mileage of Indian railways is owned and over forty per cent. is directly managed by the State. The control, financing and development of the railways of India falls very largely, therefore, on the Indian Government, which acts in railway matters through the Railway Board. As now constituted, the Board consists of a Chief Commissioner, a Financial Commissioner, and two members, one of whom deals with technical subjects, and the other with general administration, personnel and traffic. The Financial Commissioner deals with all financial questions. Five Directors assist the Board in the five branches of Civil Engineering, Mechanical Engineering, Traffic, Finance, and Establishments, and, by disposing of all matters except those of policy or of major importance, relieve the Railway Board of routine work and enable them to concentrate their attention on the larger questions of railway policy. Under the Railway Board each railway has an Agent in supreme charge. Until a few years ago the railways were all administered on the departmental system; the increasing mileage of some of the railways, the growing complexity of traffic problems and modern advances in the science of transportation then necessitated some adjustment in the controlling agency. The old system became unsuited to the working of an increasing traffic over large areas, and the burden falling upon the headquarters staff of the larger railways was so heavy as to render efficient control difficult. A careful analysis of the problem indicated that the remedy lay in adopting a divisional organisation, the main object of which is to fix the responsibility for the whole of the railway work in a certain section of the railway (called a " division ") on one officer called the Divisional Superintendent. A " division " may be of any length according to circumstances, but is generally a good deal larger than the old railway districts in which, under the departmental system, there were three or more officers each responsible to the head of his department at the hadquarters of the railway.

Each Divisional Suprintendent is directly responsible to the Agent, the administrative head of the whole Railway, who has on his 'staff' experts in the several branches of railway work. Naturally, the divisional system is not the same in all its details on every railway. Divisional organisation was introduced on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway in 1922, on the North Western Railway in 1924, and on the East Indian Railway in January 1925. These improvements in organisation were the administrative counterparts of the very fruitful change in the system of railway finance which, as we shall see in the next chapter, resulted from the convention concluded in September 1924, between the Government of India and the Legislative Assembly.

In 1872 the total railway mileage in India was a little over 5,300. At the end of March 1928 the total route mileage was approximately 39,712, that is, a greater mileage than is possessed by any country in Europe, and almost double the mileage of the United Kingdom. These figures, and the comparison with European countries, are given merely for the purpose of showing the immensity of the effort made in this matter of railway building in India and not in order to suggest that there ought to be any slackening of effort. For it must be remembered that India is as big as the whole of Europe with the exception of Russia, and it is clear that many gaps in the Indian railway system have got to be filled up before the Indian Government can regard their railway system as complete. The figures quoted in the Explanatory Memorandum of the Railway Budget (*vide* Appendix II thereto) relating to the expenditure to be devoted to the construction of new lines in the future, show clearly that railway development is, to say the least, not likely to flag. During the year under review sanction was accorded to the construction of no fewer than 31 new lines totalling 1,616·38 miles at a probable cost of 15½ crores of rupees, that is nearly £11 million sterling. As is apparent from the figures, most of these new lines are small branches of feeder lines and only 12 of them reach a length of 50 miles. The longest of them is the Minbu and Pakokku District Railway in Burma, but the proposed Lucknow-Sultanpur-Jaunpur and Lyallpur-Chananwala Railways will be 142 and 110 miles in length respectively. During the year under review 684·53 miles

of new lines were opened for public traffic and at the end of the year a total of 3,696 miles were under construction.

One feature of the Railway Board's programme stands out prominently, and this is the absence of ambitious projects of trunk line construction. The explanation is that India is already well served by trunk lines which follow the outlines of a railway system laid down for her by Lord Dalhousie in the fifties of last century. He foresaw a system of trunk lines connecting the interior of each Presidency with its outlying parts and the different Presidencies with each other. This scheme was to include a trunk line from Calcutta to Lahore, another from Bombay to the North-West of India, another from Madras to Bombay, and a fourth from Madras to the Malabar Coast. Building on that main skeleton a large number of subsidiary trunk lines have been added from time to time and there are now only a few gaps left in the main net-work. The important gaps still to be filled are not in fact more than 4 or 5, and of these, three are in process of being filled, one by the Central India Coalfields Railway which will cross the gap lying between the East Indian and Bengal Nagpur Railways in Chota Nagpur and the Central Provinces, another by the Raipur-Parvatipuram line which will complete the link between the Central Provinces and the East Coast, and the third by the Kazipet Bellarshah Railway now being built by His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government which will effect a saving of some 200 miles in the journey between Madras and Northern India. There are two other main trunk routes to be constructed before it can be said that the main net-work of trunk lines is completed. One is the Bombay-Sind connection, and the other is the broad gauge connection between Karachi and the United Provinces. The former, because it is to some extent short-circuited by an easy sea-route, has never been considered a very promising undertaking from the financial point of view, but it is believed that its construction will become a matter of some importance as the effect of the contemplated extensive irrigation operations in Sind is felt in increased production. The Government are, therefore, having its financial prospects re-examined, and in order to complete their knowledge of the topography of some of the uninhabited country which has to be crossed, had a survey carried out by aeroplane. As regards the

broad gauge connection between Karachi and the United Provinces, it is felt that the time is not ripe for undertaking the expenditure involved. There are two reasons for this, first that a metre gauge connection exists, which is not seriously overstressed with traffic, and secondly, that there is greater need for using such funds as are available for remunerative branch and feeder lines elsewhere. To this category of main lines may perhaps be added the proposed connection between India and Burma, regarding which a recent investigation of the possibility of discovering a more favourable route through the Arakan mountains has proved unfruitful, and the Government are therefore left with the two routes formerly surveyed, neither of which can at present be regarded a remunerative proposal.

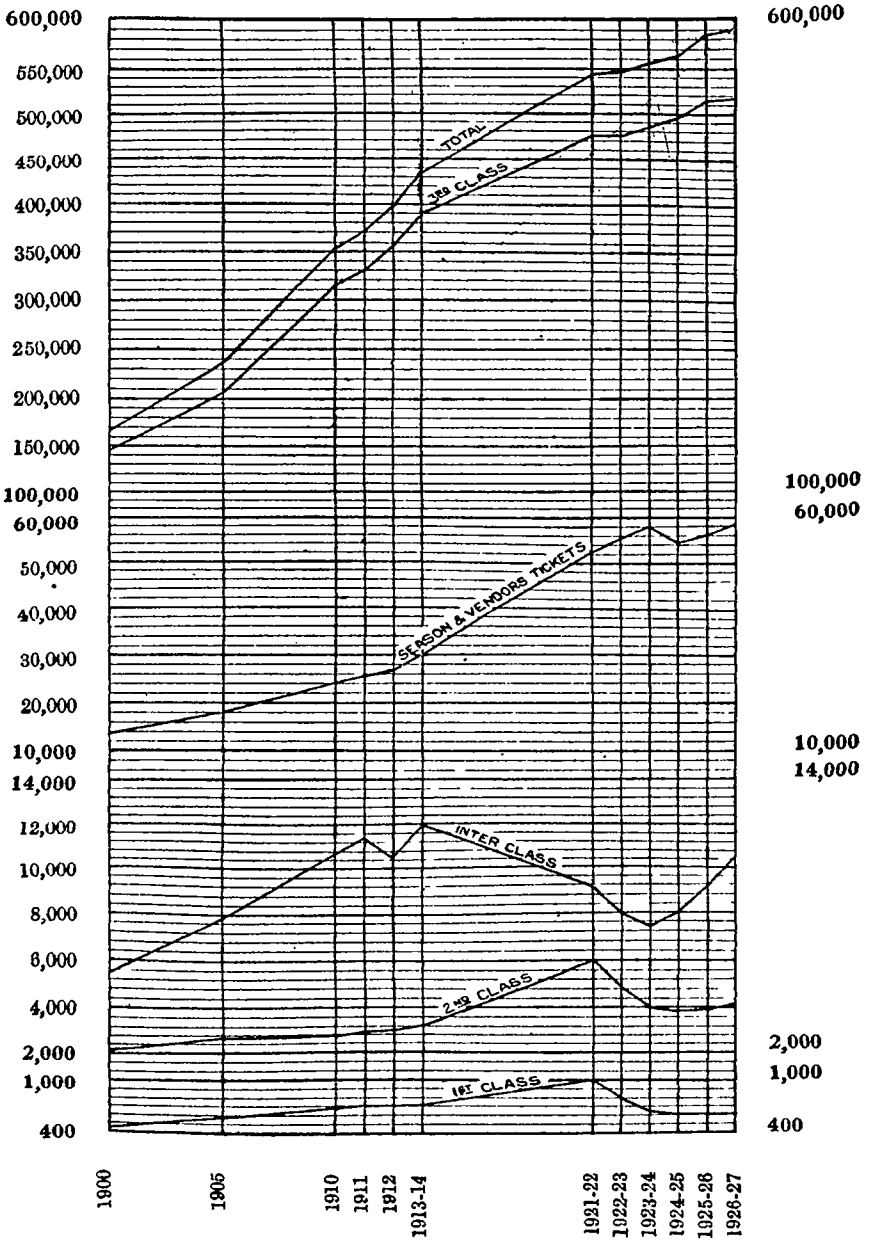
The key-note of the programme, to which the Government of India are now working, is the filling in of the interstices of the net-work of trunk lines with useful branches and feeders so that the benefits of railway service may be brought right to the doors of the agriculturists and the rural population. It will be seen that omitting the two main connections already referred to, namely, the Raipur-Parvatipuram line and the Central India Coalfields Railway, the Government have in their programme nearly 100 projects which average not more than 49 miles apiece and the longest of which is about 100 miles. These are in fact lines designed primarily to serve the interests of the agriculturist and to enable produce to be moved and marketed. The programme may, therefore, be described as an agricultural railway programme. But to fulfil this character it has been necessary to devise cheaply constructed lines, because construction to the ordinary standards would have meant either that the lines will not earn a fair return on their capital, or that they impose an insupportable burden on the carriage of produce and passengers in the very places where it is wished to encourage traffic. Whether these new lines with their low speeds and low standard of amenities will escape severe criticism remains to be seen, but if they are successful they will pay for gradual improvement up to the standard of the older lines.

In addition to their expenditure on new construction the Railway Board and the Agents of the different railways are undertaking more outlay on improvements in open line facilities, which

DIAGRAM.

Number of Passengers carried on Indian Railways.

(In thousands.)



includes large sums for the improvement of rails and sleepers, for the remodelling of station yards and marshalling yards, and for electrification. During 1927-28 no less than 2¼ crores of rupees were to be expended in improving the standard of comfort for lower class passengers, attention being paid particularly to water supply, waiting rooms and halls, refreshment rooms, booking arrangements, sanitary arrangements and improvements to coaching stock.

In addition to the construction of new lines a number of important open line works were under construction during the year, and good progress is reported to have been made on them. Of these important open line works, special mention may be made of the provision of additional tracks and improved facilities on the Madras Suburban section of the Southern India Railway, the Dhond remodelling on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, and the construction of bridges over the Irrawaddy at Sagaing and over the Indus at Kalabagh.

We have already referred in Chapter II to the welcome proof of the financial strength and the efficiency of working of the Indian railways which is afforded by the appreciable reduction in rates and fares announced in the Railway Budget for 1928-29. This is a development which will undoubtedly be appreciated by the Indian public, with whom the railway authorities are now keeping closely in touch through their local Advisory Committees. During the year 1923-24 local advisory committees on some of the railways in India were formed in response to suggestions made in the Legislature and in the press, and since then committees have been formed on all State-owned railways. The subjects discussed at the meetings of these committees cover a very wide range and indicate the increasing value attached by the public to this scheme for third class passengers; passenger and goods traffic rates; opening whom they serve. Of the many subjects discussed by the advisory committees, the following may be mentioned as typical:—Overcrowding in trains; alterations in time tables; arrangements of all sorts for the convenience and comfort of passengers, particularly for third class passengers; passenger and goods traffic rates; opening of new lines and stations; electrification schemes; designs of railway

carriages; settlement of claims; and passengers travelling without tickets.

In last year's report mention was made of the formation of a Rates Advisory Committee to investigate and make recommendations to the Government on such subjects as complaints of undue preference, dissatisfation with rates or with conditions in respect of packing of articles, allegations that railways do not fulfil their obligations to provide reasonable facilities under Section 42 (3) of the Indian Railways Act, and so on. At the end of the year 1926-27, of the cases submitted to the Committee, five remained outstanding and nine new cases were referred to the Committee during 1927-28. Out of four cases in which the Committee submitted their report, the recommendations of the Committee were entirely accepted in two cases. In one case the recommendations of the Committee were rejected and in the fourth case they were accepted with modifications.

Owing to the serious illness of Sir Narasimha Sarma, K. C. S. I., President of the Committee, sittings were temporarily suspended from 21st January 1928. This, however, did not preclude the submission of applications to the Railway Department and Agents of Railways in accordance with the procedure in force. Preliminary enquiries in connection with such applications continued to be made and those of them which were to be submitted to the Committee were forwarded when the Committee resumed sittings in April 1928.

A few years ago, the practice of travelling without tickets on Indian railways was so persistent and widespread as to amount to an appreciable menace to profitable working, and it was felt that extraordinary efforts would have to be made to check this menace. At first it was believed that it might be necessary to amend the Railway Act, but after full enquiry into the matter by experts, it was decided to try various administrative precautions before taking this extreme step. Of these the ' crew ' system of ticket checking has proved the most successful and has now been introduced on a number of railways in India. The extent of the losses which the railways suffered before these extraordinary precautions were taken may be estimated from the fact that during the year 1925-26, no fewer than 2,085,863 persons were caught travelling without

tickets and the total amount collected from these people was Rs. 27,71,423.

In the last two reports the efforts made to relieve the congestion of passenger traffic in various thickly populated areas were mentioned. The first electrification scheme to be taken in hand was the Bombay scheme which was quickly followed by the investigation into schemes for electrifying suburban lines in the vicinity of Calcutta and Madras. As regards the Calcutta suburban scheme, it has been found necessary, in view of the heavy expenditure involved, to carry out further investigations both into the estimated cost of the project and into the probable development of traffic in the suburban area, in order to ascertain to what extent the introduction of electric traction on this section is financially justified. A scheme for the electrification of certain suburban lines of the Southern India Railway from Madras Beach was sanctioned during the current year. The introduction of electric traction on this section will not only enable the Railway Administration to cope with the normal increase in the traffic, but will also encourage the expansion of suburban passenger traffic in the area. In January 1928, a further stretch of 23 miles in the neighbourhood of Bombay was electrified in addition to those portions already mentioned in previous reports.

During the year, further investigations have been made into the Madras hydro-electric projects, and into the schemes for the electrification of the Madura-Trichinopoly and certain other sections of the Southern India Railway, for which it is intended to obtain power from hydro-electric sources. The results of these further investigations are awaited.

Readers of last year's report will remember that the general question of the capacity of the workshops of the State Railways and the possibility of their re-organisation and improvement on co-ordinated lines was investigated during the cold weather of 1925-26 by an expert committee presided over by Sir Vincent Raven, formerly Chief Mechnical Engineer of the North Eastern Railway in England. Following their recommendations, a number of Railway Workshops were remodelled or extended, and during the year under review a number of alterations to important workshops have been carried out on the lines recommended by the Raven

Committee. When the alterations to the Great Indian Peninsula Workshops at Jhansi have been completed, facilities will exist for locomotive and carriage and wagon repairs and for that expansion of the manufacturing department of the workshop which is necessary for the adequate supply of spare parts. The Jamalpur Workshops on the East Indian Railway, which are among the oldest and largest in all India, will have to be largely remodelled, and extensive additions and alterations to them will have to be carried out. A scheme for these works is now being prepared. The Peninsular Locomotive Works at Tatanagar, which were purchased by the Indian Government some time ago, are being adapted for the construction of all the bogie coaching under-frames required by the State-managed Railways in India. In future these works will be known as the East Indian Railway's Tatanagar Workshops.

After the all-absorbing subject of India's progress towards self-government the thing that most interests the educated section of the Indian public is probably the Indianisation of the different Government services. When the importance of the railways to the life of the country, and the wide scope of employment which they offer are considered, it will be seen that the Indianisation of the railway services is of very high importance indeed. The word 'Indianisation,' when used in this connection is, of course, applied to the superior or 'gazetted' ranks of the services since the personnel of the lower and subordinate ranks is naturally predominantly Indian. The pace of Indianisation of the gazetted services has been reasonably rapid of late years. Of the permanent gazetted appointments created during 1925-26, and of the vacancies which occurred during that year in such appointments on State-managed Railways, 32 per cent. were filled by Indians. During the following year this percentage practically doubled and amounted to over 62 per cent., whilst during the year under review, 68 per cent. of appointments have been filled by Indians. These appointments were to all branches of railway working, whether engineering or traffic and commerce. The recruitment in India of officers of the superior railway services, and the increasing complexity of railway operating problems demands improved methods of training the staff in their duties. A temporary school at Chandausi was established some time ago to give practical training to junior railway officers and

also to train some of the subordinate ranks. The necessity for a proper Railway Staff College has, however, grown year by year, and to meet the urgent demand for such an institution the Railway Board have recently sanctioned the establishment of a Railway Staff College at Dehra Dun at an estimated cost of Rs. 23,37,840, that is £175,338 sterling. This College is intended for probationary and junior officers and will meet the needs of State-managed Railways for the present. Already good progress has been made on the work of erecting and equipping the College. Considerable attention is now-a-days being devoted to the training of subordinate staff also and there are schools for this purpose at Lyallpur in the Punjab and at Bina in the Central Provinces. These schools will train probationers in the subordinate ranks before they take up their regular duties and will provide instruction for members of the subordinate staff to enable them to qualify for promotion.

Finally, in this connection we might glance briefly at the labour position on the Indian Railways. Since the War, there has been a steady introduction of modern machinery of types evolved during the intensive production period of the War, which, if properly used, enables a higher production to be obtained with a given labour force, or, alternatively, allows production to be maintained at a given level with a smaller labour force. The recommendations made by the Committee presided over by Sir Vincent Raven as a result of their examination of the methods of work in the State Railways Workshops brought prominently to the notice of all railway administrations the economies and increased efficiency to be obtained from the revised methods of work which the introduction of modern machinery permitted. An examination by the Bengal Nagpur Railway Administration showed that an immediate reduction of about 1,600 men in the workshops at Kharagpur had become possible, and in August 1927 the Agent announced his intention of reducing the labour force at Kharagpur by this number. At the same time he offered special terms to workmen who were willing to resign, and these were accepted by about 300 men. The reduction was resented by the workmen, and on the 7th September, when notices of discharge to the number required were issued, they adopted a policy of passive resistance—attending the workshops but doing no work. This continued until, on the 12th of September

when the Agent was constrained to close the workshops until he got an assurance from the men's leaders that they were willing to work. The workshops were re-opened on the 8th of December, 1927. As vague charges of victimisation and unfair treatment had been made, the Agent decided to depute an officer of the Bengal Nagpur Railway, who was not connected with the management of the workshops, to examine the list of discharges and to report to him. At the request of the Agent, the Government of India agreed to depute an officer to be associated with the officer nominated by the Agent in this enquiry, the object of which was not only to review the list of selections for discharge in order that any cases of unfair treatment might be brought to notice, but also to examine the application, in individual cases, of the rules and orders under which the sums due to the men discharged had been determined, and to see that due consideration had been or would be paid to any cases of special hardship. As a result of this equiry 23 workmen who had been discharged were reinstated and in a few cases the compensation given to men who had been discharged was enhanced.

As it was recognised that it would be necessary to effect reduction of labour in the workshops of other railways, as well as probably a further reduction at Kharagpur, in the course of the next few years, the Government of India considered it desirable that the question of how such reduction could best be effected should be fully investigated, and therefore they deputed two officers, one a railway officer with workshop experience, and the other an officer of administrative experience other than railway experience with a knowledge of labour conditions, to visit the Railways on which the necessity for reduction in workshop labour was understood to be imminent. The duties of these officers were to report to the Government regarding the arrangements which should be made in order to secure as far as possible efficient and economical working in the workshops concerned, and to safeguard the interests of the workmen when a large reduction of establishment was found necessary. In particular, the second of the two officers mentioned above was specially charged to report in each case what terms would suffice to secure a substantial number of voluntary resignations and the terms which ought in fairness to be given to the men selected for compulsory discharge when that became unavoidable. By the end of the year

these officers had examined the position in the workshops of the South Indian Railway and had made their recommendations to Government.

Early in 1928 demands were received from workmen in the Carriage and Wagon Workshops of the East Indian Railway at Lillooah for increased wages. On the 5th of March, before the examination of these demands had been completed, the men resorted to passive resistance—entering the shops but refusing to work. On the 6th of March, the Agent announced that his examination showed no justification for any general increase in wages, but that investigation into the question whether the wages earned by any class or classes of workmen at Lillooah were lower than those earned under similar conditions in other workshops in Calcutta and its vicinity, was still proceeding. On the 7th of March, the men came into the workshops, but again refused to work and it became necessary to close the shops until an assurance should be received that the men were prepared to work. The workshops had not been re-opened by the end of the year under review.

It will be seen, therefore, that the labour position on the railways in this country gives grounds for anxiety for the future. However, the present policy of the Indian Railway Board of quick response to and thorough investigation of all reasonable complaints, will, it is to be hoped, be as successful in the future as in the past in averting very widespread or general strikes on the Indian Railways.

Before we leave the railways, we might notice the very interesting publicity work which they have carried out during the year. In last year's report a description was given of the efforts now being made by the railway authorities to reach the large bulk of the people of India, from whom the most paying part of railway business is obtained, by means of advertising material calculated to stimulate their desire to see something of their own country. Cinema films, pamphlets, railway magazines, press propaganda in India and abroad, and reciprocal publicity with the leading railways of the world are all pressed into service. The Railway Board now have a Central Publicity Bureau which was first established in Bombay but was moved to Delhi in March 1928. The most important of the Publicity Department's activities is undoubtedly the production and display of cinema films, of which the majority are

directed towards encouraging 3rd class traffic, the improvement of indigenous primary industries, and the welfare of agriculturists and villagers. Because of the illiteracy of a very large proportion of the Indian population, the cinema is the most effective method of conveying information to the masses. Each State Railway is provided with a travelling cinema projection outfit which moves continuously from place to place over the different systems, and by this means the propaganda films issued from the Central Publicity Bureau are widely circulated. That these displays, which are free, are fully appreciated is proved by the patronage accorded to them. For the six months ending December, 1927, with a total of 396 displays, an attendance of 750,000 spectators was registered, and a progressive census shows that this figure is steadily mounting. The work in this branch of the Publicity Work increased so much that a special Assistant had to be appointed.

Another important and interesting development has been the use of demonstration trains for the purpose of educating the Indian cultivator by giving practical demonstrations of scientific methods in farming, cattle breeding, and dairying. These trains, organised in close co-operation with the Provincial Governments, provide an incomparable method of spreading information and propaganda in connection with Public Health, Veterinary Science, and the work of Government Industries and Co-operative Departments. Each Department is allotted one coach in the train. During the year 1927-28 Demonstration trains were run over the Eastern Bengal Railway and the North Western Railway systems with very great success and were visited by enormous numbers of people in the different places to which they went. It has been decided to repeat the experiment next year, and it is possible that the East Indian Railway and the Great Indian Peninsula Railway will also use similar trains.

An intensive advertising campaign has been carried out in Great Britain, and from the number of enquiries received regarding tours in India there can be no doubt that it has proved successful. This publicity was carried out jointly with the P. and O. Company, who report that there has been an increase of 300 per cent. in their cold weather short period passenger traffic to India.

Shortly after the inauguration of the Central Publicity Bureau, the need was felt for a representative in England for the purpose of giving information and advice to potential travellers at Home and to handle enquiries arising out of press propaganda. A Publicity Officer was appointed and temporary officers secured in London in which a State Railways Bureau was opened. There is no doubt that this departure has entirely justified itself and it has been decided to create a similar appointment in New York in 1929.

Outside the few great cities of India there is comparatively little motor transport, but there is an immense volume of other wheeled traffic and a vast amount of pack-transport. The road system of India is in consequence a very vital link in her system of communications, for, as we have seen already, although there has been an impressive growth of railway mileage in this country during the past half century, there are still great areas unserved by the railway. India can boast of a number of magnificent main roads including the Grand Trunk Road which runs from Calcutta to Peshawar and is one of the most famous roads in the whole world. But in the average Indian district, the unit, that is, of Indian administration, there may possibly be a metalled road running through the district, linking it up with its neighbours on either side, but it is a somewhat fortunate district which has any arterial metalled roads. Usually the interior of the district is served by what are called in India *kachcha* or unmetalled roads of varying degrees of merit, and, however satisfactory such roads may be in fine weather, they are apt to degenerate into the sort of thing described in the Report of the English Select Committee of 1819 on "The Better Construction of Turnpike Roads and Highways." And where the *kachcha* roads leave off, the foot-paths and bridle tracks between villages, over the hills, and across the deserts begin, suitable at the best for pack-traffic only. The cost of bringing the Indian road system up to the standard with which we are familiar in Western Europe would be staggering, and utterly beyond the resources of the various governmental or local authorities. Nevertheless the necessity and desirability of doing all that is possible to improve the Indian road system have pressed themselves

increasingly on the attention during the past few years, and in November 1927, following a debate on the subject initiated by the Honourable Mr. Mahmood Suhrawardi in the Council of State, the Government of India appointed a committee consisting of members of both houses of the Central Legislature with Mr. M. R. Jayakar, M.L.A., as Chairman to enquire into this matter. The Committee were asked to examine the desirability of developing the road system of India and the means by which such development could be financed, and also to consider whether it would be possible, having regard to the distribution of functions between the central and provincial governments, to co-ordinate the activities of the different governing authorities in this country by the formation of a Central Road Board or otherwise. The Committee assembled at New Delhi in November 1927 and drew up a questionnaire. It also appointed a small sub-committee to visit provincial centres and collect evidence, after which the full committee sat at New Delhi during the winter. It is expected that the report will be issued during the summer of 1928.

Province.	Per 100 Sq. Miles-area.			Per 1,00,000 total population.			Per 1,00,000 rural population.		
	Surfaced.	Unsurfaced.	Total.	Surfaced.	Unsurfaced.	Total.	Surfaced.	Unsurfaced.	Total.
Madras . . .	14·15	5·68	19 83	47·90	19·10	67·00	54·70	21·90	76·80
Bombay Presidency .	11·10	10·74	21·84	53·46	51·73	105·19	71·16	68·85	140·01
Sind	0·22	26·86	27·08	3·09	396·76	399·85	3·78	462·70	466·48
Bombay and Sind .	7·01	16·81	23·82	44·84	107·61	152·45	58·80	141·09	199·89
Bengal . . .	4·40	20·90	25·30	7·30	34·30	41·60	7·80	36·70	44·50
United Provinces .	7·30	26·30	33·60	17·00	61·00	78·00	19·00	68·00	87·00
Punjab . . .	3 00	20·00	23·00	14 00	96·10	110·10	16·00	110·00	126·00
Burma . . .	0 83	3·70	4·53	16·60	75·10	91·70	19·60	88·50	108·10
Bihar and Orissa .	4·40	30·70	35·10	10·80	75·00	85·80	11·30	78 30	89·60
Central Provinces	4·68	3·80	8·48	33·60	27·10	60·70	37·30	30·10	67·40
Assam . . .	0·92	14·94	15 86	7·07	114·99	122·06	7·30	120·14	127·44
Mean . . .	5·36	13·14	18·50	22·00	55·90	77·90	24·55	62 40	86·95

Meanwhile, the table given on the opposite page will enable the reader to make a mental picture of the extent of the road system of India and of the relative position of road development in the nine major provinces. The low percentage of surfaced roads in Burma and Assam is due to the large uninhabited hill and forest areas which lie in those provinces, and the very favourable position of Madras as compared with other provinces is noticeable. But even in Madras there are only a little over 14 miles of metalled roads to every 100 square miles of countryside. Sind is an outlying part of the Bombay Presidency, and the difference between the Presidency proper and Sind in the matter of metalled roads is very striking.

Except in Burma and in parts of Bengal and Assam, where waterways form an extensive and valuable part of the system of communications, there is comparatively little transport by river or navigable canal anywhere in this country. But it is not unreasonable to suppose that in the future the aeroplane and airship will be added to the existing forms of transport of men and perhaps of goods also in India. It must be admitted that there is not much to report at present in the matter of civil aviation in India, but there is every hope that before very long civil aviation will be counted as a factor however small at first in Indian communications. On the 5th of April, 1927, Lieut. Colonel F. C. Shelmerdine, O.B.E., Air Ministry Superintendent, Cairo-Karachi Civil Air Service, who had been selected for the appointment of Director of Civil Aviation in India, assumed charge of his office. In preparation for the development of internal air services in India, sites have now been definitely selected and acquired by the Government of India for a seaplane base at Rangoon, and for airship bases at Calcutta and Bombay. A site for an aerodrome has also been acquired at Gaya in Bihar and Orissa. Meanwhile, the proposed scheme of aerial services between England and India has not remained entirely stagnant during the year under review, for the British Airship Mission consisting of Group Captain P. F. M. Fellowes, Director of Airship Development, and Mr. M. A. Giblett, Superintendent of Airship Meteorology, have visited India in connection with the Imperial Airship Scheme and have discussed with

the Government of India matters relating to the provision of a mooring mast at Karachi, and the necessary meteorological and wireless facilities for the proposed Airship Service. The Government of India have arranged to provide a mooring mast at the Airship Base at Karachi at a cost of Rs. 7,36,000. It is hoped that experimental flights of Airships to India will take place in 1929. Also, during the year, one Indian Scholar started on a course of training in civil aviation at the Imperial College of Science and Technology in London, and the work of revising the Indian Aircraft Act of 1911, in order to bring it abreast of present day conditions, has been started.

A very interesting development is that in connection with the formation of Light Aeroplane Clubs in India. An Air League of India has been formed at Karachi and the League have applied for the grant of financial assistance in connection with the formation of a light aeroplane club at Karachi. Applications for the grant of financial assistance have also been received from the Delhi Light Aeroplane Club, the Bengal Flying Club and the Bombay Flying Club. The Aero Club of India and Burma has also been formed, the chief aims and objects of the club being *inter alia* to encourage and develop the study of aeronautics in all its branches, and to provide a centre of information and advice on matters pertaining to aeronautics, to assist in the formation of light aeroplane clubs and to co-ordinate their activities, both financially and administratively, and to control all competitions, sporting events, or trials in connection with aeronautics in India. A thing of some promise for the future of the Light Aeroplane Clubs is the interest which is being taken in them by many members of the Central Legislature, which, as readers of last year's report will remember, unanimously agreed to grant 10 lakhs of rupees for the development of civil aviation in India.

The next link in the chain of Indian communications is the Posts and Telegraphs Department, which, in addition to its primary function of providing the Indian public with easy and rapid means of intercourse, is, owing to its ubiquity, called upon to act as the agent of the Government in carrying out other essential services

not directly connected with its basic activities. It acts as the banker and agent of the people, enabling them to do their shopping from all distances. It collects customs charges on dutiable articles coming to India by post. It insures the lives of Government employees, and it pays the pensions of retired officials of the Indian Army. It is the custodian of Postal and Telegraphic Stores held in reserve for purposes of Military mobilization, and, finally, among a host of miscellaneous activities it sells quinine. The extent to which these useful functions are carried on may be estimated from the fact that in November 1927 there were about 22,000 post offices in India with about 1,10,000 postal officials.

During the year 1927 the Posts and Telegraphs Department continued to make steady progress in all branches and something of the size of its operations may be grasped from the following few figures for the year ending 31st March 1927, albeit these are of almost astronomical dimensions.

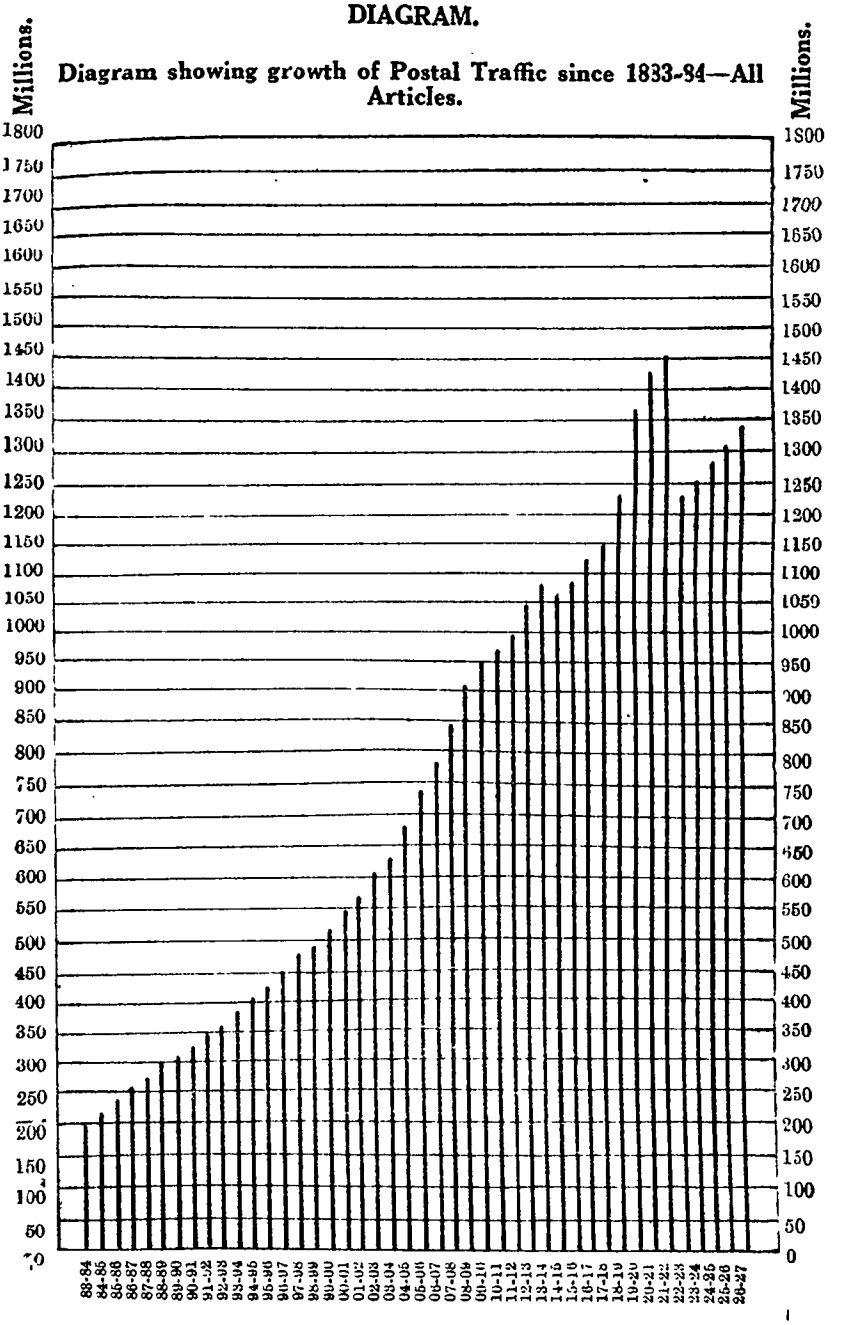
A total of 1,293 million postal articles were handled including 548 million letters, 553 million postcards, 83 million registered newspapers, 93 million packets and 16 million parcels an increase of 20 million articles over the figures for 1925-26. Thirty-seven million money orders of the total value of Rs. 897 millions were issued, on which a sum of Rs. 11½ millions was realised as commission.

Out of 1,330 million articles, including money orders, which were posted during the year, 99·96 per cent. were actually delivered or paid as compared with 99·94 per cent. out of a total of about 1,309 millions in the preceding year. The percentage of articles which the Department failed to deliver is only ·04 and includes a large number of articles with no address of any sort. When it is remembered that large numbers of postal employees have to be recruited from among primitive jungle and hill folk, and that in many parts of India, mail runners and postmen constantly run the risk of death from wild beasts and accidents by flood and field, the fine standard of achievement shown by these figures will stand out all the higher.

The policy of extending postal facilities in rural areas continued to be vigorously pursued. No less than 991 new experimental post offices were opened during the year 1926-27 as against 707 in the

DIAGRAM.

Diagram showing growth of Postal Traffic since 1833-34—All Articles.



previous year. At the end of that year, of the total of 20,737 post offices in existence, 16,381 were in rural areas; as also were 39,435 of the 55,707 letter boxes. So far as telegraph facilities generally are concerned, in addition to 148 telegraph offices proper, 3,710 of the post offices were combined Post and Telegraph offices, while 3,861 post offices were receiving offices where telegrams could be booked for transmission to the nearest telegraph offices. A new scheme was also put into operation for affording telegraph facilities in rural areas. Under this scheme, which is in an experimental stage, a branch postmaster of a village post office or a village postman, authorised by the Postmaster-General of the Circle accepts inland telegrams in English or in vernacular and sends them on by post to the nearest telegraph office for onward transmission by telegraph.

Further to improve postal deliveries in rural areas, a system has been introduced as an experimental measure in the Punjab and North West Frontier Circle for the daily delivery of paid unregistered correspondence to the residents of a village which is not served daily through a village postman. Under this system the villagers themselves arrange for the conveyance of all articles from the post office in a locked bag, and effect their distribution to the respective addresses without any remuneration being paid by the Department for their work. The experiment having proved a success, it has been decided to introduce the system in rural areas in other Circles where local conditions are favourable.

As a result of the recommendations of the Posts and Telegraphs Departmental Committee, 1924-25, it was decided in 1926 to unify the control of the work of the Railway Mail Service and that of the Post Office in the hands of the Postmaster-General. In pursuance of this policy the Western Circle of the Railway Mail Service was abolished and its work was distributed among the Postmasters-General of the Bombay, Madras and Central Circles.

The total distance over which mails were conveyed during the year was 161,289 miles of which motor services contributed 8,319 as compared with 6,883 in the preceding year. There was thus an increase of 1,436 miles in the motor mileage. The Department avails itself of every opportunity of substituting motor services for

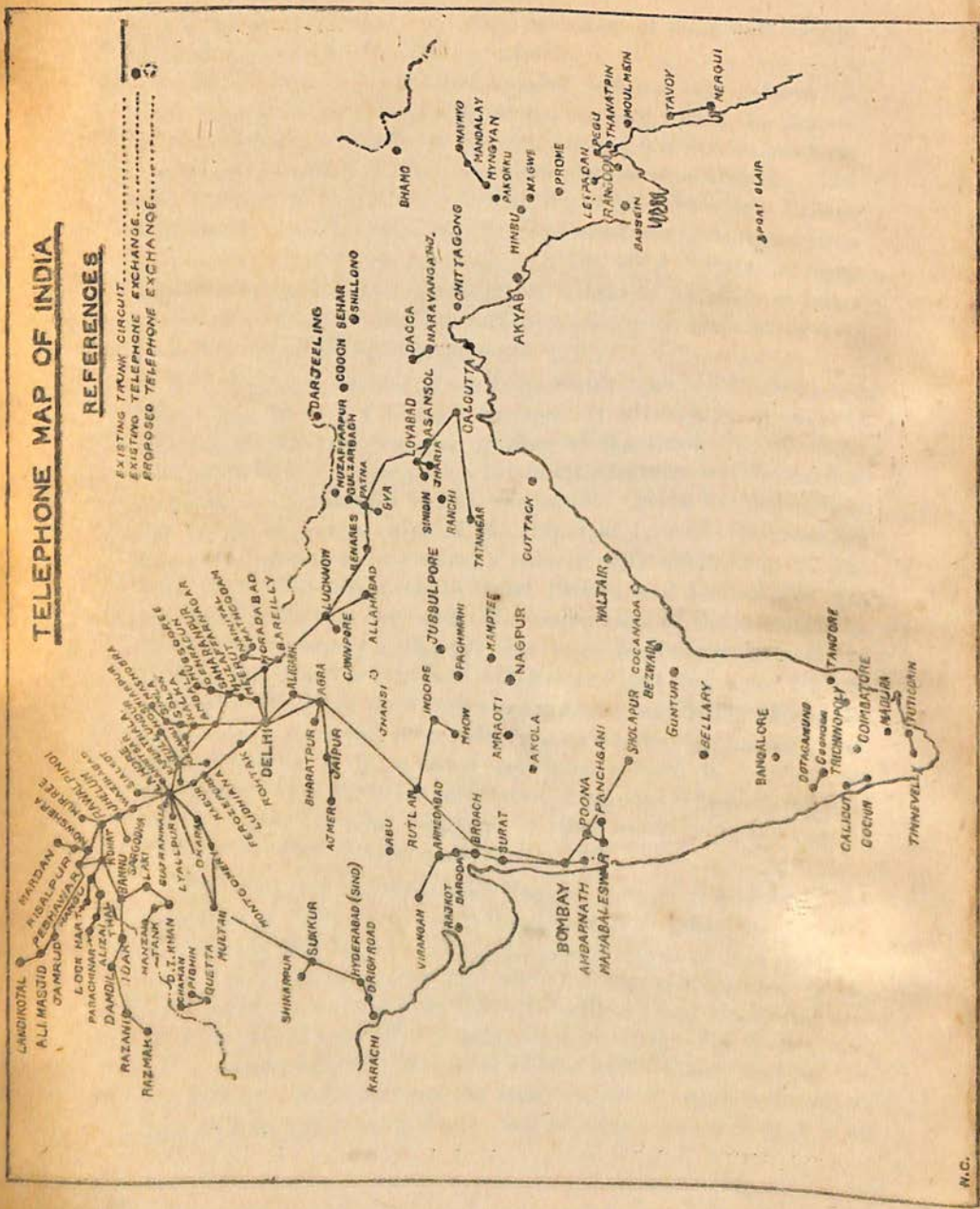
cart or runner services to the great advantage of the public and at little or no extra cost to the Department.

In the realm of international postal activities the " Imperial reply coupon ", which is meant for the use only within the British Empire, has been introduced, and the insured box service has been established between Great Britain and Northern Ireland. The limit of weight of parcels exchanged with Germany, British Somaliland and the United States of America has been raised from 11 lbs. to 20 lbs. The telegraphic money order service has been extended to Tanganyika territory and a regular despatch of letter mails has been established by the Basrah-Cairo air route inaugurated by the Imperial Airways Limited.

The telegraph Branch of the Department dealt with 1,60,61,426 inland and 29,61,176 foreign messages of all kinds. A notable incident of the year was the opening of the Beam Service to be referred to later. Among other interesting features was the marked reduction in the rates for foreign telegrams. Owing to the stabilisation of the exchange value of the Rupee at 1*s*.—6*d*. the rates for foreign telegrams were generally reduced with effect from the 1st July 1927. For telegrams to Great Britain and Ireland the rate was fixed at Re. 1-2 per word. In consequence of the reduction in the Cable Company's charges the rates for telegrams to Great Britain and Northern Ireland *viâ* Eastern and Indo was further reduced to Re. 1 per word from the 1st September, 1927. From the same date a week-end letter telegram service was introduced with these countries at three annas per word subject to a minimum charge of twenty words per telegram. A general reduction was also effected in the rates for telegrams to other countries to the west of India with effect from the 1st October 1927.

The telegraph and telephone line is so common a sight to the passer-by on foot, by car or railway that it is taken for granted. Few people stop to think of the enormous length of line and wire spread in a net-work over the face of India and Burma. There were, at the end of the year 1926-27, well over half a million miles of wire spread over 97,515 miles of aerial line. Of these totals, cables accounted for 1,052 miles of line with 78,253 miles of cable conductors. Numerous are the interruptions to which a telegraph line is heir. Birds are its greatest enemies. Crows have a habit

DIAGRAM.


TELEPHONE MAP OF INDIA
REFERENCES
EXISTING TRUNK CIRCUIT
EXISTING TELEPHONE EXCHANGE
PROPOSED TELEPHONE EXCHANGE
DARJEELING
COOCH SEHAR
SHILLONG
DACCA
NARAYANGANJ
CHITTAGONG
BHAMO
MANDALAY
MYNGYAN
PAKOKKU
MAGWE
PROME
HINBU
AKYAB
LEIPADAN
PEGU
RANGOON
THANATPIN
MOULMEIN
TAVOY
MERGUI
BASSEIN
SPORT BLAIR
NUZAFFARPUR
GULZARBAGH
PATNA
GYA
LOVABAD
ASANSOL
JHARIA
SINGIN
RANCHI
TATANAGAR
CALCUTTA
CUTTACK
BENARES
LUCKNOW
ALLAHABAD
CAWNPORE
JUBBULPORE
PACHMARHI
KAMPTEE
NAGPUR
WALTAIR
COCANADA
BEZWADA
GUNTUR
BELLARY
BANGALORE
DOTACAMUND
TRICHINOPOLY
COIMBATORE
MADURA
TUTICORIN
TINNEVELLY
CALICUT
COCHIN
SHOLAPUR
PANCHGANI
POONA
AMRAOTI
AKOLA
INDORE
MHOW
JHANSI
AGRA
ALIGARH
MORADABAD
BAREILLY
DELHI
KOHAT
BHARATPUR
JAIPUR
AJMER
ABU
RUTLAM
AHMEDABAD
BROACH
SURAT
BOMBAY
AMBARNATH
MAHABALESWAR
RAJKOT
BARODA
VIRANGAN
SUKKUR
HYDERABAD (SIND)
DRIGH ROAD
KARACHI
SHIKARPUR
MULTAN
QUETTA
MONTGOMERY
LYALLPUR
OKARA
FEROZEPURE
LUDHIANA
KOHAT
SIALKOT
JAMMU
PESHAWAR
PESHAWAR
MARDAN
RISALPUR
LOOK HART
PARACHINAR
ALIZAI
THAL
DAMDIL
IDAK
RAZANI
RAZMAK
LANDIKOTAL
ALI MASJID
JAMRUD
N.C.

of building their nests on a pair of parallel horizontal wires up against a post. This may be convenient for the crow, but, as he seems to prefer a residence made of bits of wire, his building propensities cause a considerable amount of inconvenience to the telegraphs. When a line is in the vicinity of a slaughter house, the birds of the vicinity seem to take a delight in dropping bits of offal on the line. The telegraph line is also susceptible to heat and cold; and in a country like India where there is a considerable rise and fall in the temperature in twentyfour hours the strain on the metal of a line is very great. A line again is exposed to the full fury of a storm. A post may be undermined by a flood. A falling tree may break up the whole strand of lines or at the least a branch or a twig will put it out of action. A line, if it is too low, may come in for the attention of wandering camels. Nevertheless, in spite of these many troubles of the telegraph line, which are remedied at the soonest possible moment by a staff of linemen, the telegraph system works on the whole satisfactorily. As most people are perhaps aware, the system of telegraphy universally adopted for the main lines in India is the Baudot Printing Telegraph. This system has its merits and its defects, but during the year it worked well though it was subject to occasional stoppages when the lines required overhauling or were interrupted. It may be mentioned that between Rangoon and Madras, Quad (as four-channel Baudot is called) was worked during the year by Wireless.

The telephone branch continued to expand. On the 31st March, 1926, there were 250 exchanges with 15,936 connections, while on the 31st March, 1927, there were 271 exchanges with 17,115 connections. The revenue showed an equal expansion. On the 31st March 1926, Rs. 26,60,824 were collected for the hire of telephone connections and Rs. 5,72,292 for trunk call fees. In 1927, these figures had gone up to Rs. 33,15,261 and Rs. 7,68,573 respectively. On the 31st March, 1927, there were also 18 licensed telephone exchanges with 28,384 connections. On the 12th January, 1927, a long distance trunk service was opened to the public between Calcutta and Delhi and in order to popularise the service a concession rate was allowed for a limited period. The trunk now extends from Calcutta *viâ* Delhi to Bombay. When the line conditions are favourable, speech is satisfactory, but it must be admitted

that perfection has not yet been reached and the Engineers of the Department have still to effect considerable improvement before good speech can be guaranteed. As an example of the expansion of the trunk line system, it may be stated that 17 new trunks were opened during the year.

A feature of the administration of the Engineering Branch during the year is a reduction in the value of stores purchased in England. This reduction has been in progress for some time, as the Department has been able to find the stores required in India itself. 1927-28 showed a marked improvement in this respect, for the value of stores purchased in the United Kingdom fell from Rs. 13,69,000 to Rs. 8,36,500. A Freight Section was formed in the Office of the Controller of Telegraph Stores, Calcutta, from the 1st March 1927 in order that the cheapest and most suitable routes for the despatch of stores might be studied continually by the agency responsible for the issue and that a general reduction in freight charges might be thereby effected.

The Revised Estimate of gross receipts of the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department during the year 1927-28 amounts to Rs. 10·94 crores which is higher by about 41 lakhs than the actual gross receipts of 1926-27. The Revised Estimate of working expenses for 1927-28 is Rs. 10·44 crores which is higher than the actual working expenses of 1926-27 by 53 lakhs. Taking into account the interest charges which the Department has to pay for its capital assets, the Revised Estimate indicates that there will be a net loss Rs. 5 lakhs on the working of the Department for the year 1927-28 as compared with a net profit Rs. 10 lakhs in 1926-27.

During 1927 the Wireless Branch of the Department showed considerable activity. The new coast wireless station at Santa Cruz near Bombay was completed and opened for traffic, whereupon the old station at Butcher Island was closed and dismantled. Arrangements are being made for a direction-finding installation to be erected in connection with the new station. The new receiving station near Malir (Karachi) was completed. This station includes a direction-finding installation for ships and aircrafts which is located a short distance from the civil aerodrome, and works in conjunction with the remodelled transmitting station at Karachi Cantonment. To the uninitiated it may be explained that a direc-

tion-finding station gives to the captain of a ship or pilot of an aeroplane his direction along a given line. A second station will give him his direction on another line. The intersection of these two lines gives him his exact position. The experimental direction-finding station erected at Saugor Island for the Calcutta Port Commissioners was transferred to Diamond Harbour and continued to give reliable results. The question of a permanent installation is being considered.

The obsolete "spark" installations at Peshawar, Quetta, Lahore and Allahabad were dismantled and replaced by modern continuous-wave sets. Continuous-wave apparatus is also to be installed at other inland stations.

In connection with a decision to work the Madras-Rangoon duplex wireless circuit normally on the Wheatstone System instead of the Baudot System as an experimental measure, a number of selected operators were given special training in Wheatstone working on up-to-date methods in the Wireless School at Alipore (Calcutta). Wheatstone working was introduced on this circuit in November and has given satisfactory results. A further extended trial of this system is being made.

The Director of Wireless and an officer of the Telegraph Traffic Branch represented India as delegates at the International Radiotelegraph Conference at Washington in October and November. This was the first conference of its kind held since 1912 and it assumed considerable importance owing to the extensive developments in wireless telegraphy which have taken place during the last 15 years.

The Marconi "Beam" Stations near Kirkee and Dhond were completed by the Indian Radio-telegraph Company and direct communication with England is now established. The inauguration of this wireless service by His Excellency the Viceroy took place in Bombay on the 23rd July and, after having undergone the official tests, the service was opened for public traffic on the 6th September. Since then it has worked very satisfactorily and has added an important line of direct communication between India and England. A steadily increasing amount of traffic to and from Europe, America and Africa has been handled at lower charges than those levied

by the older companies, and these have in consequence reduced their charges to meet the new competition.

During 1927 the Indian Broadcasting Company completed their broadcasting station at Bombay, which was opened by His Excellency the Viceroy on the 23rd July. The Calcutta station was completed later and was opened by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal on the 26th August. These are the first stations established in India for commercial broadcasting on lines similar to those which have been working for some years in England. The number of Broadcast Receiver licenses issued in India, excluding Burma, in the latter half of the year was 3,080, as compared with 330 in the first half. Burma is not included in the scope of the Indian Broadcasting Company and the Burma Radio Syndicate has been formed for the purpose of establishing a provisional broadcasting service for Burma and has erected a station in Rangoon. In consequence of the opening of these broadcasting stations, the experimental broadcasting by certain radio clubs has ceased.

Intimately connected with Wireless, Broadcasting, Aviation and Shipping, among the various subjects treated in this chapter, is the working of the Indian Meteorological Department which has accomplished a very full and varied programme of work during the period with which we are dealing.

The provision of adequate meteorological information to the proposed Imperial Airships on their flights between Basrah and Karachi was the first outstanding question to be considered during the year under review. The scheme accepted by the Indian Government contemplates action in three distinct and separate stages; firstly the immediate stage on which action has been taken on the lines explained below; secondly the intermediate stage, to be completed before the experimental airships begin to carry out their trials between Egypt and India, and thirdly the ultimate action necessary for the frequent and regular service, which is not expected to start before 1930 or 1931. The first stage of the scheme, for which the State sanctioned Rs. 68,000, was almost completed by the end of the year; additional surface observatories were established along the airship route; pilot balloon observations to determine the

upper air currents were started at Bahrein, Muscat and Gwadar; and marine co-operation was extended to ships plying in the north-east Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf. The Karachi Meteorological Office has thus been placed in a position to gather and study an increased supply of weather information from the Persian and Mekran coasts and the neighbouring sea areas. At Karachi itself there are special meteorological problems to be studied in connection with the landing and mooring of airships, problems particularly of wind gustiness and of vertical air temperature gradient in the first 250 feet above ground. For these purposes a mast 260 feet high has been erected at the Airship Base, Karachi, and special instruments, made in England, will soon be mounted on it. Personal contact and discussion with British airship officials was fortunately made possible through the visit to India of the Director of Airship Development and the Superintendent of airship meteorology, of whom the latter visited the Simla Meteorological Office and both visited the observatories at Agra and Karachi. This personal contact is being further promoted by the deputation to Europe for about a year of Dr. B. N. Banerji, the meteorologist-in-charge, Karachi, to study the recent developments in aeronautical meteorology in England, Germany, Norway and France.

A large number of weather reports and forecasts was supplied during the year in connection with aeroplane flights. Of these, special mention may be made of the flight of four seaplanes from England to Singapore and the various attempted non-stop flights from Europe to India and the Far East. The Meteorological Officers at Quetta and Peshawar continued to supply weather reports regularly to the Royal Air Force in northwest India.

In view of the rapid development of aviation the Indian Government have sanctioned an important extension of pilot balloon stations and it is hoped that all the new stations will begin to operate at an early date. Meanwhile the Agra Upper Air Observatory is continuing its researches and with the help of its sub-stations is collecting valuable information regarding the structure and circulation of the upper layers of the atmosphere. Records of air pressure, temperature, and humidity up to heights of 12 or 15 miles have been obtained by means of sounding balloons. Similar information up to lesser heights has been collected at

Peshawar, Risalpur, Kohat, and Karachi also by means of aeroplane ascents carried out with the co-operation of the Royal Air Force.

At headquarters attempts have been made to apply modern theories of meteorology to the study of Indian weather charts. The physical aspects of weather have been studied and attempts made to recognise masses of air having different histories and physical properties. Diagnosis of weather charts by such means often seemed to show that the weather experienced was the outcome of conflicts between different air masses, and the new ideas have certainly proved helpful in forecasting under Indian conditions. Other scientific activities of the department were devoted as before to seismographic records at various centres, magnetic work at Alibag and Bombay, and solar physics observations at the Kodaikanal observatory. At Bombay an interesting experiment on earth-currents has been undertaken and a careful study is being made of the microseisms, which, in favourable circumstances, appear to furnish early indications of the existence of disturbed weather out at sea.

The storm and heavy rainfall warnings were issued as usual from Simla and Calcutta. During the year 3 storms formed in the Arabian Sea and 5 in the Bay of Bengal, and ports and ships were duly warned in each case. Warnings were also issued on 36 occasions to the Arabian Sea area from Simla, and on 38 occasions to the Bay of Bengal area from Calcutta in connection with depressions, squally weather or winter disturbances. The warnings were reported to have been generally satisfactory.

It may not be out of place to mention briefly a few schemes which are now engaging the attention of this department. The most important of these is the plan for a study of Nor'westers. These violent local storms cause considerable loss of life and property almost every year in northeast India. A scheme for detailed weather observations in northeast India for a period of two years has therefore been drawn up and is under the consideration of the Government of India.

Considerable progress has been made in the construction of the new headquarters' buildings at Poona, which are expected to be completed in June or July 1928.

The Director-General of Observatories, Mr. J. H. Field, after having rendered over 21 years' service under the Government of India retired in March 1928. His name will always be coupled with the start and development of upper air research in India. We might close our narrative of the developments which have taken place in India's system of communications during the year by briefly describing a group of activities connected with ports and shipping in this country.

Mention was made in " India in 1925-26 " of a scheme for the central administration of shipping and navigation, lighthouses and so on, drawn up in Delhi in November 1924, at a conference of representatives of the Provincial Governments, the Chairmen of the Port Trusts of the major ports, Port Officers, Port Health Officers, and representatives of the Departments of the Government of India. As a result of these discussions the Government of India decided that (1) shipping and navigation and (2) lighthouses should be administered direct, and that legislation should be undertaken so as to vest the necessary statutory powers in the Governor General in Council. They also decided that the question of the major ports, about which there was some difference of opinion, should be reconsidered later when experience of the central administration of other subjects had been gained. Port quarantine, which is closely connected with the sanitation of the port generally, would also be dealt with separately. As we shall see immediately, the Indian Lighthouse Act, which was passed in September 1927, provides for the direct administration of lighthouses by the Governor General in Council. As a next step in the centralisation scheme, a Bill to amend the Indian Merchant Shipping Act, 1923, so as to provide for the administration of shipping and navigation by the Governor General in Council direct, instead of through the agency of the Provincial Governments, was introduced and passed during the Delhi Session of the Indian Legislature of 1928. At the close of the year under review the new Act had not yet been brought into force.

The Indian Lighthouse Act vests in the Governor General in Council the statutory powers necessary for the direct administration

by the Central Government of the central subject of lighthouses, lightships, beacons, etc. It has not yet been brought into force, as the Government of India have decided first to set up the necessary administrative machinery which will enable them properly to discharge the statutory powers vested in them by the Act. At the close of year under review steps were being taken to engage the necessary staff.

During the year the Bengal Pilot Service underwent reorganisation on receipt of orders from the Secretary of State. The old piece-work system of pay has been replaced by a time-scale and the service is now under the administrative charge of a Senior Pilot entitled " Deputy Port Officer (Pilotage) Calcutta." A very interesting happening during the year was the fitting up of the S. S. " Dufferin " as a Training Ship for Indian Cadets for the Mercantile Marine. The first course on her began on the 1st December 1927 and 30 cadets were selected for training. The Ship has been placed under the command of a Royal Indian Marine Officer as Captain Superintendent, assisted by a staff of experienced instructors, and an influential Governing Body representative of all the interests concerned has been appointed.

A question which has assumed some importance and been the subject of enquiry within the past few years is that of the conditions prevailing on Native Passenger ships. The Committee on Life-saving appliances found that the rules in force in regard to the carriage of life-saving appliances by such ships were out-of-date and they recommended their revision in accordance with modern requirements. The Deck Passenger Committee reported in favour of the adoption of a more liberal scale of space allowance for deck passengers and the supply of improved sanitary arrangements. The provisional conclusions at which the Government of India arrived in regard to these matters were published in 1925 but they evoked much criticism from the shipping interests in this country. In view, however, of the fact that the questions involved were technical the Government of India felt that it would not be desirable to come to a final decision in regard to the rules without competent advice. The services of a Ship Surveyor experienced in the administration of the Board of Trade were therefore obtained from the Board and an officer of the Royal Indian Marine, who has had nautical train-

ing with the Board of Trade, was also associated with him to deal with the nautical aspects of the questions. These officers had not completed their investigation at the close of the year.

Finally, let us glance at the schemes now on foot for port and harbour development in this country. A brief description of the scheme for the development of the Vizagapatam Harbour was given in the last year's report. The suction dredger, " Vizagapatam ", which met with a serious accident in March 1927, returned from Calcutta, after undergoing necessary repairs, about the end of December. Throughout the year reclamation work was vigorously pushed on, and bunds were constructed around the railway and the manganese wharf area on the north side of the dock reclamation area and the storage canal. Good progress was made with the sinking of the monoliths of the wharf wall, though work was at first somewhat hampered owing to the late delivery of the two loco cranes which had been ordered from England. The provision of an additional wharf for dealing exclusively with the manganese ore traffic, and of a dry dock, was sanctioned during the year, and a start was made with their construction. Work on the construction of staff quarters is well in hand. The general lay out of the railway connections was approved by the Railway Board and the preparation of the estimates was taken in hand. Certain anti-malarial measures were also carried out in accordance with the advice of the Director of the Central Malaria Organisation with the Government of India.

The question of the development and the future administration of the port of Chittagong had been under consideration for a long time. This port is the outlet to the sea of the Province of Assam and the Government of India considered it desirable that its future development should be co-ordinated with that of the Assam-Bengal Railway. This object can best be attained if the port comes under the direct control of the Central Administration, because this will, *inter alia*, facilitate the financing of its development. A Bill to amend the Chittagong Port Act, 1914, in order to transfer the statutory powers from the Provincial Government to the Governor General in Council was accordingly introduced and passed in March 1928. The Board of Commissioners for the port was reconstituted

at the same time so as to give more effective representation to local interests. The amending Act came into force from the 1st April 1928 from which date the port was also declared to be a major port.

CHAPTER VI.

Trade and Commerce.

For some years before the Reforms, important business and other interests in this country had demanded some measure of protection for the growing industries of India. In the fiscal affairs of India the introduction of the Reformed constitution ushered in a New era, and as a consequence of the changed relations between India and Great Britain, India controls her own Fiscal Policy to a greater extent than before. In accordance with the recommendations of the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill the Secretary of State normally refrains from interference in fiscal matters when the Government of India and the Indian Legislature are in agreement. In 1921, a Commission consisting both of officials and of representatives of European and Indian commercial interests, was appointed to examine, with reference to all the interests concerned, the Tariff Policy of Government. The preliminary recommendations formulated in the report urged the adoption of a policy of protection, which was to be applied with discrimination along certain general lines carefully indicated. In the selection of industries for protection, and in the degree of protection to be afforded, the Commission recommended that the inevitable burden on the community should be as light as was compatible with the development of the industries themselves. The report further recommended the creation of a Tariff Board to investigate the claims of particular industries to protection, to watch the operation of the tariff, and generally to advise the Government and the Legislature in carrying out the policy formulated by the Commission. Certain canons were laid down for the guidance of the Tariff Board. This body was to satisfy itself that the industries seeking protection possessed natural advantages; that without the help of protection they were unlikely to develop; and that they would eventually be able to face world-competition unprotected. The Commission also proposed that raw materials and machinery should ordinarily be admitted free of duty; that semi-manufactured goods used in Indian industries should be taxed as lightly as possible; and that the industries essential for the purposes of national defence, and for the development of which Indian conditions are not unfavourable,

should, if necessary, receive adequate protection. Government accepted on principle the recommendations of the Commission, but laid stress upon the fact that India's Tariff Policy must be guided by the requirements of revenue as well as the interests of industry. Early in 1923 the Commerce Member of the Viceroy's Council brought forward a motion in the Legislative Assembly summarising on this sense the Policy of the Government of India. He announced in addition that Government had decided to constitute a Tariff Board on an experimental measure for one year. After an animated debate in which the conflicting interests of Commerce and Agriculture found clear expression, the Assembly adopted the official motion as a reasonable compromise. Shortly afterwards a Tariff Board was constituted. The Board is still in existence as in view of the applications received from various industries it has been found necessary to extend the life of the Board from time to time.

In last year's report reference was made to the appointment of a special Tariff Board to investigate the conditions of the cotton textile industry in India with special reference to the industry in Bombay and Ahmedabad, to examine the causes of the existing depression, and to make recommendations. The Board found that the depression was largely due to causes which were not peculiar to India but were world wide in their operation, and that in India itself, the depression had been much more acutely felt in Bombay than in other centres. The Board attributed this state of affairs partly to causes for which the millowners themselves were responsible, partly to the competition of mills in other parts of India and partly to competition from Japan. In the opinion of the Board, Japanese competition was severely affecting the industry in respect both of yarn and piece-goods, and, in so far as that competition was facilitated by inferior conditions of labour in Japan, the industry had established its claim to protection against it. The inferior conditions particularly referred to arose from the provision of the Japanese Factory Law permitting the employment of women by night. The Board estimated that the advantage to the Japanese mills arising from such conditions came to about 4 per cent. But if a reasonable return on capital was included in the cost of production the advantage increased to 10 per cent. on yarn and 12½ per cent. on cloth. The competition

was most intense in respect of counts of yarn from 31*s*. to 40*s*. and the majority of the Board recommended a bounty of one anna per lb., or its equivalent, for a period of four years on the production of yarn of 32*s*. and higher counts based on the output of an average of 15 per cent. of the total working spindleage of a mill. The majority also proposed that the import duty on cotton piece-goods should be increased from 11 to 15 per cent. for a period of three years. The primary object of the increase was to provide funds to meet the cost of the proposed bounty on the spinning of finer counts and of certain other proposals made by the Board, but it was also intended to reduce the rigour of the competition from Japan from which the industry suffered. The President of the Board, Mr. Noyce, did not consider an all round increase in the duty on piece-goods to be justified, and recommended an additional duty of 4 per cent. on all cotton manufactures imported from Japan for a period of three years. The Board proposed several other measures for the assistance of the industry, the most important of which was the remission of the import duty on cotton textile machinery and on certain mill stores for a period of three years.

The Government of India announced their decision on the recommendations of the Board on the 7th June 1927. They agreed to the removal of import duties on certain classes of machinery and mill stores permanently and not for a limited period of three years only, but they were unable to accept the proposals of the majority of the Board for the payment of a bounty on the spinning of finer counts of yarn, and for the increase of the duty on piece-goods. They were also unable to accept the recommendation of the Chairman of the Board that an additional duty of 4 per cent. should be imposed on cotton manufactures imported from Japan.

Strong representations were made by the industry against these decisions and in consequence the Government of India reviewed them with the desire to take such further steps as were possible to assist the industry where this could be done without sacrifice of principle and with due regard to the interests of India as a whole. They found it impossible to approve either the proposed bounty or the differential duty against Japan, but came to the conclusion that the cotton spinning industry could fairly claim additional assistance on account of the double shift working in Japanese mills rendered possible by the night work of women. It was estimated that all reasonable claims would be met if the existing

duty of 5 per cent. on yarn were made subject to a specific minimum of one and a half annas per pound. In order, however, to minimise the burden on the handloom industry as far as possible, and in order also to facilitate the diversification of Indian mill production, they decided to include in the proposals to be placed before the Legislature the reduction from 15 to 7½ per cent. of the duty on artificial silk yarn which is being used in increasing quantities both by the handloom weavers and by the cotton mills. The list of cotton mill stores proposed to be exempted from duty was also amplified. The Bills relating to these changes were passed into law after a prolonged debate in the Assembly as the Indian Tariff (Amendment) Act, 1927, and the Indian Tariff (Cotton Yarn) Amendment Act, 1927. The latter Act however provides that the safeguarding duty on cotton yarn should remain in force only till 31st March 1930. This limitation has reference to the fact that it is expected that the night work of women in Japanese mills will be abolished on 30th June 1929, and that yarn produced under double shift conditions will not be on the market for more than a few months afterwards.

Turning now from the special Board to the regular Tariff Board we find that the latter, during the year under review, concluded their investigations into the claims for protection to the manufacture of railway wagons and component parts thereof, bolts and nuts and wire and wire nails and the enquiry into the question of tariff equality in respect of hair, cotton and canvas ply belting. Also, questions regarding the appropriate rates of duty to be levied on printing paper, the grant of protection to the plywood and tea chest industry, and the safeguarding of the petroleum industry against the dumping of imported kerosine were referred to the Board for examination during the year.

In their report which was published on the 25th February 1928, the Board found that given a sufficiency of orders, the railway wagon and underframe industry no longer required any assistance beyond the existing revenue duty and that the continuance of the bounty scheme which had been in force during the previous three years was unnecessary. Owing, however, to the probable restriction in the normal demand for wagons during the next two or three years consequent on improvements in railway administration,

the Board considered that assistance should be given to the industry during this period. They accordingly recommended that until the demand for wagons became normal, tenders should be called for only in India and accepted if within a certain maximum price and that subject to minor adjustments the maximum price should be fixed by an addition of 12½ per cent. to the lowest prices paid in November 1925, for wagons and in April 1926, for underframes. The Government of India accepted this recommendation with certain modifications. It appeared to them, however, that if the Indian wagons building firms refused to take the orders at the maximum price which Government considered reasonable, it would be necessary to call for simultaneous tenders in England, and that if the import duty remained at 10 per cent., there was a danger that some of the orders might be lost to India. They accordingly proposed to raise the rate of import duty on wagons and underframes and certain component parts to the rates applicable to fabricated steel generally. A Bill purporting to give effect to the Government proposals was introduced in the Assembly and referred by it to a Select Committee. The Committee, however, took the view that it would be an undesirable precedent to increase the measure of protection recommended by the Board and thought it advisable to maintain the existing revenue rate of duty of 10 per cent. and to arrange that all the orders were placed in India. The Bill as amended by the Select Committee was passed by the Legislature and became law as the Steel Industry (Protection) Act, 1928. The Act also gave effect to the Tariff Board's recommendations, accepted by Government, that a duty of Rs. 2 per cwt. be levied on iron or steel bolts and nuts in place of the existing *ad valorem* duty of 10 per cent., so as to remove the inequality of tariff treatment between the Indian manufacturer of these articles and his foreign competitors; and that the protective duty on wire and wire nails should be discontinued.

The Tariff Board recommended a bounty of Rs. 2-8 per cwt., on steel castings manufactured by the Hukumchand Electric Steel Works for railway rolling stock. Enquiries made by Government, however, showed that another firm in India was also equipped to produce steel castings from indigenous materials, while the effective railway demand was barely sufficient to keep even one firm fully employed. In the circumstances Government came to the conclusion that the conditions justifying protection for the manu-

facture of steel castings did not exist, they were, therefore, unable to accept the bounty scheme recommended by the Board.

The only other enquiry conducted by the Tariff Board which need be mentioned here is that into the Oil Industry which arose from representations received from a number of companies engaged in the production of petroleum in India, asking for protection against the injury inflected on them by the kerosine price war in progress in India between the Standard Oil Company of New York and the Royal Dutch Shell Group. The companies stated that as a result of the price war, kerosine was being sold in India at prices well below world parity, and that its continuance might lead to the extinction of the weaker companies in India. The matter was referred to the Tariff Board just before the close of the year.

The way is now clear for a discussion of the trade of India in 1926-27, the latest year for which statistics are available. After what has been said above about the fiscal policy of this country, it is not surprising to find that the proportion of imported manufactured goods to total imports tends to fall and during 1926-27 this class of imports accounted for 72·8 per cent. as compared with 74·3 per cent. during the preceding year and 76·6 per cent. in the pre-war period. Conversely, the proportion of manufactured goods exported from India tends to rise and during 1926-27, these formed 28·3 per cent. of India's exports as compared with 23·9 per cent. in 1925-26 and 23·1 per cent. in the pre-war period. From the above figures it will be seen that normally about three-fourths of India's imports consists of manufactured articles, while raw materials including food-stuffs, bear about the same proportion to her total exports. The value of total exports of merchandise amounted to Rs. 309 crores as compared with Rs. 385 crores in 1925-26, showing a reduction of about 20 per cent. The most important factor that contributed to this decrease was the heavy fall in the world prices of raw materials, particularly of cotton and jute. On the other hand, the value of imports showed some slight expansion, being valued at Rs. 231 crores as against Rs. 226 crores in the preceding year, an increase of approximately 2 per cent. The general level of prices for the kinds of commodities which form the great bulk of India's exports is still appreciably lower than that of the

manufactured goods which are her main imports. During 1926-27 the gap between the two levels widened again after having shown some approximation during the previous year. The existence of this gap is a partial explanation of the falling off in India's import trade in recent years as compared with the pre-war period.

We saw in Chapter I and, in the chapter following this, further reference will be made to the same subject, that trade conditions in India were generally good during the year under review. But, of course, no country is a self-contained economic unit now-a-days, and economic conditions exert a powerful influence on Indian trade and commerce. In last year's report we saw that in Europe, India's most important trade connection, financial and general economic conditions have been steadily improving for some time. During the twelve months ending on March 1st, 1928, much progress was made towards world wide international financial stability and in particular the rapid fluctuations in the comparative values of currencies are, except for one or two outstanding examples, now things of the past.

A very notable attempt to grapple with one important aspect of the problem presented by existing economic conditions is represented by the International Economic Conference which met at Geneva from May 4th to May 23rd 1927. The Conference was attended by delegates from fifty countries including both members and non-members of the League. The delegates were selected by the Governments concerned on the basis of their technical and personal qualifications and were not spokesmen of any official policy. The Indian delegation consisted of Sir Ness Wadia, Sir Campbell Rhodes, and Dr. L. K. Hyder. The Agenda of the Conference was divided into two parts; the first covering the general review of the world economic position, and the second, Commerce, Industry, and Agriculture. Resoutions and Recommendations of far reaching importance were passed at the Conference on these subjects. Broadly speaking, there is a large measure of harmony between the principles on which the present economic regime in India is based and those advocated by the Conference.

Another important event of the year was the meeting of the International (Diplomatic) Conference for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions which opened at Geneva on the 17th October and continued until the 8th November 1927.

India was represented at the Conference by Sir Basanta Kumar Mullick, assisted by Mr. H. A. F. Lindsay, the Indian Trade Commissioner. The Conference drew up an International Covention for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions, the main requirement of which is that Contracting Parties should abolish, within six months of its coming into force, in their respective territories all prohibitions and restrictions not falling within certain general exemptions. The Convention has been signed on behalf of India subject to a declaration that none of the Indian States is included in the signature. India has not claimed any reservations under Article 6 of the Convention. But other States have claimed certain exceptions and they will be discussed at the further Conference to be opened at Geneva on the 3rd July 1928, in accordance with the provisions of Article 17 of the Convention. This Conference will also determine the conditions required for the coming into force of the Convention, the last date on which the ratifications may be deposited and the date on which the Convention shall come into force. The question of sending a representative from India to attend this Conference and of the attitude to be adopted by him in the discussion on these matters is under consideration.

Lastly, in this connection, mention might be made of the attitude of the Government of India towards the Geneva Hides Conference. Article 3 of the Final Act of the International Convention for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions recommended that the countries which apply prohibitions and restrictions on the export of hides, skins and bones should confer together with a view to ascertaining whether all reservations under Article 6 of the Convention which related to these articles could be removed. The Economic Committee of the League of Nations, to whom this matter was referred, came to the conclusion that the majority of the States concerned were prepared to abolish these prohibitions, but recognised that if the prohibitions were to be abolished, two questions connected therewith would have to be dealt with, namely, the export duties now imposed or likely to be substituted for the prohibitions to be abolished, and the claim of certain States that the abolition of the prohibitions should be accompanied by equitable import tariffs on the articles manufactured from these raw products, and recommended that these difficulties should be examined at the meeting contem-

plated by Article 3 of the Final Act of the Convention. The Government of India were invited to send a representative to this meeting but they declined to do so on the grounds that they did not apply any prohibition in India on the export of hides, skins and bones, that they considered it desirable that India should remain free to deal with her tariff as she thought best, and that the discussion of the question of export duties was in conflict with Article 5 of the Final Act. For the same reasons they have declined to be a party to the two Draft Protocols which have been drawn up by the Conference with a view to the conclusion of an agreement providing for the abolition of all export prohibitions and for the immediate or gradual abolition of all export duties on these articles.

Of other events outside India, which affected her trade, one or two of the most important may be mentioned here. In the following pages will be found continual references to the coal strike in Great Britain which had important repercussions on the trade conditions of most countries and exercised a really serious influence on India's overseas trade for 1926-27. The results of the strike are obvious in the large fall in imports into India of iron and steel and other metals, of machinery, and of railway plant and rolling stock, to mention only a few of the more important items. The strike is also partly responsible for a decrease in the exports of certain raw materials from this country, but, in common with other coal producing countries India's exports of coal increased temporarily during the period of the strike and some of the markets then secured have been retained.

In October 1926, after an interval of three years the Imperial Conference again assembled and naturally devoted considerable attention to economic matters. At the previous conference the question of tariff within the Empire was to the fore, but this time problems connected with communications and transport, research and marketing were the most prominent, and the conference stressed the principle that the increase of a country's imports is complementary to an increase in her export trade, and that if trade between the different countries of the Empire is to expand, these must buy from as well as sell to each other. An important development in Inter-Imperial Trade took place in 1926, when on the recommendation of the Imperial Economic Committee—a body responsible to all the governments in the Empire—the Empire

Marketing Board was set up to promote the marketing of Empire produce in the United Kingdom and to advise the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs on the Expenditure of a grant of £1 million a year placed at his disposal by Parliament for that purpose. The work of the Board falls under the three headings of Publicity, Economic Investigation and Scientific Research, and one of the methods by which the Board seeks to achieve its object is by giving financial assistance to scientific research in any part of the Empire wherever such research gives promise of profiting the Empire's agricultural development.

The two important international economic conferences held during 1927, have been mentioned and this part of our discussion of the different factors which influence Indian trade and commerce may be closed by an account of the work of the Indian Trade Publicity Officer in England. In last year's report we said that it had been decided to continue this appointment up to the 31st of March, 1928. The Report on the work done by this officer between 1st April and 30th November 1927, showed that the money spent on publicity work was more than repaid by the results obtained and that in the interests of Indian trade his work should be continued. The appointment of Trade Publicity Officer has accordingly been made permanent with effect from 1st April 1928. The greater part of the publicity work undertaken by this officer during 1927-28, has been in connection with India's participation in Exhibitions and Fairs. These fall into two main classes, namely, those which are organised and conducted entirely at the expense of the Indian Trade Commissioner's office, and those where the Empire Marketing Board provided space and stalls at the Board's expense—all other arrangements being made by the Trade Commissioner. Of fairs in the first class, the most important at which India was represented were the Leipzig International Fair of March 1927, the Milan International Fair, which was held the following month and the Prague International Fair of September 1927. The best results were secured at Leipzig and, indeed, better results were secured there than at any other continental Fair in which India has yet taken part. The Indian stall was always crowded and the visitors were practically all businessmen. Over 300 enquiries were received several of them relating to articles which were not even on show. The enquiries came, in order of importance, from Germany, Italy, Sweden, Denmark, Holland,

INDIAN PAVILION AT THE LYON'S FAIR IN FRANCE.

Poland, Hungary, Roumania, Japan, London, and New York. There were strong indications that propaganda in favour of the tea trade could be successfully launched in Germany, and it is understood that the India Tea Association is taking active steps in this direction. The cost of the stall amounted to £146-16-9*d*. The results of the Exhibition at the Milan Fair were also very satisfactory. The total number of trade enquiries received amounted to two hundred and twenty covering about forty different articles, those in greatest demand being shellac, arts and crafts, woollen carpets and rugs, oilseeds, raw cotton, mica, kapok and cotton prints. As this Fair is usually visited by commercial travellers from Eastern Europe, it was thought that Bombay mill products could be shown there to advantage and the Bombay mills were accordingly invited through the Secretary, Millowner's Association, to send their exhibits. Only one mill responded by sending a dozen samples of yarn. They arrived a few days after the opening of the Fair but they were immediately displayed and four enquiries from Constantinople and other places were received which were communicated to the mill concerned. The Prague International Fair brought a hundred trade enquiries, most of which were from local commercial houses. India was also represented at the International Tobacco Trade Exhibition in April 1927, and at the Railway Employees Exhibition in September of the same year. The latter is organised to show how railways contribute to the growth of International Trade and the Indian stall was designed to show India as a tourist centre and as the supplier of certain table delicacies.

In the second class of Exhibitions and Fairs referred to above, the Empire Marketing Board, in pursuance of their policy of fostering inter-Imperial trade, pay for the space and for the construction of the stalls, but the Indian Trade Commissioner supplies all designs and makes all the arrangements for the collection, transport and installation and supervision of exhibits. These exhibitions make a speciality of food products and particularly cater for retailers and for the general public, thereby creating a demand which is bound, sooner or later, to react on wholesale dealers and manufacturers. Already there has been an appreciable increase in the demand for Indian condiments and food-stuffs not only in England but to a small extent on the continent also. If some enterprising business houses were to follow up the Trade Commis-

sioner's efforts by distributing samples at exhibitions and by undertaking other effective forms of propaganda, there would be every chance of their doing a growing trade in Indian food-stuffs with the United Kingdom. During the year 1927-28, the Indian Trade Commissioner took part in about thirty Exhibitions and Fairs falling within this second class.

In addition to the above activities the Trade Commissioner's office lent photographs and lantern slides to illustrate lectures and did much propaganda by means of pamphlets printed in some of the most important European languages.

We can now turn to the main features of India's trade during the year 1926-27. The balance of trade in merchandise in favour of India fell from the record figure of 161 crores in 1925-26, to 79 crores in the year under review. As might be expected, India's import of the precious metals shrank, a net import of Rs. 39 crores as against the 52 crores of the preceding year being recorded. The net imports of gold amounted to nearly 19½ crores, that is, 15½ crores less than in the preceding year 1925-26, whilst the net imports of silver increased by 3 crores to 20 crores of rupees on account of reduced shipments of the metal to China.

A somewhat striking feature of the year's trade was the amount of raw cotton imported into India. Imports were particularly heavy as a combined result of Indian prices being out of parity with American prices, and an actual shortage, at certain periods, of Indian staple cotton. An important factor was the partial failure of the Punjab-American crop of 1926-27, which was both low in yield and poor in quality. There was also an appreciable falling off in the quality of Hyderabad Gaorani cotton. The total imports during the year amounted to 45,676 tons as compared with 17,543 tons in the previous year. The United States of America supplied the major share of the imports, her consignments increasing from 103 tons in 1925-26, to 25,039 tons in 1926-27.

At the risk of frightening the less stout-hearted reader by an intensive bombardment of figures we present the following summary of the principal features of Indian imports and exports during 1926-27. Imports of cotton piecegoods increased by 224 million yards or 14 per cent. in quantity to 1,788 million yards, while in value the corresponding increase was only of Rs. 51 lakhs or 1 per cent. White goods rose from Rs. 16 crores to Rs. 17½ crores and coloured goods from nearly Rs. 16 crores to Rs. 17¼ crores, while

grey goods, notwithstanding an increase of 39 million yards in quantity, fell in value from Rs. 22 crores to Rs. 19⅔ crores. Imports of cotton twist and yarn valued at Rs. 6⅔ crores against Rs. 7¾ crores in the preceding year. The imports of sugar increased by 15 per cent. in quantity from 805,000 tons to 924,000 tons and by 21 per cent. in value from Rs. 16 crores to Rs. 19 crores. In iron and steel the quantity imported decreased by 4 per cent. from 884,000 tons to 845,000 tons and the value by 7 per cent. from Rs. 18 crores to Rs. 16¾ crores. Machinery and millwork declined from Rs. 15 crores to Rs. 14 crores. The imports of railway plant and rolling-stock on private account receded from Rs. 5 crores to Rs. 3¼ crores. Imports of hardware and motor cars were valued at Rs. 5 crores and Rs. 3 crores respectively, as in the preceding year. Mineral oils fell away from 200 million gallons to 183 million gallons in quantity and from Rs. 10 crores to Rs. 9 crores in value. The value of imported provisions rose from Rs. 4⅔ crores to Rs. 5½ crores. Alizarine and alinine dyes increased in quantity from 10⅓ million lbs. to 15 million lbs. while in value there was an advance by Rs. 27 lakhs to Rs. 1,70 lakhs. A larger quantity of foreign cotton was absorbed during the year, 45,700 tons valued at Rs. 5 crores against 17,500 tons valued at Rs. 3⅔ crores in the preceding year. Imports of liquors and paper were valued at Rs. 3,53 lakhs and Rs. 2,78 lakhs, showing increases of Rs. 19 lakhs and Rs. 26 lakhs respectively over imports in the preceding year.

On the export side the total value of raw cotton and cotton manufactures exported fell from Rs. 105 crores to Rs. 70 crores. Raw cotton declined by 24 per cent. in quantity from 745,000 tons to 569,000 tons and by 38 per cent. in value from Rs. 95 crores to Rs. 58⅔ crores. Raw jute increased in quantity by 9 per cent. from 647,000 tons to 708,000 tons, but, as the previous year's high range of prices was not maintained, decreased in value by 29 per cent. from 38 crores to Rs. 26¾ crores. Exports of gunny bags and gunny cloth also increased in quantity, while the value realised fell. The total value of raw jute and jute manufactures shipped fell from Rs. 97 crores to Rs. 80 crores. Exports of foodgrains fell from 3,063,000 tons to 2,429,000 tons in quantity and from Rs. 48 crores to Rs. 39 crores in value. Shipments of rice fell from 2,549,000 tons valued at Rs. 39⅔ crores to 2,035,000 tons valued at nearly Rs. 33 crores and of wheat from 212,000 tons

valued at Rs. $3\frac{2}{3}$ crores to 176,000 tons valued at Rs. $2\frac{3}{4}$ crores. Exports of barley and pulse also decreased. Tea showed an improvement, shipments increasing in quantity by 23 million lbs. and in value by Rs. 2 crores to 349 million lbs. valued at Rs. 29 crores. The total quantity of oilseeds exported again decreased by 412,000 tons to 838,000 tons while the value of the shipments fell by Rs. $10\frac{1}{2}$ crores to Rs. 19 crores.

We may now turn to a more detailed survey of the course of imports and exports during the year 1926-27. As usual, on the import side cotton manufactures were by far the most important item, accounting in fact for not far short of one-third of the total value of imports into this country. The actual proportion of cotton imports to total imports was 30·3 per cent. In last year's report we laid stress on the disappointing character of the cotton import trade during the year 1925-26, and it is satisfactory to be able to report that imports under this head showed advances over the previous year's figures in all the principal items except cotton twist and yarn, but the brisk revival of trade which had been anticipated after the early months of 1926, did not attain the hoped-for dimensions. During the first three-quarters of the year there was a general tendency to buy for immediate requirements only, an attitude which was justified by the falling market in raw cotton. With prices continually falling it was difficult to dispose of stocks, and in Calcutta the accumulation of holdings was increased by large buyings during the last quarter of 1925, and by the serious and prolonged communal riots which prevented the clearance of stocks to up-country centres. However, the import trade became more buoyant towards the latter part of 1926 and a fair volume of orders was placed with the Lancashire mills during January and February 1927. The end of the coal strike in England removed a handicap on business, and the lower prices quoted brought Lancashire goods more within the range of the Indian purchaser. Also, short-time working in the sections spinning American cotton in Lancashire was formally abandoned in December 1926, and this was followed by the abolition of the scheme of minimum basic selling prices for standard counts of American yarn which had been in force for a few months. These events helped to bring about greater confidence in prices and a further contribution to the revival of business was made by the stronger tendency in the cotton market.

DIAGRAM.

The Foreign Sea-borne Trade of British India. (*b*) During the 60 years (1864-69 to 1919-24). Quinquennial averages.

(Private and Government.)

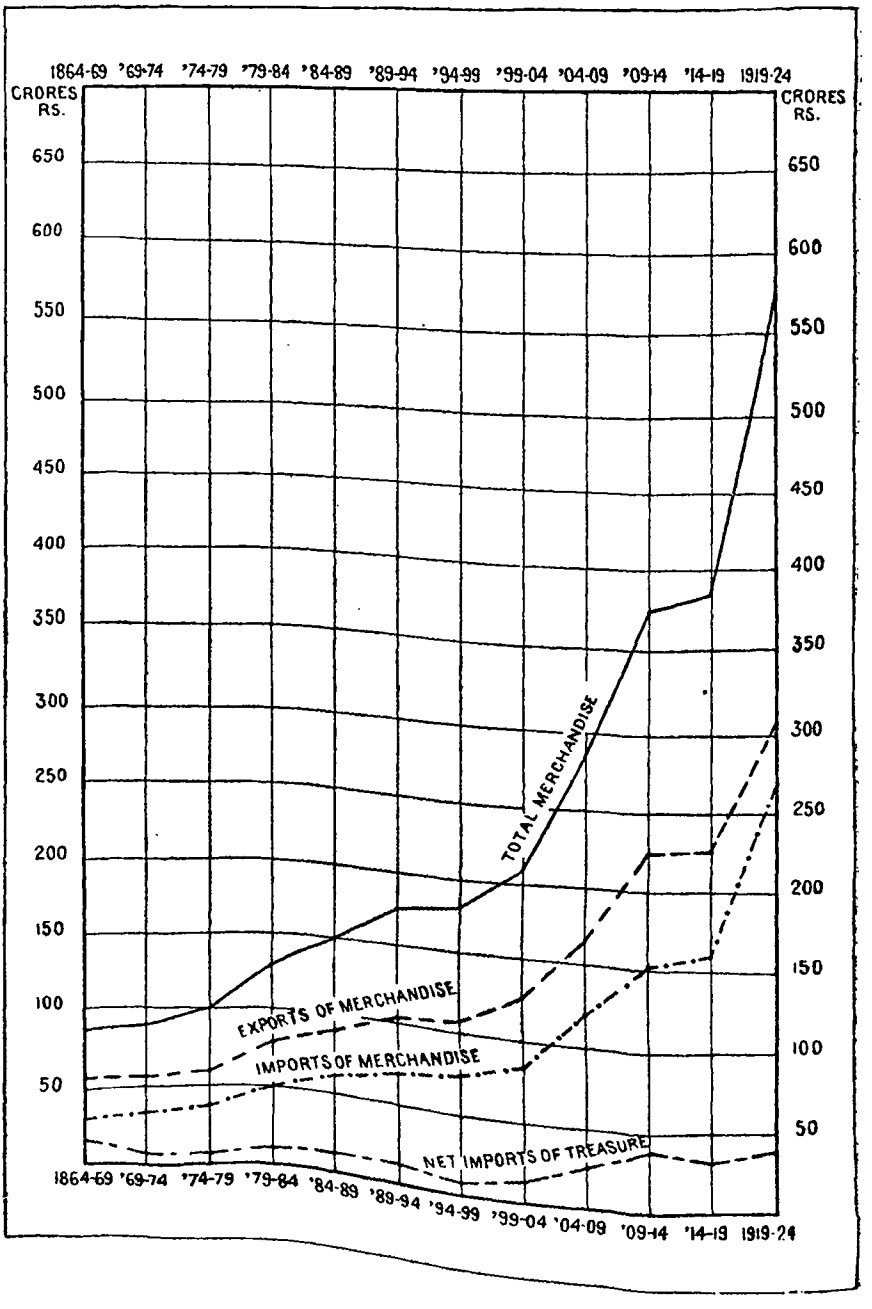
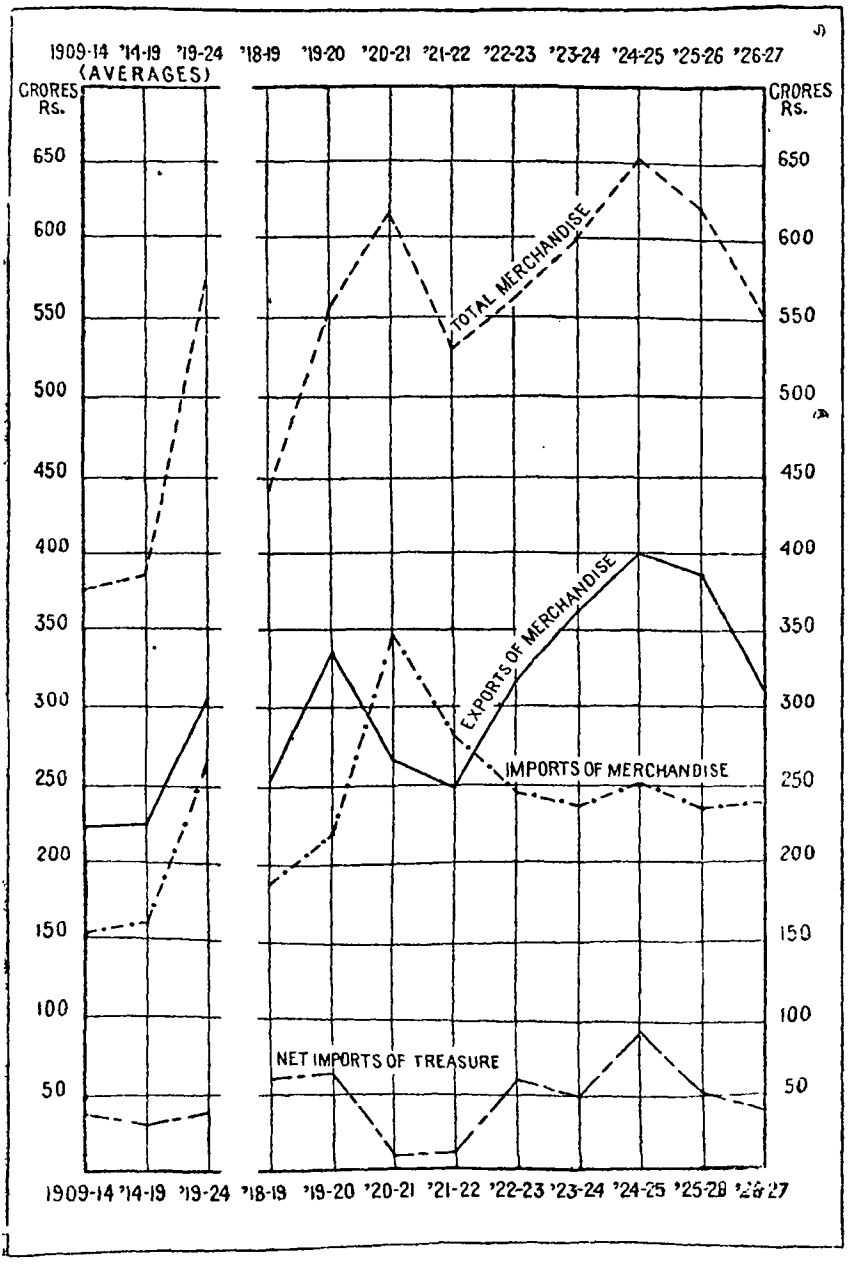


DIAGRAM.

The Foreign Sea-borne Trade of British India. (*a*) During the last nine years as compared with averages of the pre-war, war and post-war periods.

(Private and Government.)



Imports of cotton twist and yarn fell again in the year under review both in value and quantity. The total quantity imported amounted to only 49 million pounds valued at 6,62 lakhs of rupees as compared with 52 million pounds worth 7,77 lakhs in the preceding year. The fall in imports was mostly at the expense of Japan which supplies only 26½ million pounds of yarn—that is, 7 million pounds less than she had supplied during the previous year. A striking feature of the imports, however, was the recovery of the United Kingdom from nearly 16 million pounds to over 20 million pounds. This figure is still only about half of her normal exports to India in pre-war years.

The following figures which show India's demand for foreign yarns and the production of yarn in Indian mills over a series of years is interesting as showing first the greatly increased consumption of yarns in this country during the last 20 years and also the vast proportion of the supply consumed which is produced by Indian mills.

	Imports.	Indian mill production.
	lbs. (1,000).	lbs. (1,000).
Annual average—		
Five years ending 1908-09 .	38,573	611,776
Five years ending 1913-14 (pre-war)	41,794	646,757
Five years ending 1918-19 (war period) . . .	34,063	666,227
Five years ending 1923-24 .	44,681	662,512
Year 1913-14 (pre-war) .	44,171	682,777
,, 1914-15 . . .	42,864	651,985
,, 1915-16 . . .	40,427	722,425
,, 1916-17	29,530	681,107
,, 1917-18 . . .	19,400	660,576
,, 1918-19 . . .	38,095	615,041
,, 1919-20 . . .	15,097	635,760
,, 1920-21 . . .	47,333	660,0 3
,, 1921-22 . . .	57,125	693,572
,, 1922-23 . . .	59,274	705,894
,, 1923-24 . . .	44,575	617,329
,, 1924-25 . . .	55,907	719,390
,, 1925-26 . . .	51,688	686,427
,, 1926-27 . . .	49,425	807,116

It will be noticed from these figures that the production of yarn in Indian mills during the year 1926-27, was a record while the imports, which had receded to 49·4 million pounds during that year, showed a fall of 4 per cent. as compared with the year before and of 12 per cent. as compared with 1924-25. The largest decrease in imports was in the lower counts 1 to 20 which fell away to a little over a million pounds from 4¾ million pounds imported during the year 1925-26. At the same time the production of the same counts in Indian mills showed a substantial increase of 71 million pounds in 1926-27. These low-grade yarns are largely imported from Japan and during the last two years consignments from that country have shown a marked decline and have receded from 6 million pounds in 1924-25 to 4 million pounds in the next year and only 202,000 pounds in the year under review. Of the grey and coloured yarns of counts 31 to 40 imports declined by 1·89 million pounds but the share of the United Kingdom in grey yarns rose from 1½ million pounds in 1925-26 to nearly 4 million pounds in 1926-27. Japan's consignments of grey yarns Nos. 31 to 40, of which she is now the chief supplier, fell to 16 million pounds as against 20 million pounds in the preceding year. Indian production of these yarns increased notably during the year from 19¾ to 27⅞ million pounds. In the higher counts above 40, both import and production showed increases, the former of 13 per cent. and the latter of 98 per cent. Of the imports the United Kingdom accounted for nearly 6·6 million pounds as against 5 million pounds in the previous year whilst Japan accounted for ·9 million pounds as against 1·6 million pounds in 1925-26. The United Kingdom supplied the major share of white bleached yarns imported, her consignments amounting to 3·2 million lbs. out of a total import of 4 million pounds. The United Kingdom's share in the total trade in cotton twist and yarn rose from 31 per cent. in 1925-26 to 41 per cent. in the year under review, whilst Japan's share fell back from 65 to 54 per cent. The average declared value per pound of grey yarns Nos. 31 to 40 imported from Japan was 15 annas, 11 pies, while the United Kingdom yarns grey and coloured of similar grades were valued at Re. 1, 8 pies, and Re. 1, annas 6 and pie 1, per pound respectively. Imports from Continental countries consist largely of coloured yarn and of the exporting countries the share of the Netherlands increased slightly whilst imports from Switzerland and Italy declined.

The total imports of piecegoods including Jents during 1926-27 showed an increase in quantity of 224 million yards or 14 per cent. over the previous year but the corresponding increase in value was only 51 lakhs or 1 per cent. White goods contributed most to the increase, the imports rising by 106 million yards, whilst coloured goods showed an increase of 82 million yards and grey goods of 39 million yards. As compared with the prices which have ruled for these 3 descriptions of piecegoods since the War, prices during the year under review showed a marked decrease. As usual the United Kingdom provided the major share of the imports of grey goods which increased from 561 million yards in 1925-26 to 589 million yards in the year under review—that is, a rise of 5 per cent.

The quantity imported in 1926-27 was, however, below that of 1924-25 by 21 per cent. Imports from Japan, on the other hand, have been showing continuous increases. Her supplies in 1925-26 were in quantity 30 per cent. more than that of the previous year, while in 1926-27, an increase of 8 per cent. over 1925-26 was recorded. The actual quantities supplied during the three years ending 1926-27, were 110, 143 and 155 million yards valued at Rs. 4,08, Rs. 4,61 and Rs. 4,23 lakhs respectively. The imports from the United States of America during the year increased by 9 per cent. in quantity from 2,460,000 to 2,690,000 yards. In white piecegoods the United Kingdom still retains almost a monopoly and her shipments during the year rose from 446 million yards valued at Rs. 15 crores to 550 million yards valued at over Rs. 16½ crores. Her share in the total imports of white goods into India was 96 per cent. both in 1925-26, and in the year under review. Imports from Japan declined from 4,675,000 yards to 2,882,000 yards. Switzerland increased her supply from 5,800,000 to 8,600,000 yards, but the arrivals from the Netherlands showed a small decline as compared with the previous year.

In the coloured section the United Kingdom's figure for 1926-27 was 318 million yards, an increase of 19 per cent. on 1925-26, but a decrease of 6 per cent. on 1924-25. Continental countries show an increasing activity in this section of the trade. Japan also has considerably increased her share. In 1926-27, Japan and the Netherlands more than doubled their respective shares as compared with 1924-25, the imports during the year being 86 million and 14 million yards respectively as against 41 million and

6 million yards respectively in 1924-25, and 69½ million and 10 million yards, respectively in 1925-26. Germany increased her share from nearly 2 million to more than 3 million yards, and Switzerland from 1½ to more than 3 million yards. There was a striking increase in the imports from Italy which from nearly 10 million yards in the previous year rose to 15½ million yards in 1926-27. Belgium also showed a large increase though her share in the trade is comparatively small. The following table shows the percentage shares of the United Kingdom and Japan in the total imports of piecegoods in 1913-14, and in each of the past four years:—

Percentage share of the United Kingdom and Japan in the imports of Cotton Piecegoods.

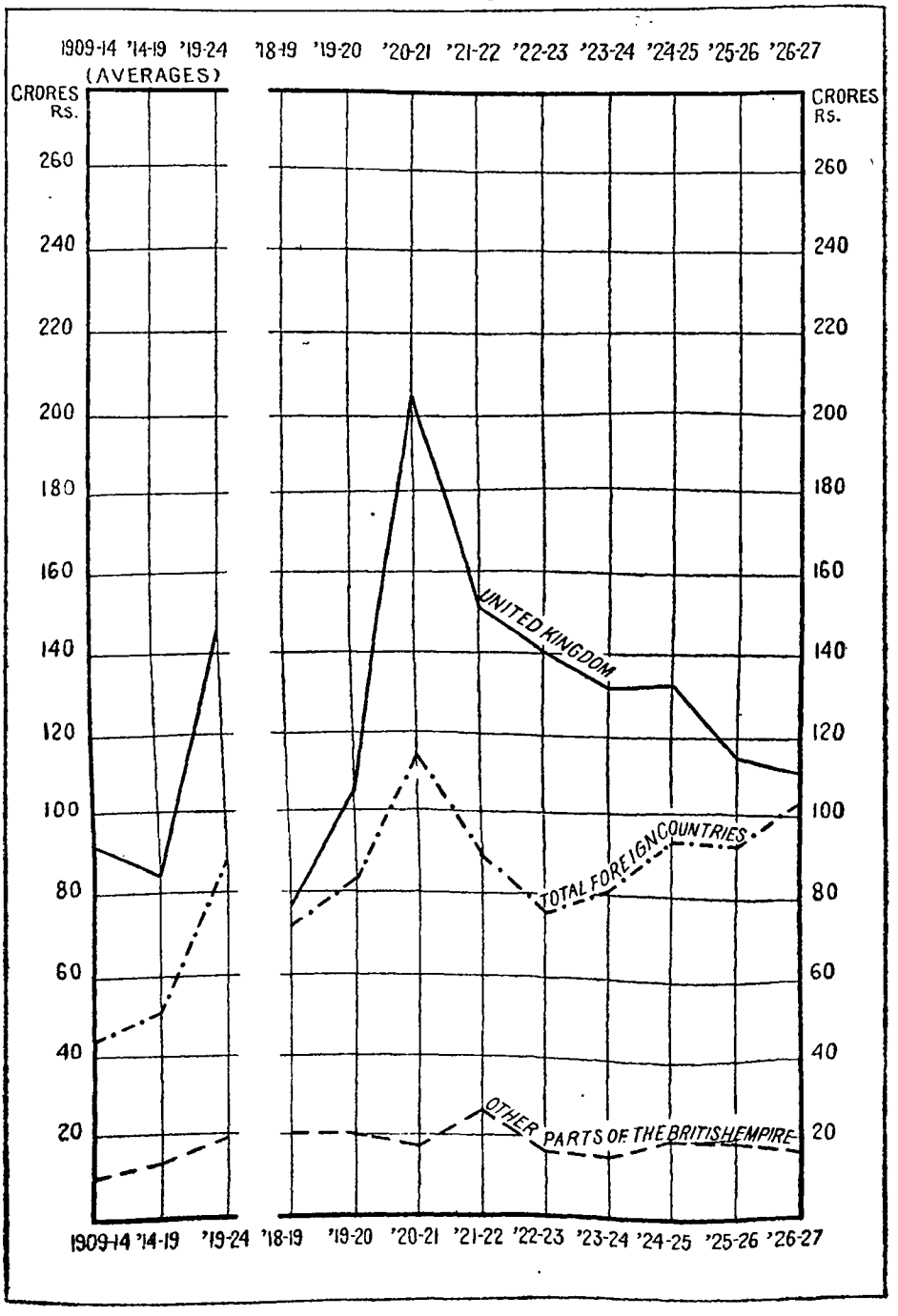
—	1913-14.		1923-24.		1924-25.		1925-26.		1926-27.	
	United Kingdom.	Japan.	United Kingdom.	Japan.	United Kingdom.	Japan.	United Kingdom.	Japan.	United Kingdom.	Japan.
Cotton piecegoods—										
Grey . . .	96·8	·5	85·2	13·7	86·0	13·0	79·2	20·1	78·7	20·7
White . . .	98·5	—	97·0	·6	97·1	·8	98·0	1·0	96·4	·5
Coloured . .	92·6	·2	87·4	6·7	83·1	10·0	73·1	19·0	71·1	19·2

While the United Kingdom has maintained her position in the trade in white goods, she has given ground slightly in the case of grey and coloured goods.

DIAGRAM.

Variations in the Trade of British India with Principal Countries during the last nine years as compared with averages of the pre-war, war and post-war periods.

(i)- IMPORTS



The distribution of the total import trade in piecegoods among the principal countries concerned is shown below:—

Percentage shares in the total quantities of Piecegoods imported.

—	1913-14.	1920-21.	1921-22.	1922-23.	1923-24.	1924-25.	1925-26.	1926-27.
United Kingdom.	97·1	55·6	87·6	91·2	88·8	88·5	82·3	82·0
Japan . .	·3	11·3	8 3	6·8	8·2	8·5	13·9	13·6
United States .	·3	·9	2·1	·5	·5	·5	1·0	·9
Netherlands .	·8	·9	1·1	·8	·7	·6	1·1	1·1
Other countries .	1·5	1·3	9	·7	1·8	1·9	1·7	2·4
TOTAL .	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Bengal heads the list each year in the distribution in India of the total quantity of piecegoods imported. Bombay comes second, but she has shown a steady decline in her share during the last three years. Burma has, on the other hand, made steady progress.

The second most valuable item in India's imports during the year under review consisted of metals and manufactures of metals. Imports under this head decreased by 4 per cent. in quantity, from 945,000 tons to 909,000 tons, and by 6 per cent. in value, from Rs. 25⅓ crores to slightly under Rs. 24 crores. Of this total, iron and steel imports amounted to Rs. 16¾ crores as compared with Rs. 18 crores during the previous year, 1925-26, and fell from the second place in order of importance to the third place. If to metals and their manufactures were added machinery and mill work, railway plant and rolling stock, cutlery, hardware, implements and instruments, and motor vehicles, a group of imports is formed with a total value of Rs. 56 crores, which is Rs. 23 crores less than the value of the imports of yarn and textile fabrics—the first important group among imports. In 1925-26 the metals group accounted for Rs. 60 crores and textiles for Rs. 77 crores.

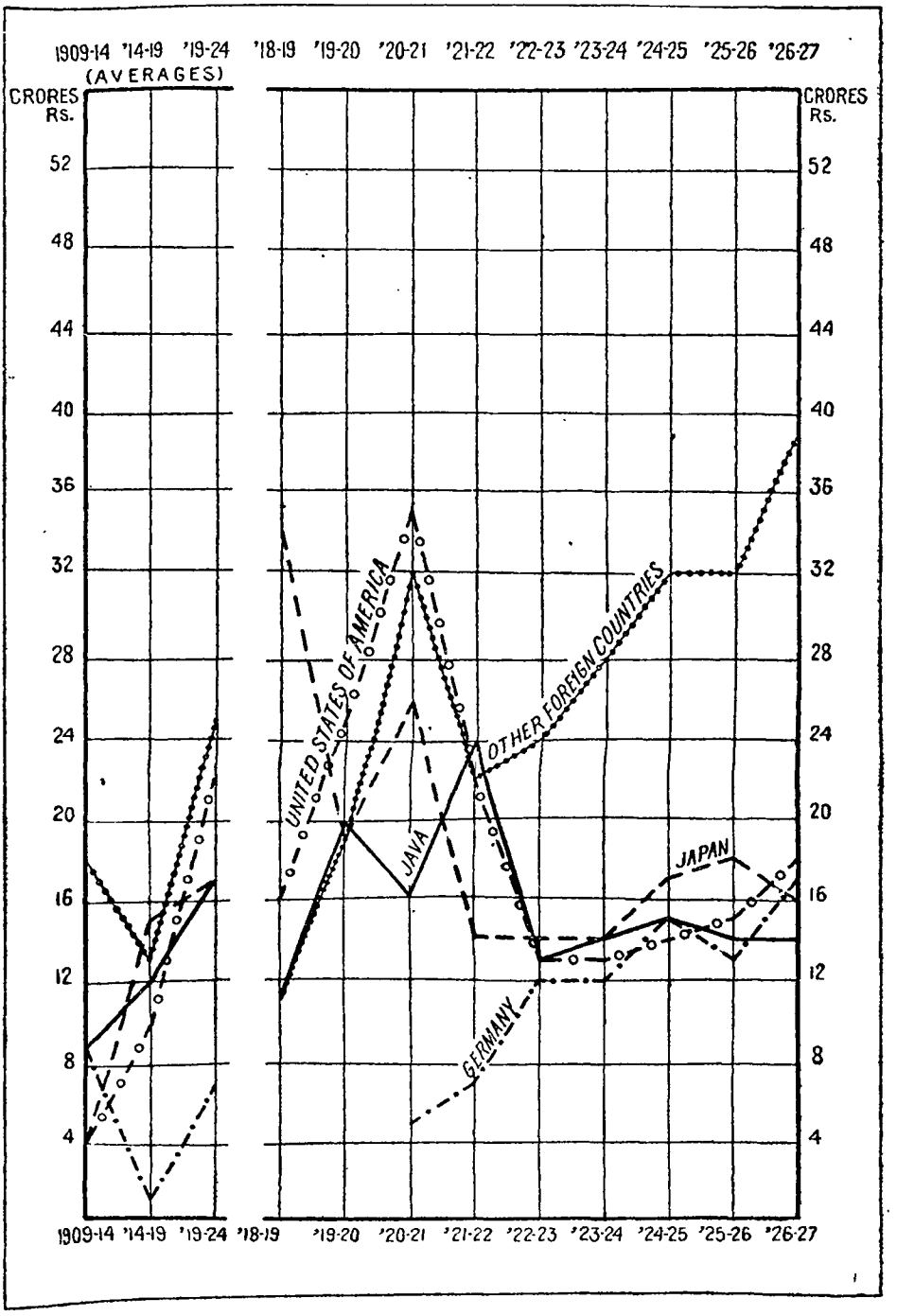
Indian trade returns under this head were appreciably affected by the coal strike in Great Britain which virtually paralysed the latter's iron and steel industry, throughout the period of the strike supplies from the United Kingdom were restricted, a larger proportion than usual of the Indian import trade having gone to Germany and Belgium.

Manufactured iron and steel imported in the year under review, excluding pig iron and old iron or steel, decreased by 5 per cent. in quantity from 879,000 tons to 838,000 tons, and by 7 per cent. in value from Rs. 1,803 lakhs to Rs. 1,670 lakhs. Galvanised sheets which accounted for about 43 per cent. of the total value of manufactured iron and steel, fell by 8,000 tons to 275,000 tons. As usual, imports of this commodity came mostly from the United Kingdom, which supplied 249,000 tons. The coal stoppage was felt least in the manufacture of galvanised sheets, as these could be manufactured from imported semi-finished material. The share of the United States improved from Rs. 31 lakhs to Rs. 40 lakhs; and of other countries, Belgium supplied over Rs. 24 lakhs and Germany Rs. 6⅔ lakhs. Imports of tin-plates fell from 29,700 tons to 22,200 tons, a decrease attributable to some extent to increased production in India, which was estimated at 35,000 tons in 1926 as compared with 30,000 tons in 1925, and 9,000 tons in 1923. Imports both from the United Kingdom and the United States fell, the former country, in fact, reducing the amount of her imports by one-third. Imports of steel bars, other than cast steel, rose from 126,000 to 151,000 tons, the rise being shared mostly by Belgium, Germany and Luxemburg. The share of the United Kingdom in this trade fell from 14,000 tons to 8,000 tons. In beams, pillars, girders and bridge-work, there was a heavy reduction, from 98,000 tons valued at Rs. 1,22 lakhs to 72,000 tons valued at Rs. 89 lakhs. India's principal sources of supply of these goods are the United Kingdom and Belgium, and the imports from both these countries fell sharply. Rails, chairs and fish-plates, including those for railways, decreased from 34,000 tons in 1925-26, valued at Rs. 40⅔ lakhs, to 23,000 tons valued at Rs. 25½ lakhs during the year under review, the fall being chiefly due to reduced importations from the United Kingdom whose supplies dropped from Rs. 28⅓ lakhs to a mere Rs. 8⅔ lakhs.

Imports of pig iron into India are now almost negligible, and during the year under review they declined from 2,895 tons,

DIAGRAM.

Variations in the Trade of British India with Principal Countries during the last nine years as compared with averages of the pre-war, war and post-war periods.



valued at Rs. 3¼ lakhs, to 1,627 tons valued at Rs. 2 3 lakhs. Of this amount, the United Kingdom supplied 999 tons and Belgium 50 tons. In India there has been an increase in the production of pig iron from 875,000 tons in 1925-26 to 957,000 tons in 1926-27. On the whole, the most notable feature of the trade in iron and steel (including pig and old iron) during the year under review was the high proportion of imports from the Continent, Belgium supplying 257,000 tons or 30·4 per cent., and Germany 79,000 tons or 9·3 per cent., as compared with 229,000 tons (25·9 per cent.) and 69,000 tons (7·8 per cent.) respectively in 1925-26. The share of the United States also improved from 23,000 tons or 2·6 per cent. to 29,000 tons or 3·4 per cent. Imports from the United Kingdom fell from 489,000 tons to 406,000 tons, which was only 67 per cent. of the pre-war figure, and her share dropped from 55·3 per cent. in 1925-26 to 48·1 per cent in 1926-27.

Imports of metals, other than iron and steel and their manufactures, increased in quantity from 62,000 tons to 64,000 tons, but decreased in value from Rs. 7,28 lakhs to Rs. 7,06 lakhs. Imports of aluminium, brass, and zinc or spelter all increased whilst those of copper and lead decreased.

Third in order of value in India's imports comes sugar. Estimates of the world's production of sugar in 1926-27 show a reduction as compared with the two previous years. The problem before the sugar producers now-a-days is to find a market at remunerative rates for the steadily increasing output. The total production for 1926-27 is estimated at 23,309,000 tons, that is, over a million tons less than the production of the preceding year. Imports of sugar of all sorts, excluding molasses and confectionery, into British India showed a still further increase in the year under review and amounted to 826,900 tons—a rise of 13 per cent. over the preceding year and 23 per cent. as compared with 1924-25. A feature of the year's imports was the increase in the takings of beet sugar, partly at the expense of Java sugar, this no doubt being attributable to the firmness of the Java market as a result of a poor out-turn in 1926-27. There was a notable expansion in the imports from the United States, which rose from 1,900 tons in 1925-26 to 11,622 tons in the year under review. Imports from the Netherlands, Belgium and France also showed increases and omission should not be made of the fact that Canada entered the market during the year and sent 4,650 tons, valued at Rs. 11

lakhs. There were hardly any imports of sugar into India from Mauritius, because the preference enjoyed by Empire sugar in the United Kingdom has diverted the Mauritius crop thither. In beet sugar, importations from all the European countries showed increases, Germany taking the lead with 47,948 tons, followed by Czechoslovakia with 28,802 tons and Hungary with 25,368 tons, the previous year's figures being 1,373 tons, 10,200 tons and 19,000 tons respectively.

Machinery and millwork imports come fourth on the list this year. Last year this item was third, but imports during the year under review did not fall as far as might have been expected in view of the coal stoppage in the United Kingdom, for the engineering industries there were able to work on previous stocks or on imported material. Naturally the prosperity of the trade in machinery depends on the favourable conditions of other industries, and it is interesting to observe that the important branches which have reported increases in imports are electrical machinery, oil crushing and refining machinery, rice, flour mill and paper mill machinery, whilst cotton and jute mill machinery, prime movers, boilers, mining machinery and sugar machinery all record decreases.

The value of textile machinery imported showed a further decrease this year from Rs. 3,29 lakhs to 2,51½ lakhs of which the United Kingdom supplied Rs. 2,40 lakhs. Cotton machinery and jute manufacturing machinery fell by Rs. 64½ lakhs and nearly Rs. 17 lakhs respectively, but wool manufacturing machinery which had reached the low level of Rs. 2 lakhs in 1925-26 improved to Rs. 4 lakhs during the year under review. Imports of electrical machinery increased from Rs. 2,22⅓ lakhs to Rs. 2,29⅓ lakhs, the most noticeable increases being recorded in imports of transformers and generating plant. The United Kingdom has the lion's share of this part of India's trade and supplied electrical machinery to the value of Rs. 1,86 lakhs, whilst the United States, the next supplier in order of importance, sent machinery to the value of Rs. 23 lakhs. Prime movers other than electrical decreased by Rs. 14 lakhs to Rs. 1,98 lakhs.

Mineral oils formed the fifth in order of importance in the items of India's import trade. During the year under review, the total imports of all kinds of mineral oils from foreign countries in 1926-27 fell from 200 million gallons to 184 million gallons.

Of this amount about 35 per cent. consisted of kerosene oil, 49 per cent. of fuel oil, and 13 per cent. of lubricating oils. Over 64 million gallons of kerosene were imported in 1926-27 as compared with 79 million gallons in the previous year. Imports from the United States represented 87 per cent. of the total quantity of kerosene imported, this being a little below the level of the previous year. Imports from Borneo, Sumatra, the Straits Settlements and Persia all declined whilst the coastwise imports of kerosene oil from Burma amounted to 130 million gallons as compared with 128 million gallons in 1925-26.

The growing use of fuel oil in the Railways and Steamships, and also in the industrial plant of India, kept the demand for fuel oil fairly strong, and imports amounted in 1926-27 to 90½ million gallons valued at Rs. 1,96 lakhs as compared with the record figure of 93½ million gallons valued at Rs. 2,11½ lakhs in the previous year. It should, however, be remembered that the figure for 1925-26 included importations by the Great Indian Peninsula Railway up to the end of June 1925, after which on the Railway being taken over by the Government the imports were classified under Government stores. Imports from Persia decreased by nearly 6 million gallons, whilst Borneo and the Straits Settlements together supplied 24 million gallons as against 21½ million gallons in 1925-26.

Imports of foreign motor spirit into India are insignificant and were only 3,800 gallons in 1926-27. India's requirements of petrol are thus met entirely from her own oilfields in Burma and other parts of India.

The increase in the imports of motor vehicles noticed in the preceding issue of this review was well maintained during the year under report. Lower prices stimulated the growing motor car habit and the further extension of motor transport in India. With the improvement of the financial position of the Government of India it has been found possible to reduce the rate of duty on motor cars from 30 per cent. *ad valorem* to 20 per cent. *ad valorem*, and on pneumatic tyres and tubes to 15 per cent. *ad valorem* with effect from 1st March 1927. The absence of a net work of good roads and the limitations on the loads allowed on bridges are two important factors which still operate against the more rapid development of motor transport in India. The number of motor cars imported rose by 3 per cent. from 12,757 in 1925-26 to 13,197 in

1926-27 and their value by 4 per cent. from Rs. 2,82 lakhs to Rs. 2,94 lakhs. The British light car is steadily growing in popularity and advancing its position in the market, although Canada and the United States of America still maintain their predominant place in this trade. The average declared value of cars imported from the United Kingdom during 1926-27 was Rs. 3,159 as compared with Rs. 2,208 for the American and Rs. 1,568 for the Canadian car. The corresponding figures for the preceding year were Rs. 3,239 for British, Rs. 2,185 for American and Rs. 1,518 for a Canadian car. Cars imported from the United Kingdom rose from 2,399 to 2,546 in number and in value from Rs. 77⅔ lakhs to Rs. 80½ lakhs. The imports of Canadian cars, on the other hand, decreased from 4,775 valued at Rs. 72½ lakhs to 4,476 valued at Rs. 70 lakhs and those of American cars fell from 4,143 valued at Rs. 90½ lakhs to 4,030 valued at Rs. 89 lakhs. There were increased supplies from Italy and France.

Of the total imports Canada supplied 34 per cent., the United States 30 per cent., the United Kingdom 19 per cent., and Italy 11 per cent., as compared with 37, 32, 19 and 7 per cent. respectively in the preceding year. Bengal had 32 per cent. of the trade, Bombay 27 per cent., Sind and Madras 14 per cent. each and Burma 13 per cent.

The imports of motor cycles increased by 11 per cent. in number from 1,629 in 1925-26 to 1,803 in 1926-27 and by 6 per cent. in value from Rs. 9,86,000 to Rs. 10,47,000. The efforts made by British manufacturers in recent years to reduce prices resulted in an increase in the imports from the United Kingdom. Arrivals from that country, which numbered 1,201 or 82 per cent. of the total in 1924-25, rose to 1,458 or 89 per cent. in 1925-26 and to 1,665 or 92 per cent. in the year under review, while the supplies from the United States steadily declined from 180 in 1924-25 to 113 in 1925-26 and to 75 in 1926-27. France supplied 19 and Germany 8 motor cycles as compared with 18 and 6 respectively in the preceding year.

In view of the growing use of motor buses for passenger traffic there has been a rapid increase in the importation of motor omnibuses, vans and lorries. The import figures are 6,343 valued at Rs. 1,20 lakhs as against 4,840 valued at Rs. 88 lakhs in the preceding year and 2,162 valued at Rs. 39 lakhs in 1924-25. Of these the number of chassis imported was 5,345 valued at Rs. 96 lakhs

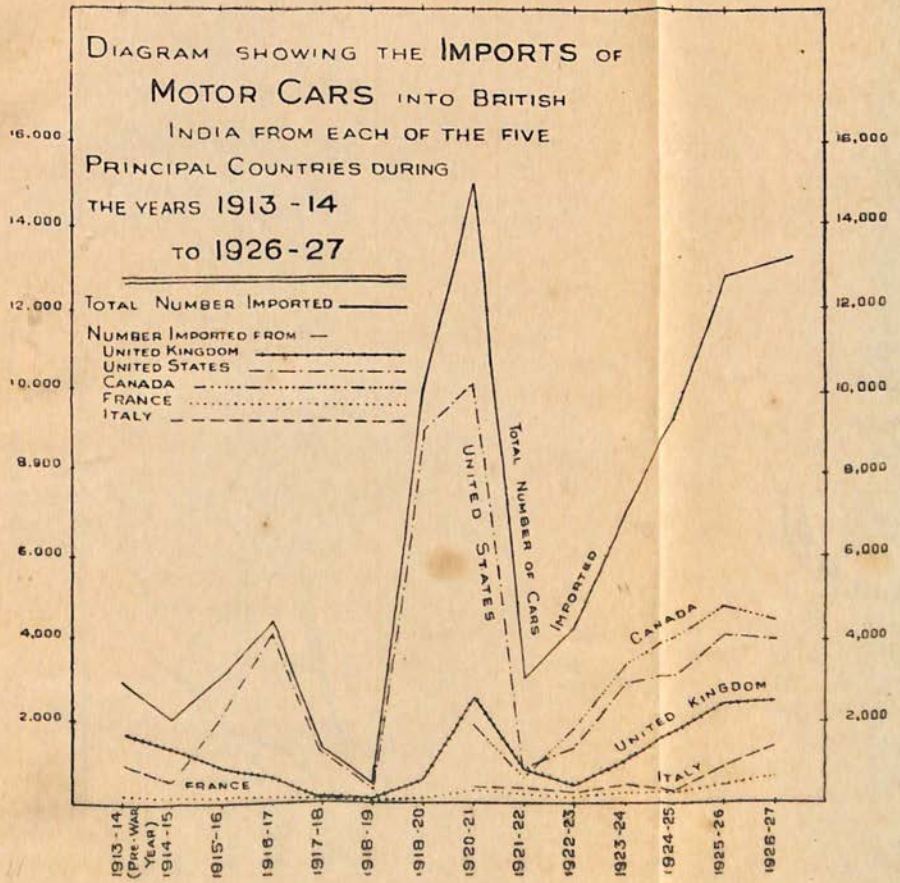
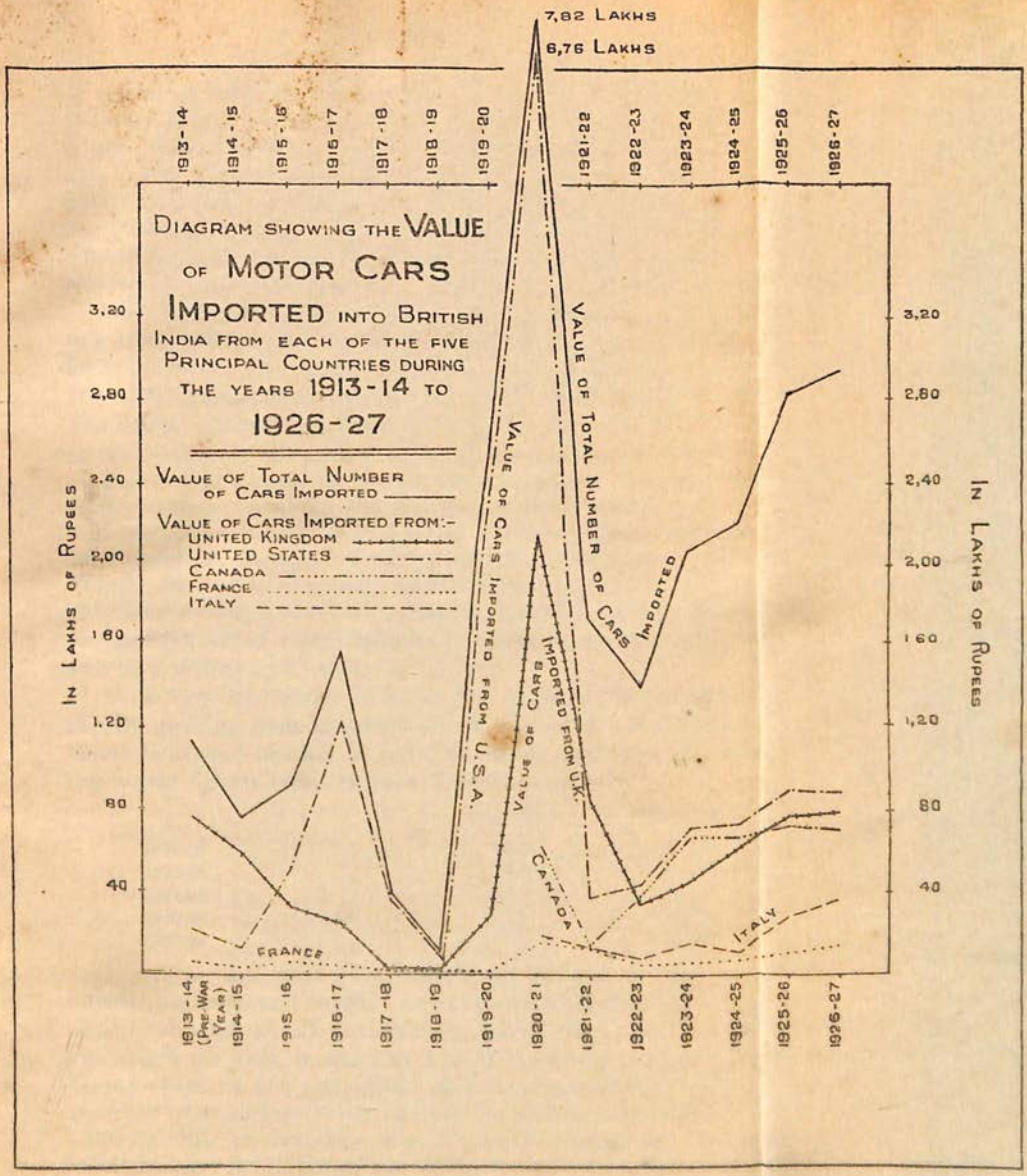


DIAGRAM SHOWING THE IMPORTS OF MOTOR CARS INTO BRITISH INDIA FROM EACH OF THE FIVE PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES DURING THE YEARS 1913 - 14 TO 1926 - 27
TOTAL NUMBER IMPORTED
NUMBER IMPORTED FROM —
UNITED KINGDOM
UNITED STATES
CANADA
FRANCE
ITALY
16,000
14,000
12,000
10,000
8,000
6,000
4,000
2,000
TOTAL NUMBER OF CARS IMPORTED
UNITED STATES
CANADA
UNITED KINGDOM
ITALY
FRANCE
1913-14 (PRE-WAR YEAR)
1914-15
1915-16
1916-17
1917-18
1918-19
1919-20
1920-21
1921-22
1922-23
1923-24
1924-25
1925-26
1926-27


7,82 Lakhs
6,76 Lakhs
1913-14
1914-15
1915-16
1916-17
1917-18
1918-19
1919-20
1920-21
1921-22
1922-23
1923-24
1924-25
1925-26
1926-27
Diagram showing the Value of Motor Cars Imported into British India from each of the five Principal Countries during the years 1913-14 to 1926-27
Value of Total Number of Cars Imported
Value of Cars Imported from:-
United Kingdom
United States
Canada
France
Italy
In Lakhs of Rupees
3,20
2,80
2,40
2,00
1,60
1,20
80
40
Value of Cars Imported from U.S.A.
Value of Total Number of Cars Imported
Value of Cars Imported from U.K.
Canada
France
Italy
1913-14 (Pre-War Year)

as compared with 4,214 valued at Rs. 73 lakhs in 1925-26. This indicates that there is already growing up in many parts of India a new industry—that of motor body-building. Many of these chassis imported for use as passenger buses have locally built bodies added to them. Canada and the United States are, as usual, the two principal sources of supply, while the high cost of the British chassis militates against its increased use by small firms who are attracted by the low prices of Canadian and American makes.

The imports of motor omnibuses, vans and lorries from Canada rose from 2,378 to 3,529 in number and from Rs. 30 lakhs to Rs. 48 lakhs in value. The supplies from the United States also increased from 2,014 valued at Rs. 41 lakhs to 2,322 valued at Rs. 49 lakhs. The United Kingdom only sent 341 vehicles valued at Rs. 19 lakhs as compared with 338 valued at Rs. 14 lakhs in the preceding year.

For several months in the past year the prices of crude rubber were abnormally low in the markets abroad compared with the high prices prevailing in 1925 and as a result there was a substantial fall in the prices of rubber manufactures. Compared with 1925-26, the imports of every description of pneumatic motor tyres and tubes during 1926-27 increased in quantity, chiefly owing to the growing use of motor vehicles in India, but with lower prices showed a decrease in value.

It is very interesting to study the progress of the new and rapidly growing trade in artificial silk, the market for which continues to expand steadily in India as will be seen from the following import figures from the year 1922-23 onwards—

	lbs. (000).	Rs. (000).
1922-23	225	13,40
1923-24	406	19,55
1924-25	1,171	42,40
1925-26	2,671	74,72
1926-27	5,776	1,02,64

It will be seen that from 1924-25 the rate of increase in the imports has been very rapid. As compared with the previous year imports of artificial silk yarn during 1926-27 showed a remarkable rise of 116 per cent. in quantity and 37 per cent. in value. Italy forged ahead of her competitors and supplied 3,843,179 lbs. during the year under review against 392,688 lbs. in 1924-25, and 1,309,257 lbs. in 1925-26. The United Kingdom, on the other hand, lost ground slightly, her consignments falling from 761,000

lbs. to 655,000 lbs. Imports from the Netherlands more than doubled and amounted to 358,000 lbs. as against 130,000 lbs. in the previous year but Belgian supplies declined from 120,000 lbs. to 58,000 lbs. German supplies also increased by 48 per cent. from 157,000 lbs. imported in 1925-26 to 232,000 lbs. in 1926-27. There was a general drop in the prices of artificial silk yarn, the average declared value per lb. falling from Rs. 2-12-9 to Rs. 1-12-5. Of the imports Italy accounted for 67 per cent., the value of her trade increasing by 90 per cent., from Rs. 34 lakhs to Rs. 64 lakhs, and the United Kingdom for 11 per cent., the value of her consignments falling by 41 per cent. from Rs. 24 lakhs to Rs. 14 lakhs. The shares of these two countries in the total trade of India in this article were 49 per cent. and 28 per cent. respectively in 1925-26. In imports of piecegoods of cotton and artificial silk also there was a substantial rise, the consignments increasing from 15 million yards to nearly 42 million yards. In this line the United Kingdom made considerable headway, her supplies rising to 16 million yards from 6½ million yards in the previous year. Italy came next with nearly 14 million yards, a rise of 179 per cent. on the previous year. Switzerland's share increased from 2,317,000 yards to 6,698,000 yards and that of Germany and Belgium from 554,000 yards and 319,000 yards to 2,487,000 yards and 980,000 yards respectively. The United Kingdom had 38 per cent. of the trade as against 42 per cent. in the previous year and Italy 33 per cent. as against 32 per cent. in 1925-26. The total value of the imports of piecegoods of cotton and artificial silk was Rs. 3,09 lakhs of which the United Kingdom accounted for Rs. 1,17 lakhs, Italy for nearly Rs. 81 lakhs and Switzerland for nearly Rs. 59 lakhs.

The imports of raw wool remained stationary at the previous year's level of nearly 5 million lbs. The United Kingdom increased her share of the trade by nearly 300,000 lbs. Imports from Persia fell slightly by ½ million lbs. and Australia's supply also declined. A further expansion of the import trade in woollen piecegoods took place and the total consignments amounted to nearly 15½ million yards valued at Rs. 2,77 lakhs as compared with 14½ million yards valued at Rs. 2,92 lakhs in the preceding year, that is, a rise of 6 per cent. in quantity but a fall of 5 per cent. in value owing to the drop in prices. Imports from the United Kingdom amounted to nearly 6 million yards valued at

Rs. 1,42½ lakhs as compared with 5·3 million yards valued at Rs. 1,50 lakhs in the preceding year. Germany, France and Italy participated to a greater extent in the trade, their shares rising from 978,000 yards, 1·9 million yards and 2·8 million yards to 1·4 million yards, 2·2 million yards and 3·6 million yards respectively. Japan which had sent 2 million yards in 1925-26 reduced her consignments to 1·2 million yards.

The share of the United Kingdom in the imports of railway plant and rolling stock into India both in private and Government account dropped sharply from 79·9 per cent. to 61·1 per cent., whilst the shares of all other principal countries showed a steady advance. Germany continues to overhaul the United Kingdom in the matter of imports of hardware, the share of the latter falling to Rs. 1,84½ lakhs and that of the former rising to Rs. 1,58⅓ lakhs.

The import trade in dyes both alizarine and aniline is largely monopolised by Germany, but the competition of the United States is making itself increasingly felt in the aniline dye trade. During the year under review imports of German alizarine dyes amounted to 4,145,000 lbs. as against 742,000 lbs. from the United Kingdom, and the imports of German aniline dyes rose to over 6 million lbs. whilst those of the United Kingdom fell to well under a half a million lbs. From the United States almost 2 million lbs. of aniline dyes were shipped to India during the year under review.

Turning now to the export trade of India in the year under review, we notice that jute and cotton and their manufactures, grains, and tea account for over 72 per cent. of the total value of exports. Jute and jute manufactures account for over 26 per cent. of the total, and cotton and cotton manufactures for a little over 23 per cent. The first place in the export trade for 1926-27 falls, therefore, to jute, the market in which was free from the wild fluctuations which characterised it in the preceding year. In 1924 and 1925 the problem which faced the jute market was how to deal with rises in prices, but during the year under review, on account of an appreciable increase in the jute crop, the quotations for jute fell steadily between April and August 1926. Also during the year the jute industry suffered from the effects of the inflated

prices which ruled during 1925-26, and during the first half of the year many mills found it difficult to work off their stocks of high-priced jute because the prices of the manufactured product were determined more by the bumper crop of 1926 than by the actual prices paid for raw jute in hand. The latter half of the year, however, was easier. The agreement to work the short time of 54 hours per week reached in 1921 was observed by the mills for the sixth year in succession, and as a further safeguard against over-production the time lost by holidays was not made up. This meant approximately a three per cent. reduction in output. The number of looms at work on 1st January 1927 was 49,491 against 49,000 on the corresponding date of 1926.

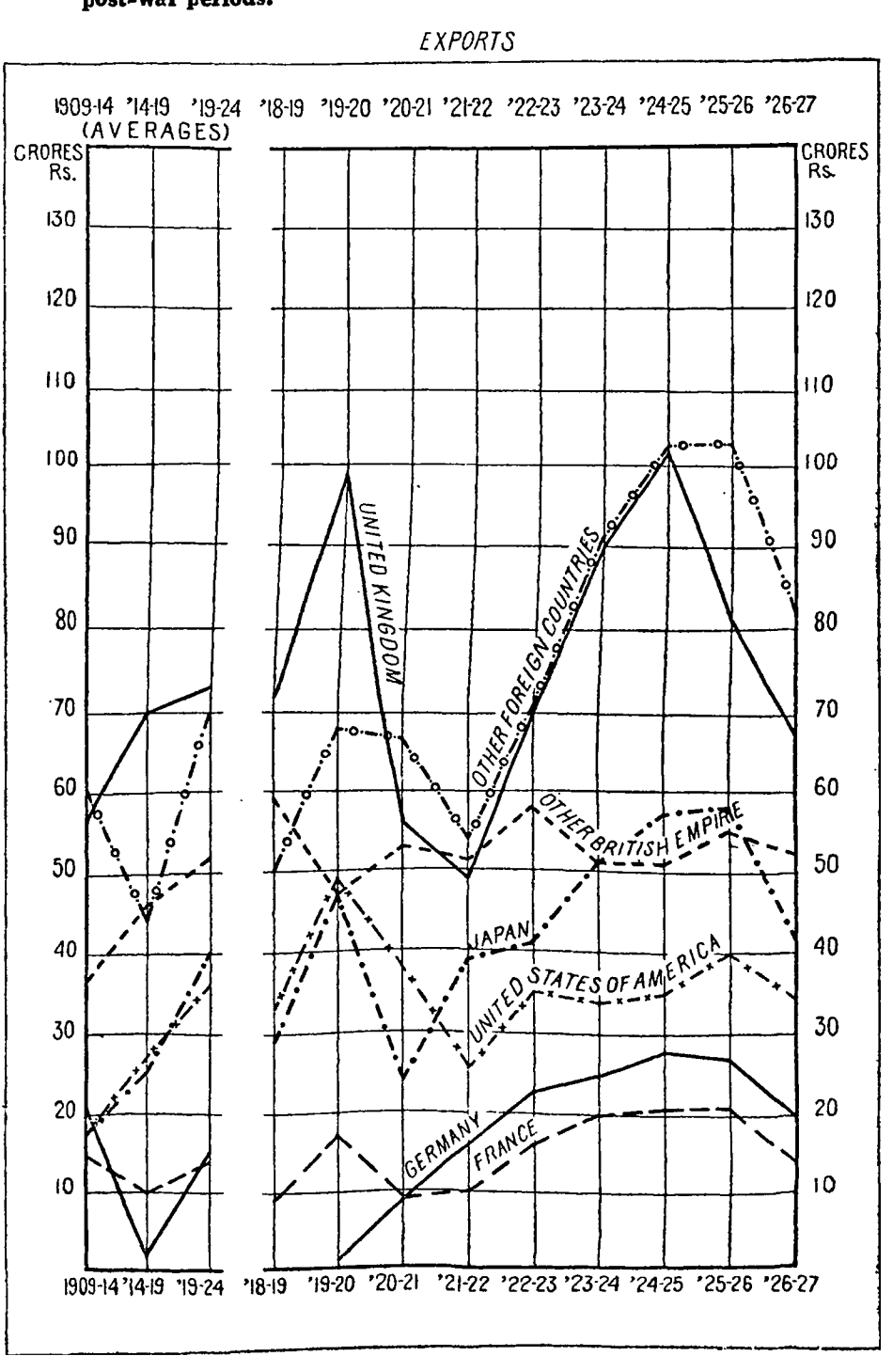
The total weight of raw and manufactured jute exported increased from 1,458,000 tons to 1,568,000 tons, but the value of the exports fell from 97 crores to 80 crores on account of the lower prices. Of the total value of the exports, raw jute accounted for 33 per cent. and jute manufactures for 67 per cent, as compared with 39 and 61 per cent. respectively in 1925-26. The quantity of raw jute exported was 8 per cent. less than that of the pre-war year 1913-14. The exports of bags increased in number from 425 millions to 449 millions and of gunny cloth from 1,461 million yards to 1,503 million yards.

Of 3,964,000 bales of raw jute exported during the year, the United Kingdom took 968,000 bales as compared with 977,000 bales in the previous year, a decline of one per cent. It is to be noted, however, that the jute industry in Great Britain was suffering from the effects of the coal strike and of high jute prices during the first six months of the year under review, and in that time she imported only 95,000 bales. Germany regained the lead which she lost in the previous year and took 1,025,000 bales as against 810,000 bales in the preceding year. Belgium, France, Spain and the United States of America improved, and Italy and the Netherlands reduced their demands. The United States of America, Germany and the rest of Europe have more than regained the pre-war level, while the takings of the United Kingdom were far below her pre-war standard of consumption.

We have seen that the total exports of gunny bags increased by 24 millions during the year. The best market for this commodity was Australia, which took nearly 86 million bags. Of the exports of gunny cloth the United States of America absorbed 65

DIAGRAM.

(b) Variations in the Trade of British India with principal countries during the last nine years as compared with averages of the pre-war, war and post-war periods.



per cent., her takings amounting to 975 million yards. The Argentine Republic came next with 318 million yards or 98 millions more than in the preceding year. Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand all took less, but Germany, France and Italy increased their takings.

A short and late Indian crop accompanied by a record American crop following the two large crops of 1925 and 1924 affected the exports of raw cotton from India, which fell in quantity by 24 per cent. and in value by 38 per cent. The Indian cotton crop of 1926-27 has been estimated at 4,973,000 bales of 400 lbs. each as compared with 6,250,000 bales in 1925-26 and 6,088,000 bales in 1924-25. The American crop of 1926 was estimated to exceed that of 1925 by over 2½ million bales, of 400 lbs. each. In view of the above conditions, prices fluctuated considerably in India, while they were still further affected by the unusual circumstances of the season. The supply of Indian staple cotton was poor until the Broach and other late-maturing crops came into the market at the end of the period under review. However, towards the close of the year Indian prices came nearer to parity with American prices as the latter rose and the situation became more normal.

Exports of raw cotton from India declined from 4,173,000 bales to 3,188,000 bales. As usual, Japan took a larger share of the exports than any other country, but her takings declined from 2,084,000 bales to 1,842,000 bales. The Chinese market absorbed only 391,000 bales as compared with 538,000 bales in 1925-26. Shipments to the United Kingdom and to every continental country which has hitherto taken Indian cotton declined during the year, the United Kingdom's requirements falling by no less than 61 per cent. which represents a reduction from 225,000 bales to 87,000 bales.

According to the report of the British Cotton Growing Association, cotton growing within the Empire had a remarkably successful year in 1926, the approximate estimate of cotton grown in new fields within the Empire being 439,300 bales against 366,700 bales in 1925. The quantity of cotton marketed by the Association was 135,522 bales against 84,320 bales in 1925. The drop in values of American cotton must have hit the cotton cultivators in other countries, but Empire cotton has a great opportunity of establishing itself, if any restriction of American supplies takes place as a consequence of low prices. It has been demonstrated that cotton

of good quality can be grown within the Empire, and if methods of preparing for the market are improved and the cost of transportation reduced, Empire-grown cotton may in time contribute a substantial share to the world's supplies and make for greater stability in cotton prices. In India there has been a great improvement during recent years in the production of medium staple cotton and prospects of further improvement are bright. The danger is that owing to the low prices secured for medium staple cottons, growers may be tempted to revert to the short staple Indian cotton for which demand is fairly constant, though not capable of any great expansion. It is, therefore, important that Indian staple cottons should not lose their hold on any market, where they are known. That certain types of Indian cotton like the best Punjab-American, Madras-Cambodia, and Surat 1,027 A.L.F. can be used in Lancashire was proved by recent tests conducted with the co-operation of the Oldham Master Cotton Spinner's Federation, the British Cotton Growing Association and the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation. Spinners who have been impressed with the results of these tests will, by using these cottons, be encouraging a source of supply which will serve as a safeguard against fluctuations that may take place when a shortage of American cotton occurs.

We have already seen that the year 1926-27 was a record year for yarn production in Indian mills, and it is not therefore surprising to find that exports of yarn increased from nearly 32 million lbs. to 41½ million lbs. In value, the exports increased from Rs. 2,93 lakhs in 1925-26 to Rs. 3,08½ lakhs in the year under review. There was a welcome increase in the demand from China, which took 16·8 million lbs. of Indian yarn during the year as compared with 9⅔ million lbs. in the previous year. The other countries which helped in the revival of the Indian export business were Syria, Persia, Mesopotamia, and Aden and its dependencies.

The total production of piecegoods in Indian mills in 1926-27 showed a noteworthy increase of 16 per cent. in quantity as compared with the previous year; but the proportion of exports of piecegoods to the total production remained practically the same as in 1925-26, the percentages being 8·4 in the latter year and 8·7 in the year under review. Measured in yards, however, the exports of piecegoods showed an increase of 32·6 millions over those of the preceding year. A striking feature of the figures for

exports of piecegoods during the year under review is the decline in the export of grey piecegoods by about 17½ million yards, *i.e.*, a fall of 47 per cent. on the previous year. White and coloured piecegoods, on the other hand, showed encouraging increases of 74 per cent. and 39 per cent. respectively. The takings of Indian piecegoods by the principal markets showed increases as compared with the previous year, except in the case of the Straits Settlements. The total production in 1926-27 increased by 304¼ million yards, to which grey and bleached piecegoods contributed 162·9 million yards and coloured piecegoods 141·3 million yards respectively.

In accordance with one of the recommendations of the Cotton Tariff Board's Report the Government of India have sent a Trade Mission to certain countries in the Near East and in Africa to make a survey of their potentialities as markets for Indian cotton goods and to make recommendations for the encouragement of the export of cotton manufactures from India, these recommendations to include the appointment of Indian Trade Commissioners where desirable.

The Mission consists of Dr. D. B. Meek, Director General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, as Government representative and Mr. T. Maloney, Secretary to the Bombay Millowner's Association, who represents the Indian cotton textile industry. The Mission is also accompanied by a Commercial Adviser, Mr. Jeevandas Purshotam Dutia, to advise it on technical questions that will arise in the course of its investigations.

The Mission started on the 27th January 1928, and is expected to finish its work in about 5 months.

Food grains, pulses and flour contributed a still smaller share to the export trade of the country during the year under review, and, compared with the average annual shipments during the pre-war quinquennium, the exports showed a decline in quantity of 45 per cent. As compared with 1925-26, the fall in the quantity exported was 21 per cent. Total exports during the year amounted to 2,429,000 tons valued at 39¼ crores as compared with 30,63,000 tons valued at Rs. 48 crores in 1925-26. All important items in this class showed decreases, rice not in the husk falling by 20 per cent. or over half a million tons, wheat by 17 per cent. or 36,000 tons, whilst exports of barley fell from 42,000 tons to 1,600 tons. As usual, rice accounted for by far the greater part no less than

85 per cent., of the total quantity of food grains and flour exported. Wheat and flour accounted for 10 per cent. and pulse for 5 per cent. of the total. Exports of rice touched a very low level during the year. Of the rice-growing provinces, Burma alone has a large exportable surplus, other provinces, cultivating mostly for their own consumption. During 1926-27 the production of cleaned rice in Burma and India was one million tons less than in the previous year. Ceylon was the largest purchaser of rice during the year, with the Straits Settlements second. European countries generally took less than in 1925-26 and Japanese demands fell sharply from 285,000 tons to 122,000 tons.

Exports of Indian wheat depend on two factors, the available supplies in the country and the position in all the exporting countries. The out-turn of wheat in this country in 1925-26 was even smaller than it had been in 1924-25 whereas supplies of wheat in other exporting countries were generally ample. Exports from India therefore fell during 1926-27 to 176,000 tons. In 1925-26 the export had been 212,000 tons and in the year before that 1,112,000 tons. During the five years ending with the year 1913-14 the average exports of Indian wheat had been 1,308,000 tons. The United Kingdom and France were the chief customers for Indian wheat.

The season 1926-27 was a fairly satisfactory one for the tea industry, although prices fell steadily during the year. The production of tea during the season was a record one as the result of a combination of favourable circumstances, namely, a well distributed rainfall, a more adequate labour supply and the absence of any serious blights. During the first half of the year under review good prices were realised but the influence of excessive production month after month made itself felt from the very beginning. The total production of tea in 1926 is estimated at 393 million pounds as compared with 364 million pounds in 1925 and 375 million pounds in 1924. Assam, as usual, contributed the largest share of this amount, her outturn being 62 per cent. of the total production. Northern India excluding Assam contributed 25 per cent. and Southern India 13 per cent. The total area under tea in 1926 was 740,000 acres as compared with 728,000 acres in 1925. Export figures were satisfactory the total shipments increasing by 7 per cent. in both quantity and value, amounting to 349 million pounds valued at 29 crores of rupees. As usual the largest part

of the shipments went to the United Kingdom, which, besides being a large consuming country is also a distributing centre for tea. She absorbed 84 per cent. of India's exports and took 290 million pounds of black tea and 1,220,000 pounds of green tea. Re-exports of Indian tea from the United Kingdom in 1926-27 decreased to 45 million pounds from 52 million pounds in 1925-26 and of these Russia took over 4½ million pounds, the Irish Free State 17½ million pounds and other European countries nearly 11 million pounds. The United States of America took nearly 5 million pounds and Canada including Newfoundland 4 million pounds. Direct shipments from India to the United States of America, Australia and Canada all increased in amount. In Canada there is a large potential market which will repay development.

Oilseeds now represent an important item in India's export trade and it is disappointing to have to report a large decrease of no less than 33 per cent. in the quantity of exports of oil seeds during the year under review. The amount exported fell from 1¼ million tons to 838,000 tons, while in value there was a drop of 36 per cent., from Rs. 29,64 lakhs to Rs. 19,09 lakhs. The truth is that the Indian export trade in oil seeds is now suffering from the growing competition of other producing countries and in 1926-27 difficulties arising from this source were reinforced by the troubles of the British oil seed crushing and vegetable oil industry which had a bad year owing to the general industrial dislocation brought about by the coal strike. On the other hand it must be remembered that the Indian home market is absorbing a much larger share of Indian production than it used to do. The Indian linseed crop was short and this, accompanied by an abundant crop in the Argentine, led to a reduction in the exports of Indian linseed from 308,000 tons in 1925-26 to 192,000 tons the next year. The Indian groundnut crop of 1926-27 is estimated at 1,931,000 tons, whereas the crop the year before was estimated at just under 2 million tons. Exports of groundnuts therefore decreased in quantity by 19 per cent. and in value by 20 per cent. The decline in exports may be attributed to difficulties in securing freights to continental ports at reasonable rates as a result of the British coal strike, and also to the unsettled condition of the franc exchange and to speculative

holding by exporters in the hope of cheaper freight and higher prices. France is India's principal market for groundnut but she proved to be a disappointing customer during the year, her takings falling from 204,000 tons in 1925-26 to 125,000 tons in the year under review.

Of other exports hides and skins showed no striking variation as compared with the preceding year. Shipments of raw hides and skins amounted to 50,627 tons. Exports of raw wool increased from 43½ million pounds in 1925-26 to nearly 45 million pounds in 1926-27 and as usual the United Kingdom took the bulk of India's exports. Shipments to that country rose from nearly 38 million lbs. to 40½ million pounds. The production of pig iron in India increased from 875,000 tons in 1925-26 to 957,000 tons in 1926-27 but the exports, mostly from Bengal, fell from 382,000 tons valued at Rs. 1,75 lakhs to 309,000 tons valued at Rs. 1,40 lakhs. This decrease was mainly due to the possibility of the imposition of a countervailing duty by the United States Government on imports of pig iron produced by the Tata Iron and Steel Company which enjoyed a bounty prior to April 1927. Shipments to the United States dropped by 74 per cent. in quantity from 156,000 tons to 41,000 tons. The United Kingdom and Germany also reduced their demands but Japan, the best customer for Indian pig iron, increased her takings by 66,000 tons. There was a further decrease in the exports of unmanufactured tobacco which receded by 22 per cent. in quantity and 8 per cent. in value, from 37 million pounds valued at Rs. 105 lakhs in 1925-26 to 29 million pounds valued at Rs. 97 lakhs in 1926-27. In view of the preference enjoyed by Empire-grown tobacco in the United Kingdom it is interesting to note that shipments to that country rose from 7·8 million pounds to 10·3 million pounds. The proposal to establish a Tobacco Bureau at Pusa which will initiate improvements in curing and introduce new strains of tobacco was put forward by the Board of Agriculture in 1925 and is now engaging attention. There is a keen demand for tobacco suitable for cigarette manufacture and it is expected that improvement in the quality of the Indian leaf will ultimately enable local cigarette manufacturers to dispense with supplies of American leaf and will enable them to increase their export busi-

ness, because owing to the inferior quality of her leaf India is not at present able to take full advantage of the preference given to Empire-grown tobacco in the United Kingdom.

From the preceding paragraphs the leading features in the distribution of India's overseas trade can be traced but it may be as well to set down here a few general remarks. The most noteworthy feature of both the import and export trade of this country during the past few years is the progressive decline in the share taken by the United Kingdom. This tendency was accentuated during the year under review by the effects of the prolonged coal strike, of which we have already said a good deal. Her share in imports dropped from 51·4 per cent. in 1925-26 to 47·8 per cent. in 1926-27 but her share in the export trade showed a diminutive increase from 21 per cent. to 21·5 per cent. The share of the British Dominions in the Indian import trade declined slightly from 7·7 to 7·1 per cent., while in the export trade their share increased from 14·2 to 17 per cent. The whole British Empire had 45·5 per cent. of the total trade; that is, 54·9 per cent. in imports and 38·5 per cent. in exports, as compared with 44 per cent. in the preceding year. The United States of America continued her steady progress and imports therefrom increased from 6·7 to 7·9 per cent. This rise, however, can be accounted for almost entirely by the unusually large imports of American cotton into India on account of the extraordinary conditions which prevailed during the year under review and which have been mentioned already. In exports also America's share rose slightly. Another outstanding feature of India's overseas trade during recent years has been the rise of Japan, both as exporter and importer; but during 1926-27 her progress suffered a setback, her share declining from 8 per cent. to 7·1 per cent. in imports and from 15 to 13·3 per cent. in exports. The trail of the British coal strike is to be seen again in Germany's record during the year, for she accounted for 7·3 per cent. of the total import trade as compared with 5·9 per cent. during the preceding year and 6·9 per cent. in the last pre-war year.

Turning now to individual heads we notice that the effects of the coal strike in the United Kingdom are again traceable in the imports from that country, particularly in the case of iron and steel and railway plant and rolling stock in which her share dropped from 67·7 and 85 per cent. to 62 and 61·6 per cent., respectively. Her chief competitors in these lines, namely, Belgium, Germany and the United States, gained considerable ground at her expense. In machinery also both the United States and Germany improved their position, again at the expense chiefly of the United Kingdom. We said in last year's report that Germany seemed to be on the way to acquiring a monopoly of the hardware trade, and in the year under review her share under this head had increased from 27·5 to 31·2 per cent., whilst the United Kingdom's share dropped from 38·1 per cent. to 36·4 per cent. In motor vehicles there were small decreases in the shares of the United Kingdom and the United States of America, while those of Canada, Italy and France increased. In the most important item of all, however, cotton manufactures, the United Kingdom slightly improved to 75·3 per cent.

On the export side the United Kingdom's share in the total exports of tea fell slightly to 85 per cent., while the United States of America showed an increased preference for Indian tea, her share advancing from 1·4 to 2·1 per cent. The shares of Canada and Australia also showed increases. In raw jute Germany came first with 27·6 per cent. as compared with 21·5 per cent. in the preceding year, while the share of the United Kingdom fell from 27·9 to 22·9 per cent. The United States and Belgium increased their participation to 12 and 6·3 per cent., respectively, while the interest shown by France and Italy decreased. In exports of jute manufactures there was a decrease in the share of the United States from 37·5 to 35 per cent., while both Australia and the Argentine showed marked increases. The share of the United Kingdom decreased and that of Japan increased slightly. Of the total exports of raw cotton Japan absorbed 58·7 per cent., an appreciable increase on her share in the preceding year, whilst every European country, including the United Kingdom, made less demand for Indian cotton.

The tables below show the direction of Indian trade in imports and exports during the last three years for which full figures are

available, and in the last pre-war year, and reveal some interesting features and tendencies—

Imports.

—	1913-14.	1924-25.	1925-26.	1926-27
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
United Kingdom	64·1	54·1	51·4	47·8
Germany	6·9	6·3	5·9	7.3
Java	5·8	6·3	6·2	6·2
Japan	2·6	6·9	8·0	7·1
United States of America	2·6	5·7	6·7	7·9
Belgium	2·3	2·7	2·7	2·9
Austria and Hungary	2·3	·4	·5	·7
Straits Settlements	1·8	2·0	2·5	2·5
Persia, Arabia Asiatic Turkey, etc.	1·5	1·1	1·3	1·8
France	1·5	1·0	1·4	1·5
Mauritius	1·3	1·5	·2	...
Italy	1·2	1·6	1·9	2·7
China	·9	1·1	1·2	1·4
Netherlands	·8	1·2	1·6	2·0
Australia	·5	·3	·6	·7
Hongkong	·5	·5	·4	·4
Dutch Borneo	·4	·3	·3	·4
Ceylon	·4	·6	·7	·6
Switzerland	·3	·7	·7	·9
East Africa and Zanzibar	·3	2·0	1·8	1·0

Exports.

—	1913-14.	1924-25.	1925-26.	1926-27.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
United Kingdom	23·4	25·5	21·0	21·5
Germany	10·6	7·1	7·0	6·6
Japan	9·1	14·3	15·0	13·3
United States of America	8·7	8·8	10·4	11·1
France	7·1	5·3	5·5	4·5
Belgium	4·8	3·9	3·2	2·9

Exports—contd.

—	1913-14.	1924-25.	1925-26	1926-27.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Austria and Hungary	4·0	·2	...	·1
Ceylon	3·6	3·7	3·9	4·8
Persia, Arabia Asiatic Turkey, etc.	3·2	1 5	2·4	2·6
Italy	3·1	5 9	5·0	3·7
Hongkong	3·1	·9	·8	1·0
Straits Settlements	2·7	2·1	2·6	3·1
China	2·3	2·4	4·0	3·7
Central and South America	2·2	2·1	2·6	3·1
Netherlands	1·7	2·0	2·0	2·0
Australia	1·6	1·8	2 0	2·5
East Africa and Zanzibar	1·0	1·2	·5	·6
Russia	·9	...	·05	·03
Spain	·8	1·5	1·3	·9
Java	·8	·7	1·2	1·0

There is no need to dwell at any length on India's land frontier trade. Now-a-days only the traffic in a number of selected articles at certain railway stations adjacent to the more important trade routes across the frontiers is registered. During the year 1926-27 imports and exports of practically all the important items in India's foreign trade across the land frontiers increased, and even when compared with her great volume of overseas trade, India's land trade is now far from negligible, the exports of food grains and flour alone amounting to roughly 3 million maunds.

In last year's Report it was stated that the Government of India had decided to revive the compilation of statistics relating to rail and river-borne trade in raw cotton with effect from the 1st October 1926 as these statistics afford valuable assistance to Directors of Agriculture in checking the accuracy of crop forecasts. The statistics which it was then decided to record were only those of exports of cotton from each trade block and it was left to the various Directors of Agriculture, who use the statistics for the purpose of estimating the figure of production, to obtain from the mills figures of consumption distinguishing between cotton produced within a block and cotton imported from an outside block.

The Indian Central Cotton Committee have since urged that figures of exports only are not sufficient to provide the necessary check and that statistics should be registered both of exports and imports of cotton from and into each trade block so as to enable an independent estimate to be made of the production of cotton in a particular block. The proposal has been accepted by the Government of India and steps are being taken to give effect to it.

CHAPTER VII.

Finance.

It is unfortunate that the Delhi Session of the Legislative Assembly, that is, the Budget Session this year, was overshadowed by the controversies arising directly or indirectly out of the Simon Commission. For Sir Basil Blackett, Finance Member, in his Budget-speech for 1928-29, delivered on February the 29th, 1928, announced the complete and final remission of provincial contributions. In last year's report a brief sketch of the history of the financial relations between the Central and Provincial Governments in India was given in order to enable readers who have not made a study of the Indian financial system to understand something of the vast importance of the remission of the contributions to the Central Government from the provinces. Short as it was, that sketch gave certain unique illustrations of the truism that the financial system of a country is complementary to its official and administrative system, and by its help we saw how the fundamental changes in the government of this country which had been made since it came directly under the Crown in 1858, had been accompanied by fundamental changes in her financial arrangements also. Unless the reader knows something of the financial relations between the Central Government and the provinces in this country he cannot hope to understand the existing Indian political problem properly, and, therefore, the story of these relations will be repeated and expanded this year. In addition, an attempt will be made to present the existing relations between the Central Government and the provinces within as brief a compass as possible, particularly as these have developed since 1921, the year in which the present system of government came into operation as a result of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. These narratives will, it is hoped, give the reader some knowledge of a highly important side of the Indian Administrative system, one, moreover, which has hitherto almost escaped the notice of writers on Indian political and economic subjects.

The beginning of the control of the Provincial Governments over their own finances dates from 1870 when Lord Mayo started

that process of devolving financial and general administrative authority on the Provinces which has resulted in the quasi-federal system which exists to-day. Before his time all the revenues of India went into one purse, and the Provinces were allotted for their annual expenditure only those sums which the Government of India thought fit, or which they could be persuaded or cajoled into granting. The inevitable result of such a system as this was pointed out by Sir Richard Strachey nearly fifty years ago when he wrote:—

> "The distribution of the public income degenerated into something like a scramble, in which the most violent had the advantage, with very little attention to reason; as local economy brought no local advantage, the stimulus to avoid waste was reduced to a minimum, and as no local growth of the income led to local means of improvement, the interest in developing the public revenues was also brought down to the lowest level."

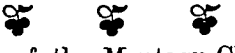
Lord Mayo's solution was to give each Province a fixed annual grant for the administration of the Provincial services—this to prevent such raids on the central treasury as Sir Richard Strachey described—and also to give Provincial Governments an interest in nursing the taxable capacity of their subjects by allowing them to impose certain local taxes in aid of the grant from the Central Government. It was not long, however, before further changes were called for, and between 1877 and 1883 the financial relations between the Central Government and the Provinces experienced further developments, including the resettlement on a wider basis of the system of Provincial finances. For example, in the Provincial settlements of 1870-71 a fixed sum had been made over to each Local Government to defray the cost of Provincial services, but by these subsequent reforms a share in the revenues was substituted for the fixed grant. This gave a margin which might be increased by careful management. The settlements were made liable to periodical revision and the system thus established existed with modifications until the end of the first decade of this century. This is the beginning of the system of the division of revenue heads into central, provincial and divided—a system which lasted until the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. The heads of revenues which were made over to the Provinces were believed to be capable of expansion by careful management and thus likely to meet provincial needs.

But, of course, revenue and expenditure in the provinces could not be made to meet exactly, and so the excess of provincial expenditure over revenue was made up by assignments from the Central Government expressed as a percentage of the land revenue of each province, which was otherwise a Central receipt.

The principal land-marks in the history of Central and Provincial financial relations between Lord Mayo's and immediately subsequent Reforms, and the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms in 1921, are the quasi-permanent settlements which came into operation from 1904 onwards, and the permanent settlements from 1911-1921. By the former the revenues assigned to a province were definitely fixed and were not subject to alterations by the Central Government except in cases of extreme and general necessity, or unless experience showed that the assignment made was disproportionate to normal provincial needs. The object of this reform was to give to the Provinces security and a motive for economy and careful husbanding of resources. Henceforward the Provinces could maintain some continuity of financial policy since they were assured that they would reap the benefits of their own economics and would not be forced into ill-considered schemes of expenditure merely in order to show at the next settlement with the Central Government that their scale of expenditure was high and their needs corresponding thereto. The financial reform of 1911 made the settlement absolutely permanent. In 1911 also the fixed assignments to the Provinces were reduced but the provincial share of growing revenue was increased. During these years a further benefit was conferred on the Provinces by the introduction of a new Famine Insurance Scheme in 1906, by which the Government of India placed to the credit of each Province exposed to famine a fixed amount on which it could draw in time of need without trenching on its normal resources. If this fund became exhausted, further expenditure would be shared equally by the Central and Provincial Governments, and, in the last resort, the Government of India would give the Provinces further assistance from central revenues. In 1917 these arrangements were modified and famine relief became a divided head, the expenditure being apportioned between the Central and Provincial Governments in the proportion of 3 to 1. Before this scheme was introduced, the liability

for famine expenditure had lain upon the Provinces and the Central Government had only intervened when the latter resources had become exhausted.

Thus, at the time of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, the financial relations between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments were broadly these. The budget of the Government of India was made to include the transactions of Provincial Governments, the revenue enjoyed by the latter being mainly derived from sources of income which were shared between the Government of India and themselves. Generally speaking, certain heads of revenue, such as the land revenue, excise, income-tax, and the profits from productive irrigation works, were divided between the Provincial and the Central Governments. The Provincial Governments took the receipts from Forests and Registration, as well as from Courts and Jails. To the Government of India went the revenue from opium, salt, customs, railways, posts and telegraphs, and tributes from the Indian States. The Central Government out of these incomings was responsible for defence charges, for the upkeep of railways, posts and telegraphs, for the payment of interest on debt, and for the Home charges. The Provinces from their incomings met the expenses connected with land revenue and general administration, with forests, police, courts and jails, with education and with medical services. Charges for irrigation were common to both the Central and to the Provincial Governments.



The basic principles of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms are completely opposed to the principles upon which the old settlements were based. There is no need to discuss here the wider objects of the new model of government which was introduced by these Reforms, but the most obvious ways in which it affects the financial relations between the Central Government and the Provinces may be briefly outlined. In the first place we may consider the effect of dyarchy, that is, the division of the departments of provincial administration into reserved and transferred departments, which introduces a new conception into the Government of India. The reserved departments, which include such services as police and irrigation, are still kept under executive control, but the transferred departments, among which are

numbered the well-named "nation-building" services, like education, local self-government, agriculture, sanitation and so on, are now transferred to the ultimate control of the Provincial legislatures. Behind these far-reaching administrative changes lies the deeper purpose of introducing India to responsible self-government, and it is in the provinces and by the medium of dyarchy that this purpose is meant to be achieved. There is no dyarchy in the Central Government, which still remains under official control, tempered largely, it is true, by the influence which the central legislature can bring to bear upon the Executive Government. This at once brings us up against the basic conditions of the financial system which is the corollary of the new system of government, for the Provincial Governments are now, so far as some of their most important activities are concerned, popular governments responsible for their doings in the transferred departments through ministers to popularly elected legislative councils. Therefore it is clear that the old financial system, which admitted almost unlimited control on the part of the Central Government over the financial and general administration of the provinces, had to go. It has been shown that the "divided heads" were the most typical feature of the old system and that these "Divided Heads" provided the Central Government with its most extensive opportunities for intervention in provincial affairs. Therefore the system of "divided heads" had to be abolished. Since the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms visualised the working out of responsible government for India primarily in the Provinces, the latter clearly had to start with some measure of autonomy and this involved the separation of the sources of revenue into two separate groups—those belonging to the Government of India, and those belonging to the Provincial Governments. On the other hand, the needs of the Central Government remained, and the abolition of the system of "divided heads" could not be accomplished merely by transferring all provincial resources to the Provinces, for the sources of revenue which would still remain with the Central Government after the transfer had been made were not sufficient for the latter's needs. Thus the admission of the principle, that "divided heads" must be abolished and replaced by a system under which the Government of India and the Provinces would have their own separate sources of revenue, brings us up against the crux of the whole problem,

namely, what heads of revenue should be left with the Provinces and what with the Central Government, respectively.

It is quite possible that the problem would have arisen even had there been no Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, for experience had shewn that the revenues retained by the Government of India under the old settlements were in some years greatly in excess of their requirements and the resulting surpluses were given to the Provinces in the shape of recurring or non-recurring grants for specific purposes. The Reforms, however, by investing the Provinces with a new dignity, and with functions of the most vital importance, made it clear that no mere make-shift or temporary solutions would suit. The new arrangements had to be comprehensive and laid down on a plan whose main lines would be permanent whatever adjustments and alterations in detail might have to be made under the stress of circumstances and in the light of experience.

It is unfortunate that the scope of this report does not permit us to consider the many difficulties which faced those who had to lay down this plan, for such a discussion would give the reader an insight into the inner workings of government in this country. We shall have to content ourselves, therefore, by doing little more than stating the decisions which were reached after much consideration and enquiry. A tentative scheme for a financial settlement between the Government of India and the Provinces was sketched in Chapter VIII of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, which was presented to His Majesty's Government in 1918. In that chapter the complete separation of central and provincial revenues and the consequent abolition of " divided heads " were recommended. The scheme also comprised the complete separation of the Central and Provincial budgets and the enlargement of the provincial powers of taxation and borrowing. The greater part of the scheme outlined in the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms commended itself to the Provincial Governments since it was obviously calculated to increase their financial powers in a number of very important particulars, but, of course, the division of the revenues between the Central Government and the Provinces, with its inevitable corollary of deficit in the Central finances which must be met by contributions from the provinces, obviously had to be the subject of further enquiry and arrangement between the parties concerned. In section 206 of the 1918 Report, certain

exemplar figures are given as an estimate of the anticipated deficit of the Central Government and the contributions to be made by each individual province. The proposed basis on which the contributions were to be fixed was the difference between the gross provincial revenue and the gross provincial expenditure. Other possible bases of settlement had been examined and this had been chosen as being at once the most practicable and the least inequitable. The objections to it are obvious enough, since the provinces with the most liberal scale of expenditure were likely to fare better than those which had been more economical. But this and other objections were considered only to be dismissed. The conditions of the problem were given and the solution stated above was the one offered. The Authors of the Report admitted that their scheme would, to some extent, affirm existing inequalities and all that they could do to mitigate this was to recommend that the whole question should be reinvestigated by the Statutory Commission after ten years' experience of the working of the Reforms. In practice, however, it was found impossible to leave the question at this point, for the proposals aroused strong feeling and vehement opposition throughout India. From Madras, for example, nearly five times as much would be levied as from Bombay, and from the United Provinces nearly five times as much as from Bengal, while the Punjab and Burma would have to contribute far more than other and wealthier provinces. In the first despatch on Indian Constitutional Reforms, which the Government of India sent to the Secretary of State in March 1919, the strong opposition to the above proposals for the financial settlement was reported, and the Government of India stated definitely that they could not justify the permanent retention of the criterion for provincial contributions proposed in the Report. The whole question, they said, required skilled investigation and to this end they proposed that a committee on financial relations between the Central Government and the Provinces should be appointed either by themselves or by the Secretary of State to advise fully upon the subject. This view was endorsed by the Joint Select Committee of Parliament which sat on the Reforms Bill, and accordingly, a committee consisting of Lord Meston, Mr. Charles Roberts, and Lieutenant-Commander E. Hilton Young was appointed to enquire into this subject. The

committee, which will henceforth be called the Meston Committee, was asked to advise on—

(*a*) the contributions to be paid by the various provinces to the Central Government for the financial year 1921-22,

(*b*) the modifications to be made in the provincial contributions thereafter with a view to the equitable distributions until there ceases to be an all-India deficit,

(*c*) the future financing of the provincial loans account.

These original terms of reference were increased at the instance of the Government of Bombay during the Committee's investigations in India so as to include the question whether the Government of Bombay should retain any share of the revenue derived from the income-tax. The significance of this addition to the terms of reference and its bearing on the subject of provincial contributions will be seen when we examine the reception which was given by the Provinces and the press to the Report of the Meston Committee.

The task of the Committee was in essence to arrange an ideal distribution of the deficit in the central revenues among the provinces, and to fix a standard scale of contributions to which the latter would work up by stages. A certain amount of spadework had been done for them by a conference of financial representatives of the different provinces which had been held in September 1919. This conference had discussed the normal figures of revenue and expenditure of all the provinces and these were laid before the Meston Committee for review and confirmation or such alteration as its members thought necessary. The Committee first reviewed the proposals put forward in the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms for the allocation of heads of revenue between the Central Government and the Provinces and found no reasons to alter them except in one very important particular, namely, the revenue head of general stamps. They reported that the arguments addressed to them on this part of their enquiry related mainly to income-tax and general Stamps. Certain Local Governments remonstrated against losing a share in these two heads of revenue, because they possessed greater possibilities of expansion than perhaps any others. The plea for making income-tax receipts a provincial asset was pressed with far greater earnestness in Bombay than elsewhere.

The Committee re-affirmed the view expressed in the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms that income-tax should be credited

entirely to the Central Government. That Report pointed out the necessity of maintaining a uniform rate for the tax throughout the country and to the inconveniences, particularly to the commercial world, of having different rates in different provinces. It further laid stress on the case of ramifying enterprises which had their business centre in some big city and did not necessarily pay income-tax in the provinces in which the income was earned. The Meston Committee indeed, carried the second argument still further and pointed to the case of public companies with shareholders scattered over India and elsewhere, and their decision, therefore, was that income-tax should remain a central receipt. General stamps, however, they found to be in a different case. The Reforms Report had argued in favour of crediting the receipts from general stamps to the Central Government, but the Meston Committee found that this argument had not the same force as those relating to the income-tax. By crediting the receipts from general stamps to the Central Government, and the receipts from Judicial stamps to the Provincial Governments a divided head was still retained in the financial system, for both general and judicial stamps were controlled by the same agency and there was a good deal of miscellaneous work and outlay common to both. If the "cleancut" between central and provincial revenues, which the Authors of the Reforms Report had regarded as imperative, were to be made absolute, then general stamps must be made a provincial receipt, and this, accordingly, the Committee recommended. There were other very strong arguments in favour of this recommendation. The task of the Meston Committee was to assess, if possible, some contributions on each province and yet leave it with a surplus. At the conference of September 1919, it had been shown that Bengal and Bihar had normally no surplus but a deficit, while the Central Provinces had a surplus so small that no appreciable contribution could be taken from it. The task of the Committee, therefore, in the case of Bengal and Bihar was an impossible one, if the allocation of revenue, made in the Reforms Report, was to be confirmed. But by giving to the provinces the receipts from general stamps, the task would at least be made possible. Most of the provinces naturally desired to have a growing head of revenue like general stamps, and its transfer would make the assessment of contributions much easier and, as between provinces, less invidious. But on the other hand the adoption of this recommendation would raise the

deficit in the central revenues considerably and thus make the process of absorbing it more protracted. In view of the circumstances of India at the time when the Meston Committee was at work, the balance of advantage lay on the whole with the transfer of general stamps to the provinces. The financial settlement under the Reforms had to treat all the latter alike, and the fundamental principles on which the settlement was based forbade the grant of any subvention by the Central Government to any individual province. Clearly the Reforms could not be allowed to start in Bengal and Bihar, and, possibly in the Central Provinces also, with a demonstrably inevitable deficit. Therefore, if subventions to individual provinces were barred, no other course was open to the Government of India and to Parliament except to increase the provincial sources of revenue. And yet, there are many objections to the provincialisation of general stamps. It is obviously desirable for example, to have a uniform stamp duty for such instruments as bills of exchange, the articles of association of a company, transfers, shipping orders, share warrants, and so on in a large number of other cases. Even under the present arrangement, it is possible for the Government of India to insist on uniformity of stamp duties for the instruments mentioned above and in the general economic interests of India, therefore, it might be desirable to reconsider the transfer of general stamps when the financial position of the provinces permits reconsideration.

Apart from the allocation of the income-tax, in regard to which Bombay was the province most interested, the crux of the Meston Committee's problem was provided by the settlement of the contributions which the provinces were to pay to the Central Government. This part of the problem divides into two: first, the initial contributions for the year 1921-22 and secondly, the so-called standard contributions, *i.e.*, the ideal scale on which the provinces should equitably be called upon to contribute until the necessity for the contributions disappeared with the disappearance of the deficit in the central revenues. After carefully considering the figures provided by the conference of September 1919, and receiving representations, the committee fixed the total sum, which the provinces were required to contribute, at 983 lakhs. After exhaustive consideration of the problems involved in the fixation of the initial contributions from the provinces, the Meston Committee decided that the fairest method of assessment was on the

" Windfall " principle, that is, the Committee worked out the net increase in the total income, including general stamps, of all the provinces taken together, at the figure of 18,50 lakhs. This represented the amount which the provinces gained and the Central Government lost in the redistribution and the Committee maintained that it was only reasonable that the provinces should forego some of this increased spending power in favour of the Central Government. Accordingly, they pressed to assess the initial contributions on this increase of spending power in the provinces in such a way as to leave each province a surplus to enable the new councils to be inaugurated without the necessity of resorting to fresh taxation. But even after they had adopted the " windfall " principle, the Meston Committee found it no easy matter to settle the initial contributions. At first they considered the possibility of levying an even rate on the increase in spending power of all the Provinces but they saw that even this apparently equitable arrangement would, in view of the unequal financial strength of the Provinces, cause hardship in some cases. Each province had to be considered on its merits, and the Committee, relying on the abundant statistical information at their disposal and on their own summing up of the general situation based on local enquiries, drew up the following table which represents their proposed allotment of initial contributions to be paid by the provinces.

(In Lakhs).

Provinces.	Increased spending powers under new distribution of revenues.	Contributions as recommended by the Committee.	Increased spending powers left after contributions are paid.
Madras	5,76	3,48	2,28
Bombay	93	56	37
Bengal	1,04	63	41
United Provinces . .	3,97	2,40	1,57
Punjab	2,89	1,75	1,14
Burma	2,46	64	1,82
Bihar and Orissa . .	51	*Nil.*	51
Central Provinces . .	52	22	30
Assam	42	15	27
	18,50	9,83	8,67

It is a pity that space forbids our reproducing the interesting arguments and calculations by which the Meston Committee arrived

at these standard contributions to be paid by the provinces, but the following short extract from their Report sums up a good deal of this material:—

"In arriving at this ratio we have taken into consideration the indirect contributions of the provinces to the purse of the Government of India and in particular the incidence of custom duties and of income-tax. We have inquired into the relative taxable capacities of the provinces in the light of their agricultural and industrial wealth and of all other relevant incidents of their economic positions, including particularly their liability to famine. It should be observed that we have considered their taxable capacities not only as they are at the present time, or as they will be in the immediate future, but from the point of view also of the capacity of each province for expansion and development, agriculturally and industrially, and in respect of imperfectly developed assets such as minerals and forests. We have also given consideration to the elasticity of the existing heads of revenue which will be secured to each province, and to the availability of its wealth for taxation. After estimating, to the best of our ability, the weight which should be given to each of the circumstances, we recommend the following fixed ratio as representing an equitable basis for the relative contributions of the provinces to the deficit:—

Standard Contributions.

Provinces.	Per cent contribution to deficit.
Madras	17
Bombay	13
Bengal	19
United Provinces	18
Punjab	9
Burma	6½
Bihar and Orissa	10
Central Provinces	5
Assam	2½
	100 per cent."

Naturally this settlement did not please everybody and, indeed, it pleased very few. A predominantly agricultural province like the Punjab gained appreciably by having the whole of the land revenue instead of only a portion as hitherto, but provinces like Bengal and Bombay, with considerable industries, were in a far less happy position. They provided the bulk of the Indian revenue from Income-Tax and yet they could not hope for any share of it. Madras, too, had special cause of complaint against the settlement. Far and away the heaviest initial contribution, namely, 3,48 lakhs, was demanded from her and her people and the Madras Government felt this sacrifice all the more keenly since, if their standard of public expenditure had not been kept by them in the past at a comparatively moderate figure, their windfall under the reformed system of finance would not have been so great, nor consequently would their contribution. Bengal and Bombay, on the other hand, complained that they were now faced with the necessity either of reducing their standard of public expenditure or else of running into debt—a process which the Government of India was not likely to allow to proceed too far. However, the Government of India under the stress of its own over-riding necessity had no alternative but to adhere to the Meston Award, and so the Reforms opened with what some of the provinces regarded as a crippling levy on their revenues. The Joint Select Committee of Parliament, however, made certain modifications in the Meston proposals. The scheme of standard contributions was rejected and it was pointed out that the provincial contributions should be wiped out at the earliest possible moment. Further they directed that the provinces should be given a small share in the growth of income-tax. It must be admitted that the years immediately following the Meston Settlement brought little happiness to the provincial financial departments, but it must also be admitted that the payment of provincial contributions was only one contributory cause of this. India, like every other belligerent country, had had to divert her energies to the prosecution of the war and therefore during these early post-war years there was much reconstruction and development work to be done. The greater part of this now fell to the lot of the Provincial Governments, which also had to incur large expenditure in increasing salaries to meet the increased cost of living and in adding new staffs and new departments in accordance with the expansion of their activities and responsibilities. Thus,

the years following 1920 were years of financial leanness for the provinces as well as for the Government of India, and the circumstances of these years were such as to force the provinces into heavy expenditure whilst leaving their revenues comparatively inelastic. Thus, Provincial Governments were forced to look for relief primarily to the remission of the provincial contributions, and the record of debates in the Central and Provincial Legislatures, and the output of newspaper articles and platform oratory shows how strongly the demand for remission was pressed during the years immediately succeeding the Meston Award.

Before the Government of India could take any step toward abolishing or reducing provincial contributions, it obviously had to balance its own budget. In previous reports fuller accounts have been given of the process by which the Indian Government achieved a balanced budget after five years of deficits between 1918 and 1923, and there is no need to repeat the story here. But in order to give desirable completeness to our study of the problem of provincial contributions, we may examine the actual details of the reduction and final extinction of the contributions. First, however, it should be explained that according to the plan laid down for the abolition of provincial contributions certain provinces have priority over other provinces in the matter of remissions. The Meston Committee gave Madras, the United Provinces, the Punjab and Burma the first claim on remissions and not until almost half of the total contributions had been remitted could any other province claim any relief. From that point onwards, however, every province in India was to share in a prescribed measure in any relief accorded by the Government of India until the contributions were altogether abolished. It was in his budget speech for 1925-26 that Sir Basil Blackett, after showing a surplus of 3,24 lakhs of rupees, made the welcome announcement that he proposed to employ Rs. 2,50 lakhs of this surplus in the permanent remission of provincial contributions. By this first remission, therefore, Madras received 1,26 lakhs of rupees, the Punjab 61 lakhs, the United Provinces 56 lakhs and Burma 7 lakhs. In the next Budget Statement, that for 1926-27, Sir Basil Blackett announced that a further sum of 1,25 lakhs would be permanently remitted to the same provinces and accordingly, of the 1,25 lakhs, 57 lakhs went

to Madras, 33 to the United Provinces, 28 to the Punjab and 7 again to Burma. The next year again in his budget speech delivered in the Legislative Assembly on February 28th, 1927, Sir Basil Blackett announced a net recurrent surplus of 3,64 lakhs. Again he decided that the most urgent claimant for the surplus was the remission of provincial contributions. The surplus was less by 1,81 lakhs than the amount required to make a clean sweep of provincial contributions. But an appeal for help had been received from Bombay and as it was inexpedient to favour one province at the expense of others the Government of India had decided to divert a portion of the current year's realised surplus from the usual debt redemption to the remission of all outstanding provincial contributions for the year 1927-28 only. The end of provincial contributions came with the budget for 1928-29 when Sir Basil Blackett announced that the portion of the contributions which he had remitted temporarily for 1927-28 would henceforth be permanently remitted.

The section of the budget speech which announces the permanent extinction of provincial contributions occupies only 12 lines in the printed report and thus curtly and inconspicuously was accomplished one of the greatest triumphs of the reformed system of government in India. The table on page 249 which shows the total amounts to be paid by the provinces to the Government of India will speak more eloquently than mere words of the immense benefits which must accrue to the provinces from the successful conclusion of Sir Basil Blackett's fruitful operation on the finances of India during the five years of his tenure of office as Finance Member. For these figures can now be translated into terms of hospitals, schools, dispensaries, wells, and many other claimant necessities which every Provincial Government wants to supply for the betterment its people. And on the side of the Government of India the prospect is hardly less happy, for henceforth, as Sir Basil Blackett told the Assembly, there will be " no outside claimant to the recurring surpluses which I hope it will be their (The Government of India's) good fortune to enjoy in the coming years, and they will be free to turn their minds on the one hand to new directions in which money can be usefully laid out for India's advancement, and on the other hand to the re-adjustment of the burden of taxation and to those reductions of taxation, so welcome to tax-gatherer and taxpayer alike which, apart from some

minor cases and with the one big exception of the Cotton Excise Duty, have been beyond our reach in my term of office. I cannot more fittingly close my statement than with the prayer that no storm from without or from within may descend upon India to disturb the bright prospects of financial well-being to which she seems to-day to be justified in looking forward."

Let us turn now to the existing financial arrangements, other than those dependent on the Meston Award, between the Central and Provincial Governments in India. We have seen that the Reforms made radical changes in the system of government in this country and that these were more striking and drastic in the Provinces than in the Government of India. We have already studied the outlines of the division of revenues between the Central and Provincial Governments which was the most important part of the settlement of financial relations under the new regime. Other parts of the settlement were, however, of only little less importance.

Under the pre-Reform order of things, the Secretary of State exercised a much closer control over Indian finances and expenditure than he does to-day. As at present, he prescribed limits of expenditure beyond which his specific sanction was necessary. As those limits were comparatively narrow, the arrangement entailed his intervention in a variety of matters, many of them unimportant or, even, the concern primarily of semi-official local bodies such as municipalities. But the Reforms as we have seen, inevitably changed all this and bestowed wider powers of expenditure on the Provincial Governments. On the " transferred " side these were necessarily less restricted than on the " reserved " side, for dyarchy involved a radical alteration of the system of government and the surrender of complete authority over " transferred " subjects, expenditure on which is now controlled by the provincial legislatures. The Secretary of State in Council has, however, reserved to himself the control of expenditure likely to affect the all-India Services and still exercises some control over the purchase of military stores in the United Kingdom. On the " reserved " side, on the other hand, much less latitude is allowed, the power to sanction expenditure being subject to certain limits.

The Government of India also received wider financial powers under the Reforms scheme, but as the dyarchical system was not extended to it, the changes were of degree not of kind. The Secretary of State still approves the Central Government's budget before it is presented to the Legislative Assembly, still sanctions new taxation, and still controls borrowings outside India, the gold reserve, the paper currency, the exchange policy, the pay, allowances and conditions of service of the all-India Services and a host of other such matters.

The provinces now exercise practically full control over their own sources of revenue, namely the provincial balances, receipts from provincial subjects, provincial taxation (the power to impose which has been much enhanced by the Reforms), proceeds from loans and recoveries from loans and, finally, a share of the income-tax realised in the province. Thus practically the entire revenues of a province are available for use on provincial subjects; but Provincial Governments are under obligation to repay amounts previously borrowed from the Government of India, to pay interest on capital expenditure previously incurred by the latter on irrigation works in the province, and to build up, by annual savings a Famine Insurance Fund.

Provincial Governments are free to draw on the first of these sources of revenue provided they give the Central Government notice at the beginning of the year. The latter may also, in an emergency, temporarily restrict the amount to be withdrawn. The power to impose provincial taxation has been much enhanced under the Reforms, but is subject to the previous sanction of the Government of India in certain cases. Also, whereas in pre-Reform days, Provincial Governments were not allowed to borrow in the open market, and were discouraged from borrowing otherwise, their enhanced control over provincial subjects, especially on the "transferred" side, has led to material alteration in this policy. Provincial Governments are now empowered (subject to the Secretary of State's sanction to loans raised outside India and that of the Governor-General in Council to loans raised inside India) to raise money in the open market "on behalf of and in the name of the Secretary of State in Council" on the security of their own revenues for certain purposes and subject to certain conditions. In addition,

they obtain loans from the Provincial Loans Fund established by the Central Government with effect from 1st April, 1925, all the Provincial Governments' liabilities on that date being transferred to it.

With the lessening of the Secretary of State's and the Government of India's financial control of the provinces has come greater control over the Executive (including the Ministers) by the Legislature. The former's proposals for expenditure are presented to the latter as demands for grants. These are considered and voted upon by the Legislative Council and may be accepted, curtailed, or rejected, but, following the English practice, the Legislature may not increase a grant or change its object. The Council's power over expenditure is restricted to " voted " heads, it having no control over contributions payable to central revenues, charges on loans, expenditure prescribed by law, the salaries and pensions of officers appointed by or with the approval of His Majesty or by the Secretary of State, the salaries of High Court Judges and, in some provinces, expenditure on " backward tracts ". The Governor may, however, certify any demand as essential to the discharge of his responsibility if the demand relates to a reserved subject and he has power in cases of emergency to authorise such expenditure as may be in his opinion necessary for the safety or tranquillity of the province or for the carrying on of any department.

In addition to the control of provincial expenditure by the Legislative Council, certain responsibilities in the same direction are exercised by the Finance Department of each Province. The provincial Finance Department is the custodian of the Famine Insurance Fund and must watch the provincial balances and advise on all important financial questions, such as proposals for new loans or taxation, the grant of new rights, assignments of land revenue, schemes for fresh expenditure and the creation or abolition of posts, and changes in their emoluments. It also prepares the budget, lays the Audit Appropriation Report before the Public Accounts Committee, and brings irregularities to its notice, and ensures that audit is effective. All this constitutes very adequate machinery for apprising the legislature of improper use of provincial revenues.

The provinces have benefited in several ways from the improvement in the Central Government's financial position, particularly in respect of their borrowings. The rate of interest has been reduced and in order further to aid the provinces a Provincial Loans Fund has been established, from which large sums can be borrowed on easy terms almost without restriction. The terms moreover are such that the interests of creditors are not jeopardised and preference is given to the more deserving of the objects for which money is requisitioned. The provinces are thus afforded facilities for undertaking the schemes of development which they have most at heart.

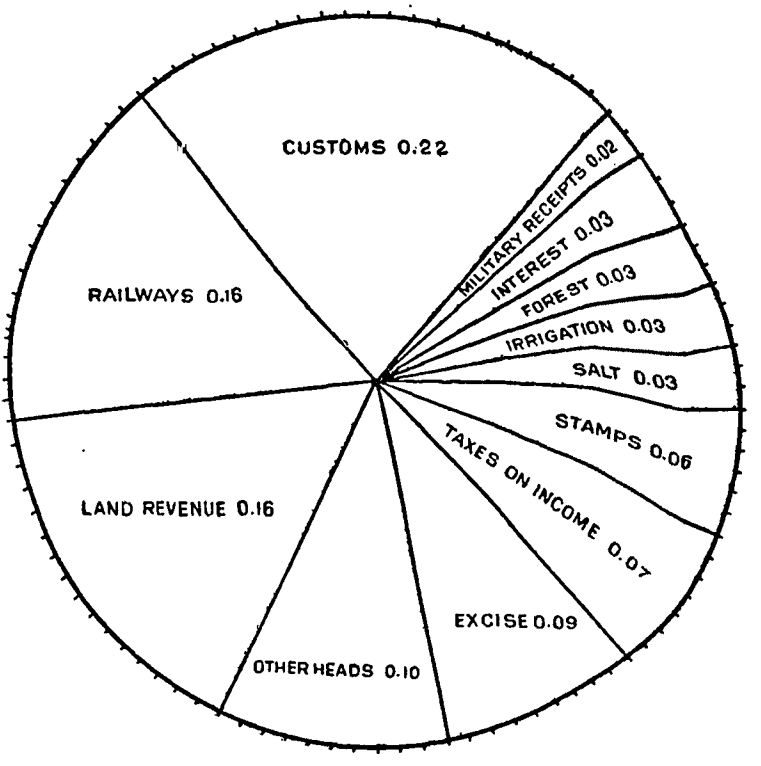
The subject of interest on loans has occupied a good deal of attention since the Reforms. A long-standing grievance of the provinces was that though they were charged interest when they overdrew their balances with the Government of India, they were allowed no interest when they had credit balances. This grievance has now been removed and provinces pay no interest on overdrawals during the financial year but only on those outstanding at its termination, which are then regarded as loans. Another development is that Provincial Governments may place money in fixed deposit with the Government of India and receive interest thereon. Similar adjustments have been effected in several other matters between the Central and Provincial Governments. As the assignments made yearly to the latter on account of the sale proceeds of unified postage and revenue stamps were found to be increasingly inadequate, they were suitably increased in 1924.

The possibility of separating central and provincial banking accounts has often been mooted but as this is a matter in which it is necessary to move with all possible caution its settlement has been postponed. Experiments have, however, been undertaken in the United Provinces in the separation of audit from accounts, the former remaining the business of the Central Government and the latter being entrusted to the Provincial Government. These experiments were initiated in two departments only, Education and Police; but as they gave satisfactory results they were extended to all departments in April 1926.

DIAGRAM.

How each Rupee of Revenue was made up in India 1926-27.

(Provincial and Central together.)



The Rupee of Revenue 1926-27.

[The basis of reckoning is the same as that on which the accounts and estimates are prepared; working expenses of the Railway, Irrigation, Posts and Telegraphs Departments, refunds and the like being deducted from revenue and not treated as expenditure.]

From the foregoing sketch it will be seen that if the position is reviewed over a number of years, it is clear that, despite financial stringency, serious economic dislocation, and heavy expenditure, the country as a whole has been steered gradually into an enviable state of prosperity and practically all the provinces have passed through their worst financial crises. Economic conditions have improved in stability and the prospect is more hopeful everywhere. For this, a good deal of credit must be given to the adjustments which have taken place during the past few years, in the financial relations between the Central and Provincial Governments.

It may be objected that the space devoted in this chapter to the Meston Award and to the history and exposition of the existing financial arrangements between the Central and Provincial Governments in India is somewhat out of proportion to the rest of the report, but, indeed, this matter of provincial contributions has been one of the most thorny of all the post-Reforms problems of India, and the report for the year which has witnessed the final and complete remission of provincial contributions can, perhaps, afford to neglect one or two other topics of less importance, in order to bring this one the more prominently before the reader. Again, the financial relations between the Government of India and the various Provinces are a subject of great obscurity to the general reader who does not want to work through many official reports or other publications of a technical kind. The foregoing paragraphs have, therefore, been written with a view to instructing those who desire to understand the working of the government machinery in this country, in the structure of what is perhaps its most important part.

One more digression of a general kind and we can take up the subject of the year's finances. In India two annual budgets, the Railway Budget and the General Budget, are presented to the Central Legislature. The separation of railway finance from the general finances of India sprang in the first place from the fact, forcibly pointed out by the Committee under Sir William Acworth which investigated the Indian Railway system, that the annual allotments for railway expenditure were determined from year to year with less regard to actual Railway requirements than to the general financial position of India. The unhappy results of this

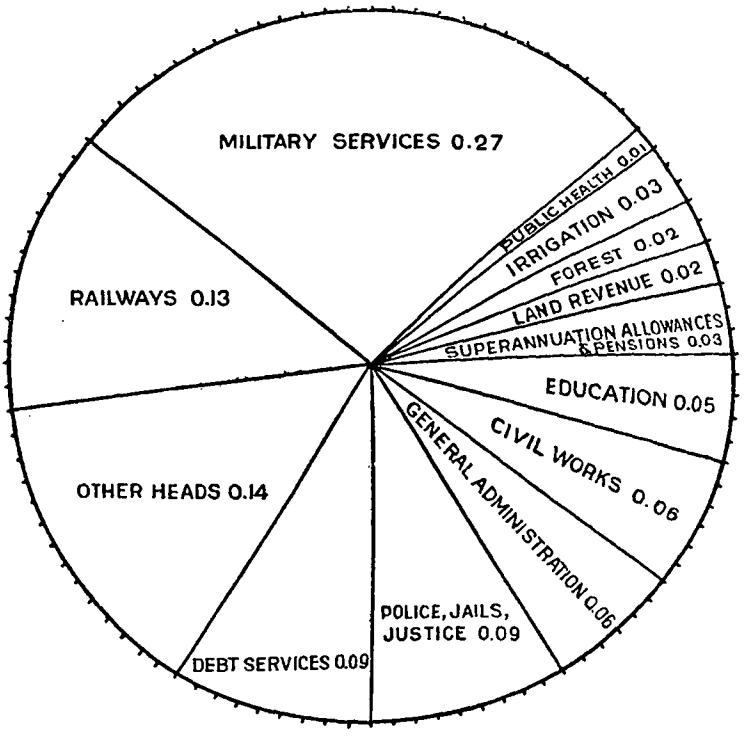
arrangement from the railway standpoint were very clearly demonstrated in the Acworth Report. After investigating the matter fully, the Government of India came to the conclusion that the suggested separation would enable the railways of India to be financed as a business undertaking and would also relieve the Government of many difficulties and doubts. When the general budget incorporated the gross receipts and working expenses of the railways, the difference between good and bad trading seasons, and good and bad monsoons, meant a difference of several crores of rupees in the budget figures. Accordingly a scheme was devised separating railway finance from the general finances of India and ensuring to the latter a definite annual contribution from railways which was to be the first charge on their net receipts. What was left of the profits after payment of this contribution was to be placed to railway reserves on the condition that if the amount available for transfer to the reserves should exceed in any year Rs. 3 crores, one-third of the excess should be paid to general revenues. This railway reserve is to be used to secure the payment of the annual contribution, to provide, if necessary, for arrears of depreciation and for writing down and writing off capital, and to strengthen generally the financial position of the railways. The effect of this arrangement upon the finances of the country is that the Indian tax-payer is now assured of a regular and growing contribution in relief of taxation from his investments in railways; while the task of maintaining a continuous financial policy and of distinguishing between a temporary and permanent surplus or deficit in accounts is immensely facilitated.

We can now turn to the finances of the year which, it is hoped, will be given some interest for the general reader by the foregoing prolegomena. The Railway Budget for 1928-29 is the first to be presented by Sir George Rainy, the present Commerce Member of the Viceroy's Council, and he was in the fortunate position of being able to present the accounts of a very successful year. The year 1927-28 was a record year for traffic and large reductions in the cost, both of carrying traffic and of repairing rolling stock, had been achieved. Also, the Railway Board now found themselves in a position to announce substantial reductions in rates and fares with the object of stimulating traffic.

DIAGRAM.

How each Rupee of Expenditure was made up in India 1926-27.

(Provincial and Central together.)



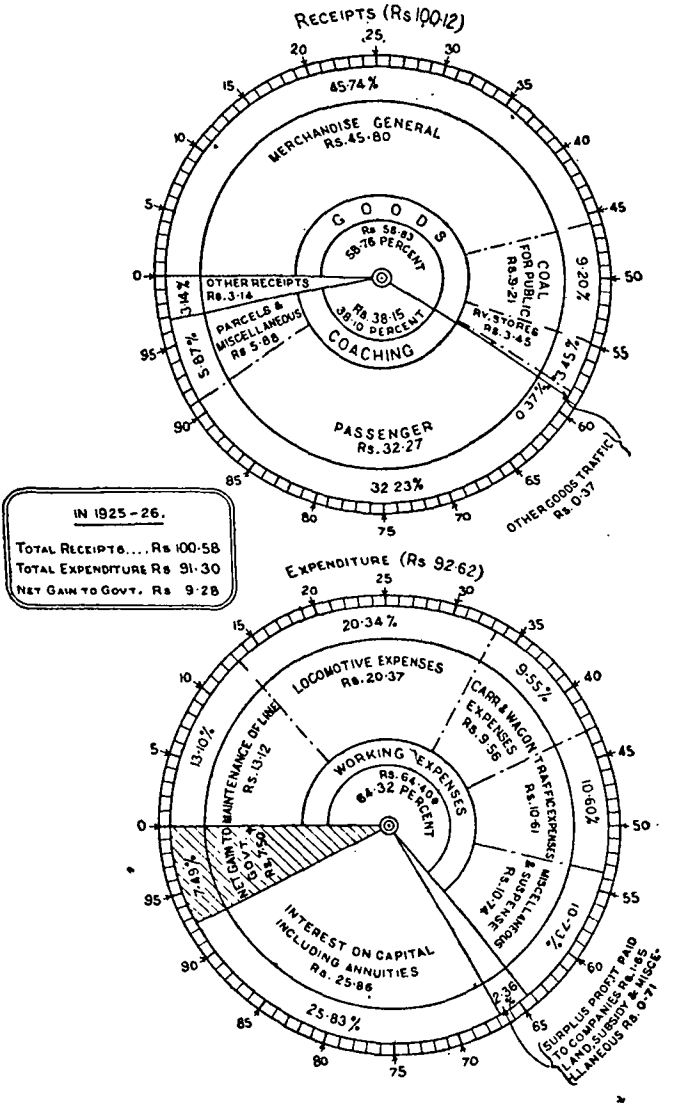
The Rupee of Expenditure 1926-27.

[The basis of reckoning is the same as that on which the accounts and estimates are prepared; working expenses of the Railway, Irrigation, Posts and Telegraphs Departments, refunds and the like being deducted from revenue and not treated as expenditure.]

DIAGRAM.

Railway Receipts and Expenditure on State Owned lines in India in 1926-27.

FIGURES IN CRORES.



* The difference of Rs. 9·03 lakhs in expenditure is due to adjustments having been made in the State Railway Stores Accounts.

† The difference of Rs. 27·89 lakhs in net gain to Government is due to inclusion of Rs. 34·51 lakhs on account of net receipts from subsidized Railways, Rs. 68·67 lakhs on account of Miscellaneous Railway Receipts, Rs. 65·54 lakhs on account of expenditure charged to head 12-Miscellaneous Railway expenditure and Rs. 9·75 lakhs on account of other adjustments.

The final financial results of the year 1926-27 dispelled an apprehension which had been expressed in the previous budget that it might be necessary to draw 7 lakhs from the Railway Reserve, since the actual surplus was higher than the estimated surplus by no less than 1,50 lakhs. Dealing with the revised estimates for 1927-28, Sir George Rainy announced that the disastrous floods in Gujerat and Orissa had slowed up progress only for about a month, in July and August, and that by the end of October all anxiety about the financial results of the year had passed away. There was a great increase of traffic as compared with the previous year, yet in spite of this great increase in traffic, working expenses were expected to be 63 lakhs less than the estimate, chiefly on account of the drop of 11 annas per ton in the cost of coal and of various measures taken to secure economy. A particularly noteworthy feature of the year's working was the reduction under the head of Repairs and Maintenance of 70 lakhs, this in spite of the addition of between 600 and 700 miles of railroad, to be maintained. Interest charges amounted to 1,50 lakhs more owing to heavy capital expenditure on development, and depreciation charges during 1927-28 amounted to about 50 lakhs more than in the previous year. Thus, at the time when he presented his budget, Sir George Rainy expected the financial results of 1927-28 to be a gain of over $12\frac{3}{4}$ crores from commercial lines, that is, nearly 3·75 crores more than in the previous year. Of this gain $1\frac{2}{3}$ crores would be absorbed by losses on the working of strategic lines, 6·36 crores were to go to general revenues, and 4·75 crores to the Railway Reserve. Sir George Rainy expected that by March the 31st, 1928, that is, the end of the financial year, the Railway Reserve would stand at 16 crores, a very satisfactory result, it will be admitted, of the four years' working since Railway Finances were separated from General Finances. Further, a balance of 9·27 crores was expected in the depreciation fund.

Sir George Rainy announced that the Government of India proposed to pass on some of these favourable results to the public in the shape of reduced third class passenger fares, parcel rates and rates on certain commodities over state-managed lines. From 51 miles and upwards the reduction in passenger fares would be 1/24th of an anna per mile on the East Indian, North Western and Great Indian Peninsula Railways. On the East Indian and North

Western Railways this meant a reduction of 13 per cent. for a journey of 300 miles, 16 per cent. for a journey of 500 miles and 20 per cent. for a journey of 900 miles. The corresponding percentages on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway are 11, 13 and 15. He also mentioned that the Railway Board proposed to discuss with the management of company-owned lines the question of reducing fares on them also in order to stimulate the growth of 3rd class traffic.

" Second in importance," he said, " comes a substantial reduction in the rates for parcels and luggage. The figures of past years clearly suggest that the present rates are operating to restrict traffic and in another respect the scale is unsatisfactory because it proceeds by 10 seers (a seer is 2 lbs.) at a time so that a parcel weighing 11 seers is charged the same as one weighing 20 seers. Instructions will be issued for the introduction of a revised scale with 5-seer instead of 10-seer divisions, and for a reduction of the rates by 15 per cent. The cost in a full year, if there were no increase in traffic, would be Rs. 74 lakhs, but we have every reason to expect a substantial increase.

In the case of goods rates, we propose four reductions which should be of substantial benefit to the poorer classes and to the agriculturist. At present on the State-managed railways kerosene is carried at a uniform rate which works out at 42 pies (a pie is approximately 1/12th of a penny) per maund (about 80 lbs.) per 100 miles. We propose to substitute a telescopic scale which fixes lower rates for all distances in excess of 300 miles and drops to 10 pies per 100 miles for distances in excess of 700 miles. This reduction means a decrease in freight of 16 per cent. for a haulage of 500 miles, 35 per cent. for 750 miles and 42 per cent. for 900 miles. The total cost is Rs. 28 lakhs a year with the present volume of traffic. In the second place, we propose to reduce the rates on manure and oilcake which vary at present on the State-managed railways, to the absolute minimum of a tenth of a pie per maund per mile. On the East Indian Rilway this means a reduction varying from 42 to 54 per cent. for distances of 500 to 900 miles. In a full year the cost is Rs. 15 lakhs, but more manure carried means larger crops and larger crops means more traffic for the railways, so that the indirect gain to the railways from the concession may in the long run be considerable. The third important reduction is in the rate for jagree. In this case also we propose to substi-

tute a telescopic scale for a uniform rate at a cost of about Rs. 10 lakhs in a full year. For distances in excess of 500 miles this means a reduction rising from 43 per cent. to 55 per cent. at 900 miles. Here also we look for a substantial increase in traffic. Finally, we propose to make a small adjustment in the rates on grain, pulses and seeds. At present the rates on the East Indian Railway up to 97 miles and on the North Western Railway up to 232 miles are higher than on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. We propose to remove this distinction at a cost of Rs. 12 lakhs a year."

Stated in terms of financial details, all these concessions mean that the Government Railways are giving up in a full year Rs. 1,22 lakhs in passenger traffic earnings, Rs. 77 lakhs in other coaching traffic, and about Rs. 1,06 lakhs in goods earnings, that is Rs. 3,05 lakhs in all. It is anticipated, however, that these substantial reductions will have an immediate effect in stimulating the growth of traffic and that the actual loss will not be as great as that stated in the above figures. "We expect," continued Sir George Rainy, "that the loss of revenue will not exceed Rs. 2 crores in 1928-29, when the dates at which the reductions are likely to become effective and the probable increase in traffic are taken into account."

Following his announcement of the reductions in passenger fares and other rates, Sir George Rainy discussed the Railway Budget Estimate for 1928-29, and, after explaining its circumstances in some detail, he summed up by saying that he expected the total receipts for the year to amount to a little over Rs. 103 crores and the total charges (including the loss on the strategic railways) at Rs. 94 crores, leaving a final surplus of about Rs. 9 crores, of which general revenues would take Rs. 5½ crores and the railway reserve fund Rs. 3½ crores.

As regards capital expenditure during 1928-29, Sir George said that Rs. 28 crores will be allotted for this purpose, of which 15 crores were for open line works, 9 crores for new construction, and 4 crores for the acquisition of the Burma Railways on the expiration of the Company's contract at the beginning of 1929. This transaction being in accordance with the expressed wishes of the Burma Government and the Burma Legislative Council.

On the subject of new construction Sir George's remarks are of such great interest that they deserve to be quoted in full. He said:—

"When Sir Charles Innes spoke last year he expressed the hope that we should open nearly 900 miles of new line this year. We have not done quite so well as that, but we expect to open 636 miles and to raise that figure to about 800 miles next year. The mileage of our construction programme indeed has now reached a formidable total, for 50 projects, aggregating 2,600 miles, have already been sanctioned, and 40 others covering 2,000 miles are under examination. Where the projects are so numerous it is difficult to single out any of them for special mention, but of those which we propose to open next year, the most important perhaps are the Daltonganj-Barkakhana section of the Central Indian Coalfields Railway, the Kangra Valley line in the Punjab, and the Villupuram Trichinopoly line in Southern India. The lines which will still be under construction at the end of the year are for the most part short branches or feeder lines to the main system, but in various parts of the country there are special features. Thus in Burma and Assam we are constructing pioneer lines to open out rich but undeveloped country; in Southern India the branches will serve densely populated tracts where the traffic should at a very early date yield an ample return on the capital invested; in the Punjab they are for the most part cross connections running from east to west and linking up the existing lines most of which run from north to south; while in the Province of Sind we hope to commence the feeder lines which are the natural consequence of the construction of the Sukker Barrage. To attempt an enumeration of the various projects would serve no useful purpose, but I am confident that any one who studies the Railway Board's Memorandum and its Appendices will realise that they are fully alive to their responsibility for extending and improving the communications of India."

After the Railway Budget, with its record breaking figures and spectacular reductions in passenger fares and freight charges, the General Budget, which was presented to the Legislature on February the 29th, 1928, might, as Sir Basil Blackett himself said, be regarded as something of an anti-climax. It was not so in reality, for it continued the cheerful tale of surpluses, which India has perhaps begun now to regard as automatic forgetting the skilled and devoted labour which have been employed to make them possible. Further, it allowed for reductions in the customs tariff to the amount of nearly a crore of rupees, whilst imposing no new taxation of any sort. The absence of the spectacular, indeed, in such a budget as this, is amply outweighed by its inherent soundness and the national financial stability of which it is a proof.

After reviewing the actual final financial figures for 1926-27, which showed a net improvement of only 14 lakhs over the revised estimate—a very encouraging sign of improvement in budgetting methods—Sir Basil Blackett proceeded to review the conditions of the year 1927-28. During the first ten months the visible balance of trade was in favour of India by 37·24 crores as compared with 27·05 crores a year earlier. Both imports and exports of merchandise had increased in value by 8 per cent., whilst the net imports of treasury had diminished by 6½ crores. Prices were stable and the improved trade figures reflected the advantages of the stabilisation of the rupee. Sir Basil referred to the reductions in railway charges and said that these would give a new stimulus towards business and agricultural prosperity, and these were not the only indications that Indian commerce was now advancing steadily and that the effects of the post-war trade depression were being steadily dissipated.

Turning next to the revised estimates for 1927-28, the Finance Member said that in spite of large variations under individual heads, and the loss of 45 lakhs due to the abolition of import duties on mill stores and machinery in September, 1927, the net decrease in customs receipts would be only 10 lakhs since the stoppage of the leakage through the Kathiawar ports had benefited the Indian customs revenue appreciably. Both income-tax and the salt revenue yielded results below expectation, but on the other hand, railway contribution was greater by 88 lakhs than had been budgetted for. Military expenditure remained unchanged in spite of the fact that there had been some savings on account of the despatch of Indian

troops to China. These savings, however, had had to be spent on urgently needed modern equipments for the army. The net result of all this increase was that the total expenditure for 1927-28 stood at 127·74 crores and the total revenue at the same figure, including a transfer of 1·69 crores from the revenue reserve fund instead of 1·72 crores as originally estimated. This small variation in the net result was a further reason for congratulation on the success of the improved budgettary methods.

Sir Basil Blackett dealt next with the Ways and Means position. During 1927-28, he said, the Indian Government had had to meet 30 crores of capital outlay on railways and 2 crores on other forms of capital expenditure. Over provincial loans and drawings they had had to find 8 crores, and for the net discharge of debt, 25½ crores. Towards these ends, the Government of India had raised rupee and sterling loans which yielded 27½ crores net, had obtained 6½ crores from Postal Cash Certificates and Savings Bank Certificates, had reduced their balances by 11½ crores, and had met the rest from miscellaneous sources. In the forthcoming year, 1928-29, capital outlay on railways was estimated to amount to not more than 28 crores including 4 crores for the purchase of the Burma Railways and 4½ crores on other capital outlay. Provincial demands would be 7 crores and the net discharge of debt 19 crores. Cash balances could not be reduced by more than 2 crores and it had been decided that, after all other receipts had been taken into account, a loan of 32 crores would be needed, including 13 crores of new money.

Referring to borrowing operations during the current year Sir Basil said: " In our anxiety to guard the interests of the Indian tax-payer and in our desire not to disturb the market in Government securities which were being quoted at rather higher figures than we ourselves thought to be justified, we did not make the terms of our rupee loan as attractive as we possibly should have done, and the fact that it was a short-dated loan seems to have militated against complete success. In the result, we had to tide over temporary difficulties by various expedients. The re-introduction of Treasury Bills in India was in full accordance with our plans, as we deliberately desired to improve the financial facilities of the Indian money market and check seasonal fluctuations in the market for Government securities by this means. We found it necessary, in addition, to resort to external borrowing, first by rais-

ing sterling bills to the extent of £5 millions in England in July last, which have since been repaid, and later by the issue of a sterling loan of £7½ million about a month ago. Even so, the net cash receipts from the rupee and sterling loans aggregated only 27½ crores which was only about 2 crores more than the net amount of debt discharged, and as much as 13 crores less than the amount required for railway and other capital outlay including that of Provincial Governments. It is no inconsiderable achievement to have financed a capital outlay of this magnitude in a year of rather difficult money conditions, in which our own calculations were upset by the fact that the capital expenditure was 6½ crores in excess of our original anticipations."

London remittances in the year 1927-28 would amount to above £30¾ million, of which £28½ million were expected to be remitted through the market. For 1928-29 the remittance figure has been put tentatively at £36 million, which will enable the Indian Government to close the year with a normal balance. As in previous years, the Finance Member quoted the market prices of Indian Government securities in India to show how India's credit has improved in recent years and he said that the success of the sterling loan had further demonstrated the improvement of India's credit.

He next quoted debt statistics to show that the increase in the external indebtedness of the Indian Government during 1927-28 was considerably less than the amount of the sterling loan, and that in five years since the 31st March 1923, productive debt had increased by 189 crores and unproductive had diminished by 76 crores. By the end of the next year the debt due to 5 years of revenue deficits from 1918-19 to 1922-23 would be just about liquidated, and, if the present rate of progress were maintained, unproductive debt would vanish entirely in 12 years.

Turning to the estimates for the financial year 1928-29 Sir Basil Blackett announced that he expected a net customs revenue of 50·18 crores of rupees after allowing for a further fall in customs receipts of 40 lakhs on mill stores and machinery. Income-tax, he hoped, would yield 17 crores and salt 7 crores. The Government of India's progressive opium policy would involve them in a net loss of 25 lakhs and the railway contribution would be 5·48 crores only. Military expenditure would be 55·1 crores including 10 lakhs for expanding the territorial force. Discussing the figures of military expenditure, the Finance Member said that the Indian

Government had decided, after careful consideration, that it could not be reduced if India was to make reasonable provision for defence under modern conditions.

Under the head of debt service it was explained that after 81 lakhs had been allotted for premium on bonds maturing during 1928-29 and for 25 lakhs additional provision for bonus on Cash Certificates, the debt services still showed a saving of 67 lakhs, this being the result of the general debt and debt redemption policy of the Government of India. During the five years ending 1928-29, the saving on interest and deadweight debt had amounted to more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ times the increase in provision for debt redemption and was over a crore more than the actual provision on this account in 1928-29. The cost of the civil administration showed a rise of 41 lakhs, but this included a number of items relating to beneficial services. Expenditure on the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department included over 14 lakhs for the further improvement of the conditions of service of the lower paid staff. The working of the Department showed a surplus of something less than Rs. 25,000 and therefore no reduction in postal or telegraph charges could be looked for.

In the final result the total revenue for 1928-29 was estimated at 132·23 crores and expenditure at 129·6 crores. Thus there would be a surplus of 2·63 crores if the portion of the provincial contributions, which was still unextinguished were recovered by the Government of India. Sir Basil Blackett, however, pointed out that the liability for bonus on Cash Certificates was accumulating and was estimated at $3\frac{3}{4}$ crores on the 1st October, 1927. As soon, therefore, as finances permitted some provision from the revenue over and above that for actual payments would be necessary to form a separate fund to enable this increasing liability to be met. But the surplus now disclosed could be treated as recurrent, since the budget included a special item of 81 lakhs for premium on bonds and since there ought to be further savings in interest charges and increased revenue from taxes on income. Even the customs revenue should improve, although it would be in the interests of Indian trade and industry to reduce the general revenue tariff as soon as the financial position allowed. On the whole, then, the Indian Government proposed that, having regard to their past commitments, 2·58 crores of this surplus should be utilized

for the complete and final extinction of provincial contributions leaving a small balance of 5 lakhs of rupees in the budget.

In concluding his budget speech Sir Basil Blackett said:—

"I think it is a budget which both the Government and the country can view with pleasure. We have consolidated the ground won last year and can now establish our friends and allies, the Provincial Governments, firmly and finally in the trenches which we won for them a year ago, but which have hitherto been debatable ground. The Provinces have now no further fears of counter-attack. They can proceed to carry out the great task allotted to them in the governance of India, with the knowledge that no part of the revenues at their disposal will be diverted to the Central Government's purse. The Central Government too has reached a new vantage ground, from which it can begin to survey the country ahead.....Intrinsically, the financial position of the Government of India seems to me to be sound and prosperous. From 1929-30 onwards, it will be the privilege of this House and of my friend and successor, Sir George Schuster, whose acceptance of the post is a matter of great personal satisfaction to me, to find no outside claimant to the recurring surpluses which I hope it will be their good fortune to enjoy in the coming years, and they will be free to turn their minds on the one hand to new directions in which money can be usefully laid out for India's advancement, and on the other hand to the re-adjustment of the burden of taxation and to those reductions of taxation, so welcome to tax-gatherer and tax-payer alike, which, apart from some minor cases and with the one big exception of the Cotton Excise Duty, have been beyond our reach in my term of office. I cannot more fittingly close my statement than with the prayer that no storm from without or from within may descend upon India to disturb the bright prospects of financial well-being to which she seems to-day to be justified in looking forward."

This was Sir Basil Blackett's last budget, for he left India on retirement at the beginning of April. In this and previous reports some idea has been conveyed of the amazing amount of achievement which he compressed into his term of office in India of a little over 5 years. He not only raised Indian finances from a state of dangerous depression into the position which they at present occupy, where they are the envy of practically every government in the world, but he carried out a number of valuable reforms and improvements in financial methods and machinery. He carried through the stabilisation of the rupee and his desire to achieve the crowning reform of handing over the control of Indian finance and currency to a Central Bank was frustrated by circumstances beyond his control. It is possible that future historians of India will see in his handling of the Public Accounts Committee one of his most valuable services to India. Throughout his term of office as Finance Member Sir Basil Blackett tried to invest this Committee with the status and powers enjoyed by its great prototype in England and the value of this part of his work will, it is hoped, grow and increase, although he himself has gone. By his restoration of her finances, he rendered services of incalculable value to India, and by his abolition of Provincial Contributions he has given to the Provinces large means for improving the well-being of their people. The future observer, as he looks about him in any part of British India, will see Sir Basil Blackett's monument in schools, hospitals, dispensaries, roads and the other beneficial works which he will have done so much to bring into being.

In last year's report mention was made of a Gold Standard and Reserve Bank of India Bill, by which the Government of India proposed to implement what was by far the most important suggestion of the Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance. The proposal is not a new one, but the Hilton-Young Commission was the first to advocate it whole-heartedly, and to demonstrate effectively, after thorough examination of the subject, the connection between the function of gold in India and credit control and the correcting mechanism generally. The Gold Bullion Standard controlled by the Reserve Bank would give India a monetary system which would be complete, and, when properly understood would satisfy opinion in this country. Also, the crea-

tion of the Reserve Bank would constitute another step in India's progress towards autonomy. At present her currency policy is subject to control by the India Office acting through the Government of India, which is the currency authority in this country. In fact, the Gold Standard and Reserve Bank of India Bill, had it been passed into law, would have been a sort of financial and currency counterpart to the Government of India Act, 1919, for its ultimate effect would have been to remove the control of Indian currency from Whitehall and Delhi to the Indian Reserve Bank. Unfortunately, as we have already noticed at one or two places earlier in this report, the Bank Bill perished in the Legislative Assembly very largely owing to the excitement caused by the reaction in certain quarters in this country to the appointment of the Statutory Commission. However, since the Bill was one of the big measures of post-reforms politics and because of its peculiarly chequered career, it deserves a fairly extended mention in this report.

When last year's report was written the first Gold Standard and Reserve Bank Bill framed by the Government of India was being considered by a Joint Select Committee of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. The Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance had suggested for the bank a governing board of fifteen, including one Government official who should not have a vote. The remaining fourteen were to be Directors of the Bank and of these, five, including the Governor and the Deputy Governor, were to be nominated by the Government of India, whilst the remaining 9 were to be elected by the shareholders, since the capital of the Bank was to be share-capital. These proposals were all incorporated in the Bill, which was introduced into the Legislative Assembly in January 1927.

The Joint Select Committee held two sittings, one in Bombay from the 30th May to 4th June 1927 and the other in Calcutta from 18th to 25th July 1927. The majority of the Select Committee quickly disagreed with the proposals in two main particulars. One of these points of difference, namely: the desire of the majority to introduce a full value gold coin into the currency, need not occupy much attention, for it was on the other point of difference that the Reserve Bank Bill ultimately foundered. This was the preference of the majority for a State Bank rather than a shareholders' Bank. The majority adhered to their preference through-

out the Calcutta meeting and made the following proposals for the composition of the governing board. Only four of the Directors including the Governor and the Deputy Governor should be nominated by the Government of India whilst three each should be chosen by the elected members of the Central Legislature and the Provincial Legislatures respectively. Of the remaining five, two each were to be elected by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, whilst the last place was to be filled by election by the Provincial Co-operative Banks. Accordingly, these proposals were incorporated in the Bill which was brought before the Assembly on August 29th. Sir Basil Blackett, however, opposed these majority proposals consistently and allowed it to be known that he would drop the Bill rather than allow it to be passed into law in a form which might make the policy and directorate of the Reserve Bank into objects of political controversy dependent on the changing fortunes of groups and parties in the Legislature. On August 29th, then, he moved that the Gold Standard and Reserve Bank of India Bill be taken into consideration. In his speech he explained the points at issue between himself and those who opposed his original proposals and he put forward a scheme which, he claimed, was a fair reconciliation of the varying opinions which had been expressed. This scheme arranged for the representation of both Indians and Europeans on the governing board of the Bank, the former having a majority. Nine directors were to be elected by shareholders by the single transferable vote, a proceeding which would ensure representation of different opinions and interests among the shareholders. The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, the Associated Chambers of Commerce and Provincial Co-operative Banks were each to elect one director. Three directors were to be nominated by the Government of India—a proceeding which would fully protect the interests of agriculture and of localities and communities which otherwise might go unrepresented. Sir Basil argued that the Bank must be a Shareholders' Bank if the best and most representative board possible were to be secured. The Government of India opposed the election of directors by the Legislatures and competent business opinion was with the Government in this matter. He asked the Assembly not to risk for the sake of this one point a measure which was to transfer control over Indian currency and monetary policy from the Secretary of State and the Government of India to a non-official business institution

which would work along Indian lines and be a landmark not only in finance but also in the political and constitutional history of the Indian Empire.

An examination of these new proposals will show at once how far they go towards answering all legitimate criticisms, but there was a small but influential section in the Assembly which persisted both in the demand for a State Bank and in the demand for the election of a proportion of the directors by the various legislative bodies. The voting strength in the House was admitted by the most competent judges to be evenly divided between Sir Basil Blackett and his opponents, and it was impossible to say which way the division would have gone had the issue been put squarely to the vote. In any case, even if the Government had won, they would have done so by a narrow margin, perhaps indeed by the very narrowest margin possible. In these circumstances the Government had nothing to gain from taking such a decision, for, if it went against them, they lost their Bank Bill with all its great promise for the economic future of India, whilst if they won, the Bank would come into existence against the determined opposition of certain powerful interests both political and business, and, therefore, Sir Basil decided to try to come to some reasonable compromise with the opposition. On the third day of the debate he announced that the Government would give up the shareholders principle if a satisfactory substitute could be found. One of the leaders of the Congress Party, Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, had already tabled an amendment to the Bill in which he proposed to replace the shareholders as electors by a system of electoral colleges. Sir Basil said that this suggestion made some appeal to him and that the Government of India were willing to accept it in principle provided their acceptance would result in the emergence of a Bill acceptable both to them and to the great majority of the House. Quite a number of members of the Assembly had their own solutions of the problem, which they were anxious to see accepted, but in the end it was the electoral college principle which was embodied in a scheme generally known as the "Stock-holders Scheme." According to this scheme the Reserve Bank was to be a State Bank with all its capital owned by the Government of India.

Government of India Reserve Bank stock bearing 5 per cent. interest was to be issued at par in amounts of Rs. 100 and multiples thereof to an aggregate amount not exceeding the capital of the

Bank. No one holder was to have more than Rs. 10,000 worth of stock and every holder had to be either domiciled or ordinarily resident in India. In each of the major provinces in India and in Delhi a register of stockholders was to be kept, and, provided there were at least 1,000 stockholders on the register, these were to be allowed to elect sixty trustees triennially, who should, in turn, elect one director of the Bank. Each stockholder was to have only one vote for the election of trustees, no matter what the amount of his holding might be. According to Sir Basil Blackett's stockholders scheme, therefore, the constitution of the governing board of the bank would be as follows:—One Governor and two Deputy Governors, one not voting; three directors elected by the Associated Chambers of Commerce, two by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, one director elected by the Provincial Co-operative Banks, ten by the Trustees, elected as described above, and four nominated by the Governor General in Council. The other conditions dealing with tenure of the office of Governor and so on, need not occupy us here.

It was at once obvious that this scheme commended itself to the great majority of the members of the Assembly, but, in view of its divergence in certain important particulars from the original Bill submitted to the Assembly, the Government of India decided not to proceed any further with it during the Simla session, but to consider the whole matter carefully at leisure. The announcement of this decision caused keen disappointment in the Assembly and a motion for the adjournment of the House was tabled by way of censure of the Government's action.

During the interval between the Simla session of 1927 and the Delhi session of 1928, the Government of India, after a careful study of all the circumstances and after Sir Basil Blackett had been to London to discuss them with the India Office, decided to come forward with a new Gold Standard and Reserve Bank Bill which reverted to the shareholders principle but retained many of the features of Sir Basl Blackett's suggested compromise. When this new Bill was sought to be introduced, however, the President of the Assembly refused his sanction to its introduction. He relied in his decision on the procedure of the House of Commons in analogous cases. The principle had been laid down by the speaker of the House of Commons that when essential alterations were to be made in any Bill which had come before the House, the proper

course was to ask leave to withdraw the original Bill and re-submit it as altered. This rule of procedure, said the President of the Assembly, applied with greater force to this case since material alterations were proposed.

In the circumstances the Government decided to proceed with the old Bill and to try to have it amended, where necessary, in the Council of State. But, as already stated, it had no chance in the peculiar temperament of the House, and after a number of divisions on the amendments to one of the clauses had been won by the Government, the former motion that the clause stand part of the Bill was lost in a snap division. As it was obvious that the opposition were not taking themselves or the Bill seriously, it was decided to adjourn it sine-die.

We said above that the Reserve Bank Bill foundered in the Statutory Commission storm, but it must not be argued from the manner in which the Assembly left the Bill to its fate that its members have no interest in the vital subject of the improvement and development generally of banking facilities in this country. On the contrary, members of the Assembly and the Council of State have on a number of occasions shown their interest in this matter, either by moving resolutions or asking questions. On the 10th February 1927, a Resolution was moved by Mr. S. N. Haji, a Bombay Member, recommending the appointment of a Commission to investigate the present position of banking institutions, facilities, and conditions in India, and to make recommendations for their improvement and expansion with particular reference to the provision in adequate quantity and appropriate form of the capital or finances necessary for the development of the industries and agriculture of India. The debate on this Resolution was not finished during the Session in which it was moved, and it was resumed on the 25th August 1927 at Simla, when a nominated member, Mr. K. C. Roy, moved an amendment to the Resolution which added a clause laying upon the proposed Commission the duty of reporting what measures, if any, are desirable to regulate and control banks and banking interests in India. After an interesting debate, in which members from different sides of the House took part, the Resolution as amended was adopted without a division.

Before we leave the question of banking in India it may be mentioned that one of the recommendations of the External Capital Committee of 1924 was that an Indian Institute of Bankers should be formed. This proposal met with considerable support from the Indian banking world, and the Indian Institute of Bankers has now come into existence.

The account given earlier in this chapter of the provincial loans fund, brief as it was, yet shows what an important part the fund plays in the financial organisation of this country. The latest year for which the funds have been audited and of which a report is available is 1926-27. During that year the Provincial Loans Fund advanced a sum of Rs. 7,29,95,000 to the provinces, of which Rs. 4,30,80,000, or 59 per cent. was for productive purposes, whilst the balance of Rs. 2,99,15,000 or 41 per cent. was for other purposes. The cost of new borrowing by the Government of India fell from 5½ per cent. in 1925-26 to 4¾ per cent. in 1926-27, and the rate charged by the fund to its clients was fixed at 5 per cent. for productive purposes and 5¼ per cent. for advances for other purposes.

The 1927 Rupee Loan which was open from the 18th to the 30th of July was a 4 per cent. tax-bearing issue repayable at par on the 1st August 1937, or at the option of Government, on or after the 1st August 1934, at three months' notice. The issue price was Rs. 94-8 per cent. giving a yield of nearly 5 per cent. inclusive of premium on redemption, assuming repayment in 1934, and about 4¾ per cent. if repaid in 1937.

Subscriptions to the loan were payable in cash, in 6 per cent. bonds, 1927, or in 5½ per cent. war bonds, 1928. In exchange for each Rs. 100 of 6 per cent. bonds, 1927 and 5½ per cent. war bonds, 1928, tenderers were given Rs. 100 of the new loan and a cash bonus of Rs. 6-4-0 and Rs. 12 respectively.

Conditions for the loan were less favourable than in preceding years and the Government of India considered that it would be impossible to obtain their requirements by the flotation of a long-term issue at prices approximately equivalent to the market rate. They decided, therefore, to confine the loan to a short-term issue mainly for the conversion of early maturities. As the 1927 bonds

were due to mature at the end of September, the apprehended stringency was an obvious inducement to holders of these bonds to retain them to maturity, so that material conversions were improbable. The applications for the loan amounted to Rs. 19,53,79,100 of which Rs. 8,21,14,200 was for cash, Rs. 7,20,39,200 by tender of 1927 bonds, and Rs. 4,12,25,700 by tender of 1928 bonds.

The experiment in the separation of Audit from Accounts, which is now proceeding in the United Provinces was fully described in an earlier report where its importance as a preliminary step in a possible financial reform of much political significance was explained. During the year under review, the scheme is reported to have worked well but its extension to other Provinces is not likely in the immediate future.

CHAPTER VIII.

External Relations, Military, Aerial and Naval Affairs.

The traditional isolation of the East and particularly of India is now a thing of the past. For centuries after Vasco da Gama sailed round the Cape and discovered afresh—as many predecessors of his from some unknown mariner of the Chalcolithic people onwards had done—a sea route from the west to India, this country remained divided from Europe by a broad gulf of time. Half a year or more it took the infrequent ships from England to sight the Malabar Coast, and until the coming of steam the gulf remained as broad as ever, impassable except by those few whom duty, or the quest for fortune, impelled to brave the long journey to the distant, half fabulous East. But in the Comet steamed down the Clyde out of the mediaeval into the modern age which did not begin until mechanical invention started the process of annihilating time and space and transforming the conditions of human existence. Karachi is now within 60 or so flying hours of London, and the submarine cable long ago made England and India one as far as the interchange of news and information is concerned. Railways, steamships, and the immediate transmission of news, have for many years past joined India to the general economic system of the world and made her one of the constituents of the world market. In these material things, then, the evidence of our senses is proof of the assertion with which this chapter opens. But its deeper meaning is not quite so obvious. For years after the establishment of British Rule, India remained an essentially isolated, self-centred political and cultural system. With the affairs of the outside world, and even with those of the rest of the British Empire she had no concern, and it was not until after the assumption of the Government of India by the Crown that her educational system and the growth of a habit of overseas travel by her people gradually broke down some of the barriers to mental and spiritual intercourse with the western world. Of the forces which have shaped the events of Indian history

and determined the conditions of Indian life during the past half century, the two most vital have been first the process of mechanical invention, which by making travel and communications between the West and the East speedy and certain, has brought India within the orbit of western ideas, and second, India's reaction to this process with many results political, cultural, racial and economic, to trace which will be the task of some historian of the future. And of this process no part is more important than the steady growth of India's interest in affairs, particularly political affairs, outside her own borders. In a sense she has been concerned with the external affairs of the United Kingdom and the British Empire ever since her government passed into British hands. But this concern was only remote and accidental. Until recently the people of India could not feel that they had any living interest in such matters since they had no voice in them and were not even in direct contact with them. Since the war, however, her improved international status, her growing economic stake in the world, and her representation in the Imperial Conferences have provided her with both the incentive and the need for taking a close interest in world politics and affairs. Further her international status is different now from what it was in 1914, for she attained original membership of the League of Nations as one of signatories of the Treaty of Versailles. In those negotiations His Majesty King George V was represented for India by the Right Hon'ble Edwin Samuel Montague, M.P., His Secretary of State for India, and Major-General His Highness Maharaja Sir Ganga Singh Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., K.C.B., A.D.C., Maharaja of Bikanir. India thus obtained separate representation and became an original member of the League of Nations as a result of her services during the war. Again, the presence of large numbers of her nationals in various parts of the British Empire has forced her to take an interest in the domestic politics of the Dominions and Crown Colonies, and in Imperial politics in general, especially when these are concerned with the Near East and Asia. Thus, as one of the members of the British Commonwealth, and now as a member of the League of Nations, India has found her intrest insensibly widened and attracted outwards until very few parts of the world are left in which she has no interests of any kind.

Turning now from this wider topic, we see that India has her own external interests which are peculiar to herself and which fall broadly into two classes sharply distinguished from each other. There are first her relations with her immediate neighbours on her landward side, and secondly her guardianship of the interests of her people overseas, most of whom are living in some part or other of the British Empire. The problems raised by this second class, as already indicated, are ultimately problems of Imperial politics, whilst the former resolve themselves primarily into problems of defence. This latter dictum does not mean of course that India constantly apprehends danger from all her neighbours across her land frontiers. Such a notion is far from the truth as the following brief description will show.

The land frontiers of India are about 6,000 miles in length. The boundary of Indian Baluchistan marches with Persia on the West and with Afghanistan on the North, the three countries meeting at the famous mountain of the Black King (Koh-i-Malik-Siah) the most westerly point of India. From this lonely peak starts the Durand line, which, leaving Baluchistan at the Gumal river, runs some hundreds of miles north by east demarcating the boundary between Afghanistan and India, and for a considerable distance bordering the well-known belt of Pathan tribal territory which since 1894 has been formally included in India. Tibet borders about 1,500 miles of India's frontier and beyond Burma, our frontier divides us for about a thousand miles from Chinese territory. South of the Chinese frontier, Burma touches part of French Indo-China for a hundred miles and then marches for 600 miles with Siam.

Any study, however brief, of North-West Frontier history and policy, will show the North-West Frontier problem becoming more and more complex and difficult as communications improve and weapons of precision are perfected. It is usual to regard the North-Western Frontier problem as being concerned only with the relations between the Government of India and the Warlike tribes who inhabit the stretch of difficult mountain country between the administrative border and the Durand Line. But, in truth, these are nothing more than one factor in a problem of far wider scope. Leaving aside the domestic question of the most desirable form of Government for the North-West Frontier Province, a question about which there has been some controversy since the inauguration

of the reformed constitution in the other provinces of India and which, as we have seen in the first chapter, is now a factor of much importance in the Hindu-Muhammadan problem, there is also the international aspect of the problem and the vital military problem with which the other aspects of the frontier policy are intimately bound up.

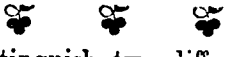
From the dawn of history the North-West Frontier has been the gateway into India through which have poured Persians, Greeks, Scythians, and Muhammadans. Before the keys of the gate passed into British hands with the conquest of the Punjab in 1849, the threat of an invasion by Napoleon Bonaparte and the ambitious schemes of the Emperor Paul of Russia had caused the British to look anxiously to the North-West and begin their North-West Frontier policy untimely with embassies to Persia and Afghanistan. Malcolm and Elphinstone were the forerunners of a long line of distinguished " politicals " who for the past three or four generations have been both the instruments and the makers of British policy on the North-West Frontier. The maintenance of a sound policy on the North-West Frontier in India must always hold a foremost place among the pre-occupations of any Indian Government.

The day-to-day frontier problem is provided by the relations between the Government of India and the tribes who live between the administrative border and the Durand Line, and is a problem partly diplomatic, or, as it is called in India, " political," and partly military. The political officers guide the tribes as far as they can along the path of peace and friendliness with India, whilst the various armed civil forces on the frontier supported when necessary by the troops stand by to repel raids or more serious aggressive actions by the tribesmen. The military history of the frontier has been adequately written more than once, but its " political " history still remains unchronicled as a whole. A ruthlessly compressed summary of this history is given below, but first it will be as well to describe briefly the physical features of the North-West Frontier.

The North-West Frontier, as the term is commonly understood, means the whole tract of country which runs from the Hindu Kush in the north down to the Arabian Sea, including the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan. This territory lies mainly to the West of the Indus. The Hazara District, it is true, lies east

of the river, but geographically and ethnically it belongs partly to Kashmere and partly to the Punjab, and the tribes on its border, who are mostly somewhat backward off-shoots of the great Yusafzai tribe, do not present such a formidable problem as do the war-like and well-armed people on the borders of the four trans-Indus Districts. In this large area we distinguish the five settled districts of the frontier province and the so-called trans-border, that is, the stretch of mountain country between the administrative border and the Durand Line whose inhabitants provide what we have called the day-to-day problem of the frontier. Stretching all along the administrative border and, thrusting forward into the hills here and there, as in the Malakand, and in the Khyber, Kurram, Tochi and Razmak valleys, and along the Zhob Road which runs through the Sherani country south of Waiziristan are military cantonments, or posts held by regulars, militia, Frontier Constabulary, or Khassadars, whilst at the north and south respectively of the long line stand the two great bastions—Peshawar and Quetta.

The transborder tribes are linked to each other from North to South, and military operations against any one of them are apt to produce sympathetic effects among the others. These tribes are among the hardest fighters in the whole world and only picked and highly trained troops can compete with them on any thing like equal terms in their own hills. They are believed to number nearly three millions, of whom at least half are males and of the latter close on three quarters of a million are regarded as adults and fighting men. Their armament has vastly increased within the last few years, and as long ago as 1920 there were believed to be not less than 140,000 modern rifles in tribal territory. The Mahsuds alone can arm effectively about 12,000 men, out of a total of 16,000, whilst the Wazirs can similarly arm 10,000 out of a total of 23,000 fighting men. The difficulty of the military problem presented by the frontier tribes can thus be appreciated.



It is possible to distinguish two different parts of the trans-border which present two somewhat dissimilar sets of conditions. One part is the territory which stretches from north of the Kabul River to Waziristan, whilst the second is Waziristan itself. The relations between the Indian Government and the tribes inhabiting

the first of the above divisions have in recent years been satisfactory on the whole. North of the Kabul River are great chiefs like the Mehtar of Chitral, the Nawab of Dir, and the Wali of Swat. These may fight among themselves, but they all desire friendly relations with India. Trade between this section of the transborder and India is active and the Swat River canal finds employment for many hardy spirits who might otherwise make a living by committing crime inside British India. South of the lands of these great chiefs are the Mohmands, Afridis, and Orakzais, all of whom have far too many connections with India to fight except on any but the most serious grounds. Waziristan, however, until very recently presented a very different face. Its people are fanatical and intractable to a degree, and had until a few years ago come less under British influence than any other of the great transborder tribes. The Indian Government have conducted seventeen active operations against them since 1852, and four since 1911, the latest of which provided the most desperate and costly fighting in all the history of the North-West Frontier. Also as one goes from north to south of Tribal Territory, one finds that the constitution of tribal society grows steadily more and more undisciplined as one approaches Waziristan, where, until the last few years, a state of chaotic license prevailed in which every man was a law to himself and a well-aimed bullet was more effective than any consideration of right and justice.

From the Sikhs, the British inherited only a haphazard, unscientific, and ill-defined frontier line. They took over no policy or system of understandings or agreements, and for a whole generation the Indian Government limited its frontier policy to abstention from interference in the troubled affairs across the administrative border, tempered by fleeting punitive expeditions against individual tribes when necessary. But the advance of Russia in Central Asia and the ambiguous behaviour during the seventies of last century of an Amir of Afghanistan emphasised once again the importance of the latter country to Indian frontier policy, whilst the long and mostly scholastic dispute between the supporters of the rival ' forward ' and ' close border ' policies had at any rate made clear the importance of the transborder tribes in the event of India's having to conduct military operations west of the administrative border. These things, fortified by Major Sandeman's striking success in conciliating the hitherto hostile

Baluch tribes to the south, a success which had already become evident by the end of the seventies, brought about a change in the Government of India's views on frontier policy. They began to realise that they ought at any rate to know something of what was happening in the frontier hills and that they ought if possible to try to keep friendly relations with the tribes. The establishment of the Khyber Agency at the end of the seventies was the first step in a new policy which has arrived, *viâ* Lord Curzon's memorable Frontier settlement, at the policy which is now being followed in Waziristan, that is, in the most intractable and difficult part of the frontier. This policy is a development of Lord Curzon's policy, which, in its turn was an adaptation of Sandeman's methods in Baluchistan to the different conditions of the North-West Frontier. The essence of Sandeman's system was friendship with and support of the tribal chiefs so long as they behaved well, and the provision of employment for the tribesmen in levies, police, and other forms of service. Sandeman, in fact, gave both the Baluch chief and his followers material incentives to good behaviour, and a stake in peace and order. A part of Baluchistan was taken under direct British control and British influence was established throughout the rest of the country. Lord Curzon's settlement has been well described as a mixture of the Sandeman and 'close border' systems. The tribesmen were paid to protect their own country and the Indian border, and regular troops were withdrawn from advanced positions and replaced by tribal militias. But there was no occupation of tribal country and no attempt at any administration, however loose, up to the Durand Line except in the Wana, Tochi, and Kurram Valleys where an informal administration on lines suitable to tribal conditions met with much success. Thus the North-West Frontier was not "Sandemanised" by Lord Curzon. Until the outbreak of the Great War, this policy served its purpose admirably, but during the great unrest from 1914 onwards, the Curzon system, like so many other older and more majestic institutions, broke under the mighty pressure. All through the War, it was a question, at any rate on the Waziristan side, of holding on grimly and waiting for better days. The third Afghan War in 1919 sent along the whole frontier a new wave of unrest which broke in Waziristan in the bitterest and most determined fighting which the Government of India have ever had to undertake on the North-West Frontier. When peace was res-

tored once more it was realised that the time had come to try to settle the "political" part of the Frontier problem once and for all, and that the attempt should begin in the old frontier storm-centre Waziristan.

The new policy is essentially positive and constructive in character. It is a forward policy in the very best meaning of the word, for it is not a policy of military conquest, but of civilisation. Its central features are the opening of Waziristan to civilising influences and giving to the tribes a stake in the administration of law and order. Since 1920, fine highroads have been driven through the hills of Waziristan linking the transborder posts with military posts in the rear, and tribal levies or Khassadars, finding their own rifles and ammunition, have been enrolled to police the country. Thus the spirit of self-government among the tribes of Waziristan and their sense of responsibility will be kept alive, whilst British influence and economic forces will work steadily to destroy the causes which for centuries have kept these virile people as murderers and robbers. We shall see shortly what measure of success has already attended this policy, but first we may glance quickly at the existing system of border defence in order to complete this part of our survey of frontier policy.

The Civil Defence forces of the North-West Frontier Province fall into two main categories—those which are established on the settled side of the border and those which are definitely a trans-frontier corps. Of the former, there are first the village pursuit parties, or *Chighas*, who are obliged both by law and by custom to turn out for defence or pursuit whenever a raid occurs. Government provides each village in the raiding area with a certain number of rifles for the use of the *Chighas*, but these are otherwise entirely unorganised and are not in the service of the Crown.

To co-operate with these *Chighas* when more prolonged operations are necessary, selected members of the village communities were organised into levies, drawn from the same sources as the *Chighas*, but pledged to full or part time service, and receiving arms, ammunition, and pay from the Indian Government, either directly or through the local Khans who often act as both officers and organisers of the corps.

The District Police, of course, exist on the border just as in every other part of British India, but the unsettled conditions there render it necessary for them to be better armed than other civil police forces; otherwise their work differs little from that of the District Police in other provinces.

But the back-bone of the defence organisation on the administered side of the border is the Frontier Constabulary. This force stands between the Police and the regular military forces, and its main function is the prevention of raids and the capture of raiders and outlaws. It patrols the border and ensures the safety of roads and communications generally. The British officers are members of the Imperial Indian Police seconded from their own service. Its posts are mainly on the edge of administered territory, but many of its operations take place across the border.

The Trans-Frontier Civil Corps are three—the Kurram Militia, the Tochi Scouts and the South Waziristan Scouts. The Kurram Militia is a force mainly raised locally to preserve order in the Kurram Valley, which is only a semi-administered area and contains no other forces of the Crown except those connected with a small air base at Arawali near Parachinar. The Tochi Scouts and the Waziristan Scouts are intended to maintain British political control in North and South Waziristan respectively and to prevent raiding through Waziristan into the settled districts. They recruit only a very small proportion of local tribesmen. All three corps are officered by British officers seconded from regiments of the Indian Army.

The Khassadars are tribal levies raised for the Agency tracts to act as tribal police and to protect communications through their tribal territory. They are much more highly paid than either the Levies or the Police or Constabulary, partly because they have to find all their arms, ammunition and equipment, and partly in order to attract the best men to the service and to secure the good behaviour of themselves and their fellow tribesmen through fear of loss of a considerable income. Hitherto, they have been employed only in the Khyber Agency, where they number nearly 1,400 men, in the Kohat Pass, through which runs the road from Peshawar to Kohat the next British district to the south, and in Waziristan, where the length of the new communications and roads makes it necessary to employ over 3,500 men.

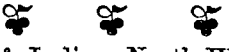
It is unfortunately not possible for us to say this year, as we did last year, that the condition of the Frontier has been one of almost absolute peace, for apart from the expulsion of Hindus from the Khyber, the Indian Government came into conflict on the Peshawar Border with certain sections of the Mohmand tribe whose country was the scene of disturbances in June, 1927. During the previous month, an ill-affected Mullah, after a vigorous course of preaching, succeeded in gathering an armed force—not at all easily, it might be mentioned, owing to the opposition of a famous old frontier firebrand, the Haji of Turangzai—and on the 4th of June it crossed the border and attacked our outpost line. Air action was taken against these hostile tribesmen on the 6th and 7th of June and they were dispersed after suffering about 30 casualties. The Royal Air Force incurred no casualties and the ground troops which had been gathered had no need to go into action owing to the refusal of the enemy to show himself after his introduction to the Air Force. Though the circumstances were perhaps too unusual to permit the drawing of sweeping conclusions, food for thought is given by the swiftness with which this minor campaign was brought to an end and also the fact that the rising was suppressed with no casualties on the side of the Crown forces and very few on the side of the enemy.

South of Peshawar there has taken place on the Kohat Border a certain amount of trouble with which however the Indian Government had no primary concern. The first instance of this occurred inside the Orakzai tribe, who inhabit the mountains to the South and West of Afridi country. This tribe, like one or two other of the frontier tribes has members of both of the two sects of Muhammadans—the Shias and Sunnies—within its ranks. There is an age-old religious feud between these two sects which has led to brisk fighting between them on many occasions since the British first came into touch with them, and on more than one occasion in the past the leading Shia Sayid has been forced to take refuge in British territory on account of the aggression of the Tirah Sunnies. During the year under review, about the middle of August, 1927, a large Afridi force assisted by Sunni Orakzais attacked the Shiah Orakzais, overran their country by the 23rd August and drove most of the clan out of tribal territory into

the Kohat district. Having done this, the Sunnies divided up the conquered lands among themselves. The losses in this tribal fighting were very heavy: the Shiahs alone owned to 125 killed, and they admittedly gave at least as good as they got. The stubbornness and valour of their resistance were remarkable. The Chief Commissioner lost no time in taking up the role of peacemaker and threw his influence on the side of the restoration of normal conditions in Tirah. After protracted negotiations, the Afridis agreed to surrender their claims to the Shiah Orakzai lands conquered by them, but the Sunni Orakzais, up to the time of writing, have maintained their unwillingness to accede to the wishes of Government. There are signs, however, that the expelled tribesmen are obtaining a growing sympathy among the Pathan community at large, and influential Afridi and other leaders are exercising their influence with the chief Orakzai priest, Mullah Mahmud Akhunzada, the organiser of the attack, to procure their return to their hearths and homes.

South, again, of the Orakzais the Kurram was the scene during the year of some liveliness, for there was considerable raiding and counter raiding on the Kurram Border in pursuance of the old feud existing between the Jajis of Afghanistan and the Turis of the Kurram valley. In April it was reported that the villagers of Pathan territory had destroyed the headworks of the Titam Channel, which is situated in British territory close to the border, and that they were resisting the attempts of the Turis to repair the damage done. A meeting took place between our Political Agent in the Kurram and the Hakim of Chamkanni, an Afghan Official, on the 1st of May, and as a result the work of repair was successfully carried out.

Several subsequent affrays took place between the parties, of which the most serious occurred on the 26th of July, 1927, in the vicinity of Kotri village. A joint Anglo-Afghan commission is shortly to assemble on the border to settle past tribal claims and counter claims and to effect, if possible, a permanent settlement of Jaji-Turi affairs.



But any historian of Indian North-Western Frontier affairs in these days is justified in regarding Waziristan as still the most important part of the subject, and our introductory account of

frontier history and affairs will show the reason why. It is, therefore, particularly gratifying to be able to report that the great civilizing and pacifying policy which the Government have been carrying on for some years in this ancient storm centre is still proceeding steadily towards its goal. During the year under review Waziristan has been in the fortunate position of having no serious instances of turbulence to record, and there has been a continuation of the progressive improvement in conditions, which augurs well for the maintenance of peace. Many tours which would have been impossible four or five years ago have been made by Political officers, including one to the summit of the Pre Ghal, the highest mountain in Waziristan. Two important roads, Wana-Sarwekai and Idak-Thal, have been put in hand and it is hoped to make substantial progress with their construction during 1928-29. A reassuring feature about these works is the readiness with which the Mahsud and Wazir tribesmen, who of late years have not taken kindly to honest toil, have participated in the labour, thereby diverting considerable funds from alien to tribal pockets.

No marked activity in the matter of Education in tribal country took place during 1927, but the Government of India have under consideration an extensive scheme, which, it is hoped, will be put into effect without delay, for a five-year programme for the opening of schools in tribal country. All accounts point to a growing demand in these areas, and particularly in the previously backward Waziristan, for the benefits of education.

There is nothing of any particular interest to mention in connection with the five settled districts of the North-West Frontier Province except, perhaps, a serious fire which broke out in the most densely populated quarter of Peshawar City on the morning of October 7th, 1927. The fire raged for 24 hours before it was brought under control. Two persons were killed and 17 injured, and property estimated at approximately one crore of rupees was destroyed. The behaviour of the population throughout was admirable.

In Baluchistan the year was one of chequered fortunes from the economic point of view, but satisfactory as to administrative conditions. Both the spring and the autumn sowings had to be restricted through lack of rain, whilst a severe plague of locusts did

immense damage in the autumn. Over a good deal of the province, therefore, cultivators were hard hit and Government advances had to be made somewhat freely in order to enable them to purchase seed grain and cattle and to improve their sources of water-supply. However, law and order were not affected by these not inconsiderable calamities, and, although the usual incidents associated with a wild and nomad population living on a sparsely inhabited border were not entirely absent, their number was not excessive.

India's relations with Persia have remained friendly throughout the year and Negotiations are still proceeding between His Majesty's Government and the Government of Persia in respect of the Aerial route to Karachi. There is little to report in connection with the Persian Gulf. Early in 1927 the abduction of three Hindu boys from Karachi and their sale in the Gulf was brought to the notice of the Indian Government. Immediate action was taken and through the efforts of the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf all three boys were recovered and sent back to Karachi. A searching enquiry into the alleged existence of a regular traffic of this sort, established the absence of anything like a regular traffic in slaves from India whether from the British India or the Indian States of Kalat (including Kech Mekran) and Las Bela, and demonstrated the success of the Indian Political authorities in the Gulf in rescuing the few individual Indians who were kidnapped into slavery on the Arab coast. Steps were taken to ensure further co-operation in cases of this kind between the Indian authorities and British officials in the Persian Gulf.

The Foreign Secretary, Sir Denys Bray, paid a flying visit during the year to the Gulf to inspect the British Agencies there.

Cordial relations continue to be maintained with the neighbouring Kingdom of Nepal. His Highness Maharaja Sir Chandra Shumshere Jung, the distinguished veteran Prime Minister of Nepal, though not in the best of health, accepted an invitation to visit India, and came privately to Calcutta in December, 1927. Unfortunately His Highness's health precluded the possibility of a public visit, but it is hoped that it will be possible for him to give

Some Released Chinghpaw Children.

India an opportunity of offering him a suitable welcome on some future occasion.

The first railway connecting India with Nepal was opened by His Majesty the Maharajadhiraja of Nepal on the 16th February 1927, in the presence of a large gathering of Nepalese notables and officials.

Conditions for the 1926 Pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina were on the whole good, and the Hedjaz Government succeeded admirably in their prime responsibility of enabling the pilgrims to reach Mecca and return from it again in safety. The pilgrimage was also comparatively free from disease, and for this too the Hedjaz authorities deserve credit. Their success in this matter was largely due to satisfactory arrangements for the supply of food.

In February 1927 His Majesty's Government announced their decision to assume responsibility for the political and military control of Aden with effect from the 1st April, 1927, and arrangements to give effect to this decision are in train.

The two previous numbers of this report have both contained references to the abolition of slavery in one or other of the areas on India's perimeter, and it is satisfactory to know that this humane work has further progressed during the year under review. On the confines of Burma in the East, in Chitral on the North, and in Baluchistan on the West, slave releasing operations in various forms have been carried on. On the Burmese Frontier the area known as the Triangle, that is, a tract of country on the north lying between the Mali Hka and the H'Mai Hka rivers, which are the two main tributaries of the Irrawaddy has again been the theatre of operations. The expedition which visited the Triangle last open season succeeded in releasing over 4,000 slaves, but the results were unfortunately marred by a treacherous attack resulting in the death of a most promising officer and of two loyal and brave members of the Burma Military Police. Measures are being continued to free the remaining slaves and to prevent those emancipated from relapsing into their former condition.

Slaves released in the Hukawong valley during the previous season, as described in the Report for 1925-26 were found to be

comfortably settled in newly established villages and appeared quite contented. The work of consolidating the results already attained is going on.

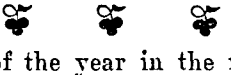
In Chitral efforts are being made by His Highness the Mehtar to put an end to the " Khanazad " system. The process, however, must necessarily be a gradual one, for there is no land to spare for the support of the emancipated serfs. The method which His Highness is pursuing at present is to order the landholders, who are the feudal chiefs of the Khanazads, to set aside a certain amount of land for these in their own villages. The Khanazads are thus enabled to become tenants in their own right, though they have to continue to work for their old masters for some time longer.

In last year's report an account was given of the promulgation of a decree by His Highness the Khan of Kalat abolishing slavery throughout his dominions. During the year, the chief event in Kalat was the implementing of this decree. Both the Political Agent in Kalat and the Chief Officer of the Kalat State made a number of extensive tours in connection with this work and the process of turning the agricultural slaves into tenants and of the liberation of their wives and families proceeded smoothly. The freeing of domestic slaves was not so easily achieved. It may however now be confidently asserted that the liberation of slaves of all kinds throughout the State has been both successful and complete, and such has been the thoroughness with which His Highness's orders have been carried out and of their effect upon the minds of the people that only one attempt of evasion of the law has since come to light.

Lastly, the system of slavery has been disavowed by two of the greatest of the Baluch tribes the Marris and the Bugtis. In both these countries slaves had existed for a very long period. They were for the most part descendants of captives taken in war. While their physical condition and treatment was by no means bad, their social life had sunk to a very low state. In October of this year the Marri and Bugti Tumandars, as the Baluch tribal chiefs are called—signed agreements accepting the principle of abolition of slavery throughout their countries. There is no doubt that the promulgation of this reform was strongly opposed by the tribesmen and much credit is due to the Tumandars for having so far overcome the prejudices of their tribesmen.

Relations between India and Afghanistan remained cordial throughout the year.

As far as the relations between the Indian Government and the Indian States are concerned the outstanding event was the appointment by the Secretary of State of a Committee " to report upon the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Indian States, with particular reference to the rights and obligations arising from Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads, and usage, sufference and other causes; and, secondly, to enquire into the financial and economic relations between British India and the States, and to make any recommendations that they may consider desirable or necessary for their more satisfactory adjustment." The Committee which is under the chairmanship of Sir Harcourt Butler, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., late Governor of Burma, has as its members—Colonel the Hon'ble Sidney Peel, D.S.O., and W. S. Holdsworth, K. C., Vinerian Professor in English law and as its Secretary, Lieut.-Colonel G. D. Ogilvie, C.I.E., of the Indian Political Department. The Committee toured in a number of Indian States during the cold weather of 1927-28 and left in April 1928 for England where more evidence on the subject matter of the enquiry will be heard.



Such is the record of the year in the first of the two aspects into which Indian external affairs are divided. The second of these aspects is made up of the affairs of Indians overseas, which continued to be satisfactory during the year under review. But before turning to them we may with advatage review the most important features of Indian emigration.

Generally speaking, this has been of two kinds. Unskilled labour has for very many years gone abroad either under now obsolete system of indenture, as to Natal, the West Indies, Fiji, and Mauritius, or under some special system of recruitment such as was adopted for emigrants for Ceylon and Malaya. The second kind of emigration, which naturally followed the first when it had attained sufficient dimensions, is the emigration of skilled workmen and members of the professional classes. The whole emigration policy of the Indian Government was altered during 1922 by the Legislature and embodied in a new Emigration Act which pro-

claimed assisted emigration of unskilled labour to be unlawful, except for such countries, and on such terms and conditions as may be specified by the Governor General in Council. Any notification made by the Governor General in Council under the Act must be laid in draft before, and approved by, both Chambers of the Indian Legislature. A Standing Emigration Committee composed of 12 members of the Legislature is appointed every year to advise the Government of India on all major emigration questions. Thus the Indian Legislature can now effectively control the organised emigration of unskilled labourers, whose conditions have markedly improved since the passing of the Act.

The number of Indians now settled abroad is approximately 2,400,000, of which no fewer than 2,300,000 are in the British Empire. It will be seen, therefore, that such problems as arise in connection with the settlement of Indians overseas are largely inter-Imperial problems, and of these the most thorny have arisen in certain parts of the Empire out of the question of the status of Indian settlers in the country of their adoption. In British Guiana, Trinidad, and Jamaica, Indian settlers have exactly the same status as any other British citizens. In Ceylon and Mauritius also, under their present constitutions, there is no discrimination against Indians on the ground of race. So far as Crown Colonies and Mandate Territories are concerned, the place where the interests of Indian emigrants and those of other settlers have come into the sharpest conflict in recent years is Kenya, but perhaps the most delicate and difficult of all the negotiations which the Government of India have lately had to undertake on behalf of their nationals overseas have been those with the Government of South Africa.

It would be idle to deny that there are some parts of the British Empire where the treatment of Indians is not consistent with the position of India in the Empire or with their own status as British subjects. Naturally enough this is peculiarly irritating to proud and sensitive people like the Indians, and its re-actions on the internal politics of India have been serious in the past. The Self-Governing Dominions, of course, are themselves responsible for the way in which Indians within their confines are treated, but the people of India can hardly be expected to appreciate this fact dispassionately, and their irritation at the grievances of their fellow-countrymen in the Empire is apt to be expressed against

Great Britain and the Indian Government. More particularly is this so when grievances arise among Indian settlers in the Crown Colonies, whose governments occupy a different position from those of the Dominions *vis-à-vis* His Majesty's Government. The importance to the whole Empire of the problems which have arisen in connection with Indian Emigration has received recognition in successive Imperial Conferences from that of 1921 onwards, and a hasty survey of the recent history of Indian emigration affairs as far as they concern other parts of the Empire will help towards an appreciation of their present state.

The denial of their right to the franchise, and the conditions under which they are allowed to immigrate, and obtain and retain domicile, and, in certain parts of Africa, their right to hold land, to enjoy trading facilities, and to escape from compulsory segregation, have been some of the principal grievances of Indian settlers in other parts of the Empire. As far as the Self-Governing Dominions are concerned, the Reciprocity Resolution passed at the Imperial War Conference of 1918 affirmed the right of each community of the British Commonwealth to control by immigration restrictions the composition of its own population, and this position has been accepted by reasonable Indian opinion, although it is not prepared to accept the policy of exclusion from those territories which have not yet attained Dominion status. Apart from the grievances referred to above, Indian opinion has of late protested against certain specific disabilities such as inadequate representation upon Legislative bodies, exclusion from the Municipal franchise based upon a common electoral roll, and the non-payment to Indians of a minimum wage proportionate to the cost of living, to all of which Indian settlers have for long been subjected in some part or other of the British Commonwealth. The delegates to the Imperial Conference of 1921 agreed, South Africa dissenting, to a resolution, which admitted in principle the claim of Indians settled in other parts of the Empire to equality of citizenship, and the important suggestion that India should negotiate direct with South Africa in regard to the existing position, was also registered. Subsequent to the Conference, the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri visited Canada, New Zealand, and Australia in order to consult with those Governments as to the method of putting the resolution into effect, and he achieved much success in direct-

ing the attention of those Governments to the disabilities to which Indians resident in those dominions were subject.

We have seen that in most of the Crown Colonies the position of Indian settlers is satisfactory. In the Fiji Islands certain grievances of the Indian settlers formed the subject of negotiations between the Governments of India and Fiji, as a result of which the position of Indians in Fiji has been appreciably improved since 1924, notably by an increase of their representation in the Fiji Legislative Council and by the appointment of a special officer possessing Indian experience and language qualifications to act as Advisor to the Governor on matters affecting Indians in the colony.

In Kenya, relations between the European and Indian settlers have, on the whole, improved since 1923 when His Majesty's Government announced their general policy towards this Colony. The question of the franchise and the prohibition of Indian settlement in the Kenya Highlands, around which the bitterest part of the fight had raged, remained untouched after the announcement, but the Ordinance restricting immigration was held in abeyance, though the right was reserved of enacting it if native African interests came to be threatened by the influx of immigrants. The policy thus enunciated, was far from satisfying Indian opinion, either in East Africa or in India, but it did something to ease the situation, which was still further improved when the Indian community relinquished their attitude of non-co-operation and selected five members for the Legislative Council. This, roughly, was the position in Kenya at the end of March, 1926.

The question of the position of Indians in Kenya was again brought prominently to the fore in 1927 by the issue of another White Paper in July which announced that His Majesty's Government had authorised the Secretary of State for the Colonies to send to Africa a special commission to investigate the possibility of securing more effective co-operation between the Governments of Eastern and Central African Dependencies, and to make recommendations on this and cognate matters. This announcement excited serious apprehensions in India in regard to the future position of Indians in the colonies named in the paper. At the

beginning of the Autumn Session of the Indian Legislature, the adjournment of the Legislative Assembly was proposed in order to discuss the situation which had arisen. A deputation drawn mainly from both Houses of the Indian Legislature also waited on His Excellency the Viceroy on the 17th September and represented the position of Indians in East Africa. One of the suggestions made by the deputation was that permission may be given for a small deputation appointed by the Government of India to go over to East Africa in order—

(*a*) to make a general survey of these territories in relation to Indian interests therein, and

(*b*) to help the resident Indian community in preparing their evidence for the Commission.

The Government of India readily accepted this suggestion and, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, sent Kunwar Maharaj Singh, C.I.E., and Mr. R. B. Ewbank, C.I.E., I.C.S., to East Africa. These officers visited Kenya, Uganda, Zanzibar, and Tanganyika and their services are understood to have been greatly appreciated by the resident Indian communities. The Commission whose appointment and visit to certain territories in Africa led to the deputation of these officers—has not yet presented its report.

Another matter which engaged the attention of the Government of India and the public in India during the year 1927 was the report of the Local Government Commission appointed by the Government of Kenya in July, 1926, to make recommendation as to the establishment or extension of Local Government in Nairobi and Mombassa and their environs and such settled areas as the Commissioners may consider to be suitable for the establishment of Local Government.

In particular this Commission was asked to advise upon the constitution, duties and powers of the local governing bodies which should be deemed suitable for the different areas concerned, the desirability or otherwise of establishing a co-ordinating auhority at the headquarters of the Government, the relations of such authority, if created, with the local governing bodies, and the basis of the contribution to be paid from the Central Government's funds towards the expenses of the local governing bodies. The report of the Commission was submitted to the Government of Kenya in February, 1927, a number of recommendations relating

to Indians were made, including proposals involving a decrease in the proportion of Indian representation on the local bodies at Nairobi and Mombassa, and the creation of European elected majorities in these places. This caused much resentment among Indians in the Colony and resulted in the abstention from the Legislative Council of four out of its five Indian members. The Government of India have submitted representations to His Majesty's Secretary of State for India on this subject. On the question of unofficial representation on the Councils of Nairobi and Mombassa, however, the Committee have reached conclusions which appear eminently satisfactory.

We said above that some of the most difficult problems which have faced the Government of India in connection with their nationals overseas during recent years have arisen in South Africa. For some years after 1919 the position of Indians in the Union gradually worsened owing to a series of Legislative enactments dealing with Asiatics in the Union. In 1919, a Commission appointed by the Union Government recommended the retention of a law prohibiting the ownership of land by Asiatics in the Transvaal and the withdrawal of the right of acquiring and owning land in the Uplands of Natal. In 1923 the Class Areas Bill was introduced permitting the compulsory segregation of Asiatics in urban areas, but this lapsed in consequence of the unexpected dissolution of Parliament. In 1924 the Governor-General assented to the Natal Boroughs Ordinance which prevented the further enrolment of Indians as burgesses. In 1925 the Mines and Works Act was proposed to be amended authorising the refusal of certificates of proficiency to Asiatics in certain occupations. The position of Indians in South Africa was thus being gradually worsened and provoked anger and resentment in India. The Government of India accordingly made representations to the Union Government and also sent a deputation under the late Sir George Paddison to South Africa. A better understanding between the two Governments resulted from the work of the Paddison deputation, and on its return to India in May, 1926, the Government of India agreed with the Union Government that a conference on Indian questions should be held in South Africa in December, 1926. They,

however, invited a deputation from the Union to visit India prior to this conference and study Indian conditions at first hand. The invitation was accepted and a South African deputation paid a highly successful visit to India during September and October, 1926. Thereafter, an Indian delegation, selected so as to command public confidence in India and carry weight in South Africa, was warmly welcomed in the Union. The Conference was held in December, 1926—January, 1927 and resulted in the attainment of a provisional agreement, which was later ratified by the two Governments. Under this agreement both parties reaffirmed the rights of the Union Government to provide for the maintenance of Western standards of life within its boundaries, and the Union Government recognised that Indians domiciled in South Africa and wishing to conform to Western standards of living should be enabled to do so. Those Indians who wished to leave South Africa, were to be assisted by the Union to emigrate to India or elsewhere, but those who desired to return to the Union within three years were to be allowed to do so on a refund of the amount of the assistance received by them. Union domicile was to be lost after three years' continuous absence. The Government of India on their part recognised their obligations to look after such emigrants on their arrival in India. Wives and minor children of Indians permanently domiciled in the Union were to be admitted under the conditions agreed upon at the Imperial Conference of 1918. These conditions were *(a)* that not more than one wife and her children should be admitted for each such Indian, and *(b)* that each individual, so admitted, should be certified by the Government of India as being the lawful wife or child of such Indian. The Union Government further agreed not to proceed with the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill. The Government of India were asked to appoint an Agent to secure continuous and effective co-operation between the two Governments. This agreement was well received in both India and South Africa, though a certain section of European opinion in the latter viewed the agreement with suspicion and some even with unconcealed hostility. On the whole, we are justified in regarding it as a valuable contribution towards the solution of a highly complicated problem.

The friendly relations which were happily established between the Government of India and the Union Government of South Africa not only continued during the year under review, but grew in warmth and sincerity. Undoubtedly, one of the main contributory factors to this satisfactory state of affairs is the readiness displayed by both Governments to furnish proofs of their determination faithfully to fulfil their obligations under it. The Government of India lost no time in devising and setting in motion the machinery required in India to provide for the reception of those Indians who should decide to return to their homes under the scheme of assisted emigration, to protect their savings and bonuses, and to settle them in suitable occupations in this country. As a further proof of their earnestness to give effect to the terms of the Agreement, the Government of India decided to send out as their first Agent in South Africa under its provisions, the Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., a member of the Government of India's Delegation to the Cape Town Conference of December 1926. His appointment was received with universal approval both in India and South Africa, and the Union Government, as a mark of their satisfaction at Mr. Sastri's appointment, extended an amnesty to all Indians illegally present in the Union.

On their part, the Union Government lost no time in introducing legislation to give effect to their undertakings under the Agreement, and when Mr. Sastri arrived in South Africa in June 1927 all that remained to be done was to take action under Part III of the Agreement, that is, the part relating to the measures required for the general uplift of the Indian community in the Union. Most of the provisions of this part of the Agreement concern the Province of Natal where the bulk of the Indian population in the Union is located, and the Union Government were not slow in moving the provincial Administration to appoint a Commission to enquire into the condition of Indian education in that Province, and to devise means necessary for its improvement. Co-operation with this Commission on the part of the Government of India was provided by the Deputation from India of two educational experts—Mr. K. P. Kichlu, I.E.S., Deputy Director of Education in the United Provinces and Miss C. Gordon of the Madras Educational Service, to advise and assist the Commission in its investigations and deliberations. The help given by these experts has been much appreciated by the Commission whose report has been published

and whose views regarding the inadequacy of existing facilities for Indian education and the necessity for their expansion mark an important advance in the desired direction.

A notable feature of the present situation is the marked spirit of friendliness and good-will which now animates the Union Government in dealing with all problems affecting the domiciled Indian community. An example of this occurred in the year 1927 when a measure was introduced in the Union Parliament known as the Liquor Bill, of which one clause purported to prohibit the employment of Indians on any licensed premises—hotels, clubs, breweries, etc. The appearance of this clause, which threatened the livelihood of no less than 3,000 Indians engaged in such occupations, caused consternation and it was no small relief to both these persons and their fellow countrymen in South Africa when it was announced by the Minister in charge of the Bill that it had been decided to drop the clause in question.

Much of the credit for the salutary measures referred to and the spirit of friendliness which they denote is due to the Right Hon'ble Mr. Sastri, the Agent of the Government of India in South Africa, whose consummate tact and transparent honesty of purpose have earned for him the confidence of the European community, official and non-official alike, and an increasing measure of their sympathy and assistance in furtherance of the Indian cause. He has not only brought about an improvement in the feelings existing between Europeans and Indians in the Union, but has succeeded in rallying responsible Indian opinion in favour of working the Agreement, a development the importance of which cannot be exaggerated.

The affairs of British Guiana during the year hold some interest for us. In October 1926, the Secretary of State for the Colonies appointed a Commission composed of Messrs. Roy, Wilson and Snell, Members of Parliament, to visit British Guiana and "to consider and report on the economic condition of the Colony," the causes which have hitherto retarded its development and the measures which might be taken to promote development.

The Commission, among other matters, examined the effect of the present constitution of the Colony on its financial and economic condition, and came to the conclusion that the existing divorce

of responsibility from power resulted, among other things, in bad trade and unsound finance. They, therefore, recommended that a strong local Commission should be appointed by the Governor to suggest ways and means for the revision of the constitution of the Colony of a kind which would ensure that the authorities finally responsible for the government of the Colony should have power, in the last resort, to carry into effect measures which they considered essential for its well-being.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies accepted this recommendation and a local Commission was accordingly appointed in July 1927 " to advise upon the steps which should be taken to confer power upon the Governor to carry into effect measures which he and the Secretary of State consider essential for the well-being of the Colony, whether by an alteration in the relative powers and in the composition of the Court of Policy and the Combined Court, or by the substitution of a new Legislative Council in which the Crown would possess powers of effective control over financial as well as other matters; and generally upon any other improvements, such as those suggested by the British Guiana Commission, which might be effected in the constitution." This Commission presented their report in September 1927 in which they recommend certain substantial changes in the existing constitution of the Colony. In March 1928 a Bill was introduced in the House of Commons empowering His Majesty's Government to alter the constitution of British Guiana by Order in Council. The Government of India consulted the Standing Emigration Committee of the Indian Legislature in this connection and are now watching events.

We said in last year's report that the Government of Ceylon had prepared draft legislation to give effect to the agreement which had been reached between themselves and the Government of India on the subject of a standard minimum wage for Indian estate labourers. This legislation was passed by the Ceylon Legislative Council towards the end of 1927 as the Indian Labour Ordinance No. 27 of 1927. The various provisions of the Ordinance are likely to be in full operation shortly and are expected greatly to improve the condition of the labourers.

In regard to Malaya, the Colony has for the purpose of the standard wage enquiry been divided into two classes or areas, *viz.*, " fairly healthy and easily accessible " and " somewhat unhealthy and not easily accessible " areas and the following standard rates of wages have recently been fixed and brought into force in the province of Wellesley (Straits Settlements) and the inland districts of Pahang (Federated Malay States) which were selected as the Key areas to represent each of the two classes of areas referred to above:—

	Male Labourer.	Female Labourer.
	(Malayan dollar cents.)	
Province of Wellesley	50 a day	40 a day.
Pahang Districts	58 a day	46 a day.

The rates in question have been accepted by the Government of India as fair and reasonable and their extension to the corresponding areas in the rest of Malaya is now under consideration.

Indian Naval and Military affairs during the year under review proved to be of uncommon interest because of the publication of the Indian Sandhurst Committee's Report and the reaction to it of the Indian Legislative Assembly and also because of the untoward fate in the Assembly of the act by which it was sought to give the Indian Government authority to raise, maintain and discipline an Indian Naval Force.

In previous numbers of this Report Indian aspirations in the matter of the military policy of the Government of India have been discussed in some detail and they are familiar to all who take more than a passing interest in Indian affairs. These aspirations have crystallized into two definite demands. The first is for the increased Indianisation of the higher commissioned ranks of the regular army, and the second is for the extension of the facilities which now exist for training Indians to the use of arms in the Territorial Force. Dealing with the latter demand first, we may show that there are now nineteen provincial battalions of the Territorial Force in existence, their enrolled strength being over 12,000. Officers of the regular army are provided for the command of battalions and companies, but the provision of adequately trained officers for other commands is proving something of a problem. In addition to the provincial battalions of the Indian Territorial

Force there are six University Training Corps with headquarters at Bombay, Calcutta, Allahabad, Lahore, Madras and Rangoon, whilst Patna and Delhi have a company each. The Territorial Force is meant to be a second line force from which the regular army may be reinforced when necessary, and it is liable for more than purely local service. The Indian Territorial Force thus differs in scope from the Auxiliary Force, which is confined to European British subjects whose liability is only for local service. In order to put into effect the decisions of the Government of India on the recommendations of the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces Committee, the Auxiliary and Territorial Force Act had first of all to be amended. This was done in the Delhi session, and the amending Act and the rules under it subsequently came into force in September 1st 1928.

Progress has also taken place in connection with the first demand, namely that relating to the Indianisation of the higher commissioned ranks of the regular army. We may explain that there are two main categories of officers in the Indian Army, holding respectively the King's Commission and the Viceroy's Commission. The majority of the latter are men promoted from the ranks. They have a limited status and power of command, both of which are regulated by the Indian Army Act. It is only since the war that King's Commissions have been granted to Indians. Every unit of the Indian Army includes officers holding the Viceroy's Commission, while Indian Officers holding the King's Commission are now admitted to the Indian Army under a regular system, a feature of which is that in the ordinary course they are posted to certain selected units of Cavalry and Infantry. These units are eight in number and the scheme under which Indian King's Commissioned Officers are posted to them is known as the Eight Unit Scheme. King's Commissions are now to be obtained by Indian gentlemen qualifying themselves as cadets in the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, or by honorary grants to Indian officers whose age or lack of education preclude them from holding the full commission in the ordinary way. Commissions in this second category are granted *honoris causa* and are not regarded as augmenting the authorised establishment of commissioned officers. It, therefore, follows that if an Indian is to enjoy the fullest opportunity of

adopting a military career on terms of absolute equality with the British officer, he must pass through Sandhurst. Ten vacancies have been reserved annually at Sandhurst for Indian cadets, and in order to secure a suitable supply of recruits for these vacancies, there has been established in India the Prince of Wales' Royal Indian Military College at Dehra Dun. In this institution the normal course of education has been planned to occupy six years, and the arrangements so far made will enable a maximum of 120 boys to be in residence together. The college has already proved to be a great success and there is every hope that it will amply achieve the intention for which it was created. Indian political opinion, however, was not satisfied with the scope of the college and demands were made for the establishment in India of some institution which would have the same functions as the Royal Military College at Sandhurst. A debate on this subject took place in the Legislative Assembly during the Delhi Session of 1925 after which, in response to the feeling on the subject then expressed, the Government of India offered to appoint a committee to investigate the whole question of the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst. This committee was appointed later in the year with Lieutenant General Sir Andrew Skeen as President. The terms of reference to the Committee were as follows:—

"To enquire and report:—

(*a*) By what means it may be possible to improve upon the present supply of Indian candidates for the King's Commission both in regard to number and quality.

(*b*) Whether it is desirable and practicable to establish a Military College in India to train Indians for the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army.

(*c*) If the answer to (*b*) is in the affirmative, how soon should the scheme be initiated and what steps should be taken to carry it out.

(*d*) Whether if a Military College is established in India, it should supersede or be supplemented by Sandhurst and Woolwich so far as the training of Indians for the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army is concerned."

The report of the Skeen Committee was published on April 1st, 1927, and because of its importance and the far-reaching and funda-

mental changes which it recommends, it is proposed to deal with it here in some detail. The central features of the report are the abandonment of the Eight Unit Scheme and its replacement by a scheme providing that half the total cadre of King's Commissioned Officers in the Indian Army should be composed of Indians by the year 1952, the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst in 1933, and the opening of all branches of the Army to Indians. The Committee recognise that from the national as well as from the wider Asiatic and Imperial point of view it is imperative to select Indian officers for the Indian Army from the best material available. Hitherto the pace of Indianisation of the Army has been slow and the reasons for this were examined by the Committee who suggested various remedies. The Eight Unit Scheme was held to conflict with the principle of co-operation between British and Indian officers which obtained in every other sphere of administration and also the test imposed by the present arrangements was considered to be unfair and too severe upon the first generation of Indian officers who had already other disadvantages to overcome. Both for psychological and practical reasons the further continuance of the Eight Unit Scheme was held by the Committee to be undesirable. They believed, further, that the scope of employment for Indians in the higher ranks of the Army should be greatly extended, and that facilities should be provided in India to train them for King's Commissions. A substantial and progressive scheme of Indianisation should be adopted, and, subject to the maintenance of the present standard of efficiency, should be faithfully carried out. The scheme should provide for the following measures:—

(*a*) The number of vacancies at Sandhurst, at present ten, allotted to Indians should be doubled in 1928 and thereafter increased progressively by four a year until a military college on the lines of Sandhurst should be established in India in 1933. In order to make up any possible academic deficiencies of the students at the Indian Sandhurst, the Committee proposed that the course there should be of three years duration, the first year being devoted to ordinary academic studies and the last two mainly to military instruction under instructors of whom the majority should be British. The number of cadets at the Indian Sandhurst should in the first instance be not more than 100. A batch of 33 cadets should join the college in 1933 and in each of the two succeeding years. Proposals are made for a progressive increase in the num-

ber of cadets from the year 1936 onwards. Officers with the Viceroy's Commission who satisfy certain conditions should be admitted to the college in limited numbers for two years' training. The Committee further recommended that in order to maintain the Imperial connection in Military matters twenty vacancies should be continued to be reserved for Indians at Sandhurst even after the establishment of the Indian Military College. Successful students of the latter should be granted King's Commissions in His Majesty's land forces. As regards other wings of the Army, the Committee urged that Indians be made eligible for employment as King's Commissioned Officers in the Artillery, Engineer, Signal, Tank and Air Arms, provided that they qualify by the same tests as British boys. From 1928, eight vacancies should be allotted to Indians at Woolwich and two at Cranwell, and these numbers should be increased progressively in due proportion. The Committee estimated that under their proposed scheme of Indianisation, half the total number of officers in the Indian Army would be Indians by 1952. They also assumed that a quota of British troops would be employed in India and they acknowledge that the progress of their scheme must be contingent upon success being secured at every stage and upon military efficiency being maintained throughout. The Committee recognised that Indianisation might result in a falling off in British recruitment, but in view of the importance for the success of this very policy of Indianisation of a continued supply of British officers of the same high quality as those who had served in the past, they regard it as especially important to maintain the required proportion of British recruitment.

A large number of subsidiary recommendations are made in the report and great stress is laid on the paramount national importance of reforming the system of education in India so as to enable it to develop the essential characteristics of an Army Officer in Indian boys.

An examination of the Committee's proposals was at once begun by the Government of India and His Majesty's Government and in the Simla Session of the Legislative Assembly a day was devoted to its discussion on a resolution proposed by Dr. B. S. Moonje in the following words:—.

" This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that as a beginning in the direction of preparing India for self-defence immediate steps be taken to bring about the Indianisation

of half the cadre of officers in the Indian Army, unanimously recommended by the Skeen Committee, within a period of fifteen years, and to carry out the unanimous recommendations of the Committee with regard to the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst and the recruitment of Indian officers in those arms of the defensive forces, paid for out of Indian revenues, from which they are at present excluded."

To this resolution the following amendment was moved by Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, one of the leaders of the Congress Party in the Legislative Assembly:—

"That for the original Resolution the following be substituted:—

'Subject to the revision of the whole scheme of the defence of the country in any future constitution for India acceptable to the people of India, and while feeling that the recommendations of the Indian Sandhurst Committee, specially relating to the continuance of British recruitment, do not satisfy Indian public opinion, this Assembly is of opinion that the acceptance of the unanimous recommendations of that Committee will mark a definite beginning in the Indianisation of the Army in India, and it therefore recommends to the Governor General in Council that he may be pleased to accept those recommendations and give immediate effect to them!'

The mover of the Resolution drew a picture of the dangers to which India was subjected from outside aggression and emphasised the necessity that Indians themselves should take up the defence of their country since in another great war India might be cut off from England.

In moving his amendment Mr. Iyengar explained that he wanted to impress on the Government, without any prejudice to India's claims for the right of self-defence and self-government, the need for giving immediate effect to this unanimous report of a committee on which Europeans and Indians had admirably collaborated. Colonel Crawford, D.S.O., M.C., who represented non-official European opinion in the House, pointed out that the Skeen Report had emphasised the need for maintaining the existing standard of efficiency and yet had set up a time table for Indianisation, two things which the speaker feared, were not compatible. He also laid stress on the need for reforming the Indian educational

system, and he put forward a strong and well-reasoned argument in favour of continuing the Eight Unit Scheme. Colonel Crawford would like to see an Indian Dominion Army carefully built up which would ultimately take the place of the existing Indian Army after having proved its efficiency.

Mr. K. C. Roy pointed out that an Indian Dominion Army postulated an autonomous India and the withdrawal of the King's Army from within her borders and he wanted to know if Colonel Crawford was prepared for this. He insisted that the Eight Unit Scheme involved racial discrimination in a place where it should not exist.

At the end of the day His Excellency Sir William Birdwood, Commander-in-Chief, spoke on the resolution. He explained that he was unable to make any adequate reply because the provisional views of the Government of India on the Report were now before His Majesty's Government which had not yet pronounced any opinion on them. After emphasising the magnitude of the whole question and the far-reaching and possibly irrevocable results of the adoption of a faulty or erroneous policy His Excellency referred to certain fundamental points in the report. The Committee, he reminded his hearers, had more than once emphasised that all their recommendations were subject to the condition that efficiency should be maintained, and they had laid stress on the importance of retaining a necessary proportion of British officers in the Indian Army. The Indian Army problem of to-day, he said, fell into two parts. One part was concerned with Indianisation and the training of Indians in the qualities of leadership and command, and the other with the maintenance of efficiency and British recruitment. In regard to the first part of the problem, His Excellency urged upon his hearers the vital importance of the Committee's remarks about reforms in the Indian educational system, for this was an initial stage which could not be jumped. He then referred to the Committee's emphasis on the vital necessity for maintaining a due proportion of British recruits of high quality and showed how it was incumbent upon both the Government of India and His Majesty's Government to regard the whole matter from the widest point of view. The Government of India, depending on the efficiency of their fighting forces, were responsible for the defence of India and had no margin to play with. The Indian Army, again, formed one link in the chain of Imperial defence and no changes

in its organisation, which might effect its efficiency, could be undertaken without the fullest consideration of His Majesty's Government, who were ultimately responsible for the security of the whole Empire. For, it must be remembered that failure to defend India, besides spelling disaster for her, must react on the Empire as a whole. He assured his hearers that they and the Government of India and His Majesty's Government were all at one as regards the twin object of giving Indians an increasing share in the defence of India, whilst making sure that the methods chosen did not directly or indirectly weaken that instrument of self-defence on which India must rely.

When the debate was resumed nearly three weeks later, a number of speakers on all sides of the House took part in it. The two most important speeches on this second day were made by two members of the Indian Sandhurst Committee, Sahibzada Sir Abdul Quaiyum and Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah. The Sahibzada said that the Government of India and His Majesty's Government must take time to consider the recommendations of the Committee and must give effect to them with caution, because the Indian Nationalism which had been created by British Rule in India had not yet reached its full developments. Mr. Jinnah criticised Colonel Crawford's views as not representing the better minds of Europeans and ridiculed his scheme. He considered that there was ample material in the country from which to recruit Army Officers if only the educational system was properly developed.

In the end Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar's amendment was declared carried without a division.

The time between the middle of September and February was occupied by further discussion with His Majesty's Government and their and the Government of India's final conclusions were made known by His Excellency Sir William Birdwood in the course of his budget speech in the Legislative Assembly on Thursday, March the 8th. Sir William announced that both the Home and the Indian Governments had been able to reach unanimous conclusions regarding the Indianisation of the Indian Army as a whole. He emphasised three primary considerations. First, the recognition of the fact that a further measure of Indianisation was necessary; second, that, as the Indian Sandhurst Committee had insisted,

there must be no diminution in the all-round efficiency of the Army in India; third, as the Committee again had observed, there must be no break-down in the supply of British recruits to the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army. The Home and Indian Governments had accepted the initial recommendations of the Committee that the number of direct vacancies at Sandhurst open to Indians should be increased from 10 to 20 a year and that from 5 to 10 vacancies in addition should be reserved for Viceroy's Commissioned Officers. As regards a further expansion of the number of vacancies for Indians Sir William announced that the Government could not accept the Committee's proposals which amounted to a mere time table from the year 1929 to 1952, irrespective of whether or not efficient and suitable candidates were forthcoming. The results of the large initial increase in the number of vacancies offered would be observed before further steps in this direction were taken. He next announced that His Majesty's Government had agreed to open vacancies at Woolwich and at Cranwell for Indian cadets with a view to the formation of Indian artillery, engineers and their units. The number of vacancies to be made available each year would naturally depend on the numbers required to officer these units and with a maximum of six cadets each for Woolwich and Cranwell, the total number of vacancies at these two places and Sandhurst for Indian cadets would be 37. The number of Indian cadets in training for the Air Force would have to depend on the success or otherwise of the Indian Government in producing enough of them to make possible the formation of an Indian Air Force. The Indian and Home Governments, however, disagreed with the Indian Sandhurst Committee on the subject of the Eight Unit Scheme which would be maintained. One fundamental reason for this was that if Indian officers were scattered over the whole Indian Army, it would be impossible to obtain any satisfactory criterion regarding their ability to command units.

The Commander-in-Chief also announced that it had been found impossible to agree to the Committee's recommendations for the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst. He pointed out that there were no means of predicting the number of candidates which would come forward in any particular year, and, therefore, that a definite date for the establishment of an Indian Military College could not be fixed. He also referred to the admitted advantages which a

course at Sandhurst gave to Indian boys in their subsequent careers and hoped that when the time came for an Indian Military College on the lines of Sandhurst to be opened in India, there would be a sufficient number of Indian *ex*-Sandhurst cadets, and, in due course, *ex*-staff college officers, to take a hand in shaping the Indian Military College and staffing it with instructors and professors. However, since the education of cadets at the proposed Indian Military College would have been cheaper than their education at Sandhurst, it had been decided to give grants to cadets proceeding to England calculated on the difference between the estimated cost of their military education in India and the cost in England.

In a weighty passage at the end of his speech Sir William Birdwood stated the essentials of the policy of Indianisation. "Members," he said, "will no doubt ask the question 'So far, so good; but what is to be the rate of further advance?' To this question the answer must be: 'It depends upon Indians themselves'. Until we have full experience of the results of the increase now proposed, we do not limit our discretion by detailing a fixed programme of automatic increase of these numbers. Such increase must depend, I repeat, upon results. The question of expansion of the numbers at present proposed, as of the creation of an Indian Sandhurst, will of necessity come under review when the numbers coming forward are greater than the new vacancies offered can absorb. The one essential condition will always be maintenance of the requisite standard. As I have already said, the object which we all seek to achieve is to fit Indians to undertake the defence of India. As constitutional advance progresses the question will continually be asked how far the military side of Indian Swaraj has kept pace? Government contemplates that, as India progresses towards full self-government within the Empire, there may be in process of development an Army of the same character as the Dominion armies, organized on a national basis and officered by Indians holding their own distinctive national form of commission. That is our policy of Indianisation. This process of development will naturally be contingent on the success achieved in the various stages of the experiment. The way is now open for the first time for Indians to enter new branches of the Army, and to enter in greatly increased numbers. In no quarter is it desired to impose arbitrary limits to such expansion of India's military effort as events may prove to be within the reach of her

capacity. The rate of progress in these matters, depending as it does so vitally upon the human element, cannot be the subject of an automatic time-table; but Government has now, I venture to think for the first time, laid down the lines of a policy which affords the best means of reconciling the legitimate desires of those who speak for India with the necessity of maintaining at every stage the requisite strength of our defence forces."

A comparison of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's speech with the abstract given above of the recomendations of the Indian Sandhurst Committee will show that of the latter the following have been accepted:—The increase in the number of vacancies for Indian cadets at Sandhurst, the grant of King's Commission to Viceroy's Commissioned Officers who satisfy certain conditions, the admission of Indians to Woolwich and Cranwell with a view to their entry into artillery, engineering, and other units, and, lastly, the introduction of grants-in-aid to cadets to compensate them for the extra cost involved in proceeding to England for their military education. Two recommendations of the Committee were not accepted, namely; the discontinuance of the Eight Unit Scheme, and the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst.

His Excellency's speech was delivered on Thursday and it soon became obvious that it was not acceptable to some members of the Assembly, for on the following Saturday Mr. Jinnah moved the adjournment of the House as a protest against the policy of the Government towards the Indianisation of the Army as this was stated in the Commander-in-Chief's speech. The motion was adopted by 70 to 41 votes.

It will be noticed that we have confined our attention to the reception of the Indian Sandhurst Committee's report by the Legislative Assembly. In doing so, however, we are not guilty of any discourtesy to the Council of State which also discussed the report during the Simla Session of 1927, when a resolution was moved by the Hon'ble Sir Phiroze Sethna recommending the Governor General in Council to urge on the Secretary of State for India the necessity for taking prompt action on the recommendations made in the Indian Sandhurst Committee's report. It happens, however, that the Assembly had the first opportunity of debating the subject, when Dr. Moonje's resolution came up on August the 25th, and, naturally, the attitude and opinions of Indian nationalist members

are much the same in both Houses. Therefore, a description of the Council of State debate would be largely a repetition of that in the Assembly. The resolution in the Council of State was lost by 17 votes to 23.

When we talk of Indianisation of the Army, we naturally enough think first of all of the combatant branches of the service, but we must not forget that the Army includes various technical and administrative branches, and in many of these an appreciable measure of Indianisation has already been effected. In previous reports we have spoken of the admission of Indian officers to the Cantonment Department, whose members are the executive authorities in the military stations. Something has been said of the scope now afforded to King's Commissioned Officers in this Department, but it is worth while mentioning that executive posts in the Cantonments, subordinate to those held by King's Commissioned Officers, are open to Viceroy's Commissioned Officers also. During the year eight Indian officers holding the Viceroy's Commission, have been admitted into the Cantonment Department to fill the appointments of what are known as second class executive officers. These eight appointments are in addition to the one Indian and six Viceroy's Commissioned Officers already in the department.

Another step in the direction of Indianisation has been taken by the Secretary of State for India, who has approved of King's Commissions in the Indian Army Veterinary Corps being opened to Indian gentlemen who have been educated at the Prince of Wales' Royal Indian Military College, Dehra Dun, or at an English Public School, and have subsequently obtained the M.R.C.V.S. diploma.

Another very interesting and fruitful development has taken place in connection with the Indian Ordnance Factories. In last year's report it was mentioned that new schemes were under consideration to regularise and consolidate fully the system of apprenticeship and training of boy artisans including schools and other educational arrangements for these boys, which had been in force in the factories for some time. These schemes have now been brought into operation and the Ordnance Factories can look forward with some confidence to obtaining a better class of workmen and junior staff. Moreover, as employment in the factories is not

obligatory after the boys have completed their training, these schemes open up to Indian youths the prospect of obtaining very useful training in general engineering and certain specialised trades which hitherto they have lacked.

It is highly satisfactory to be able to report that although troops were called out or required to stand to in aid of the Civil Power on many occasions, principally arising out of inter-communal disturbances, during the year, the moral effect of their presence was sufficient to restore the situation on all except one occasion which arose at Kharagpur during a strike on the Bengal Nagpur Railway. The troops had to use their bayonets and inflict a few casualties. On no occasion were firearms employed. Between the 19th February and the 15th March Army Signallers were used to maintain Railway Signal Communications at the request of the Railway Authorities during a strike on the Bengal Nagpur Railway.

For the Royal Air Force, the most important event of the year has been the sanctioning of an addition of two Bombing Squadrons. This entails certain internal reorganisations within the command. The principal changes will be the formation of a Group Headquarters at Peshawar, and two station establishments (each to consist of a headquarters and two squadrons) at Kohat and Risalpur respectively. Sanction was also given for the addition of two heavy transport bombing machines; with these it is hoped to gain experience in troop carrying, carriage of supplies, and other similar duties in India. It is hoped that this reorganisation will be completed by the 1st February 1929.

We noticed earlier in this chapter that the Royal Air Force had co-operated with ground troops in operations against the Mohmand tribe and a few more details may be of interest to the reader. These minor operations were carried out successfully by the Royal Air Force in conjunction with a flying column of regular troops, Frontier Constabulary, and Mohmand Khassadars, between the 4th and 9th of June, 1927, against hostile tribesmen who attacked our Administrative Border near Shabkadar, 15 miles north of Peshawar.

On June 5th air reconnaissance was carried out. As the tribesmen were reluctant to come out into the open, the original plan of attack had to be modified. After due warning by the civil author-

ities, orders were given for bombing operations to be carried out. These took place on the evening of June 6th and on the 7th. The *lashkar* was dispersed, with casualties amounting to some 15 killed and 16 wounded, and the country has been quiet ever since. The Royal Air Force had no casualties.

Another operation but of a peaceful kind was carried out over tribal country on the North West Frontier during the year. This was a photographic reconnaissance over Shiah Orakzai country in September 1927, during a period of unrest in the Tirah. The results were valuable, as the Royal Air Force were able to modernize and correct their maps of these parts.

By the attachment of a Royal Air Force Squadron to the Southern Command, from October 1927 to January 1928 this command was able, after a long interval, to avail itself of air co-operation with its other troops.

The King of Afghanistan was given an aerial escort on arrival at Chaman. Further escorts were provided at Quetta and Karachi, and the Royal party was escorted out to sea at Karachi and Bombay by the Far East Flight. While at Karachi the King of Afghanistan visited the Royal Air Force Depot.

The proposal to reconstruct the Royal Indian Marine on a combatant basis will be found in the report for 1925-26, and the progress made during 1926-27 was described in the last report. During the period under review the measures required to complete the new development were brought to a conclusion. Three sloops of the R. I. M., "Clive", "Cornwallis" and "Lawrence", were reconditioned as sloops of war; the R. I. M. troopship "Dalhousie" was converted into a depot ship for the new force; and another old troopship "Dufferin" was made over to the Commerce Department as a training ship for the mercantile marine. Orders were given for the construction in England of a fourth sloop of war to complete the initial strength of the force. The service ceased to provide ships for the performance of station duties in ports, and to be responsible for the lighting and buoying services in the Persian Gulf and in Indian waters generally. The requirements of the reorganised service in the matter of equipment and stores were practically settled, as also were all details of organisation, administration and finance. It was decided, in consulation with

His Majesty's Government, that the recruitment and training of the officer ranks of the new force should proceed on lines similar to those in force for the Royal Navy, Indian appointments being filled by competition at an open examination held in India and the training in all cases taking place in the United Kingdom. Finally the Government of India Act was amended by the Government of India (Indian Navy) Act, 1927, to give express recognition to the inherent powers of the Government of India to raise and maintain a naval force, to provide for its discipline on the lines of the discipline of the Royal Navy, and to regulate its general constitutional position. It only remained for the Indian Legislature to enact a Discipline Act based, in the words of new section 66 of the Government of India Act, on the Naval Discipline Act " with such modifications and adaptations (if any) as may be made by the Indian Legislature to adapt the Act to the circumstances of India." A Bill for this purpose was placed before the Legislative Assembly in February 1928, but the motion to refer it to a Select Committee was defeated by one vote.

The proceedings of the Assembly show that the debate centred, not in the immediate objects of the Bill, but in the general principle of the acceptance of a Naval force which in certain special circumstances, might be placed by executive action at the disposal of His Majesty's Government. It was argued that the Indian Legislature had not been consulted in the first instance regarding the constitution of an Indian Navy; that it would have no control over the expenditure on the new force; that it would have no voice in a decision to place the force in an emergency at the disposal of His Majesty's Government; and that the provision for the appointment of Indians as officers in the proportion of 1 to 2 was inadequate. The Government spokesman pointed out that there had been no expressed desire during the past two years to discuss the reorganisation, though the House had been kept fully informed from time to time of the progress that was being made; that expenditure on the Royal Indian Marine had always been non-votable and that therefore there was no change in this respect; that under the existing law it was possible for His Majesty's Government to take over the ships of the Royal Indian Marine without even obtaining the consent of the Government of India and that the amendment to the Government of India Act represented an improvement in this respect; that the proportions of Indian recruitment were by

no means ungenerous in a small and highly technical service in which duties had not been undertaken by any Indian in the past; and that in any case the whole of the present legislation was transitional—the first step towards the ultimate goal of an Indian Dominion Navy entirely officered by Indians and subject to the control of the Indian Legislature. The rejection of the Bill made it impossible to alter the designation of the Royal Indian Marine and undoubtedly came as a disappointment to the service. The labours of the past two years will not, however, be wasted. The Indian Marine Act of 1887 is a form of Discipline Act under which the Royal Indian Marine can serve as a combatant force. Enrolment can and will be carried out under this Act. The functions of the Royal Indian Marine as reorganised, will not differ materially from those that were to be assigned to the Royal Indian Navy. The decision of the Legislative Assembly merely operated to prevent the conferment upon the Royal Indian Marine of a status equal to that of the Royal Navy and the Dominion Navies, and the exercise of command by Royal Indian Marine officers over vessels and personnel of the Royal Navy when operating with them.

CHAPTER IX.

The Provinces.

(1) Law and Order.

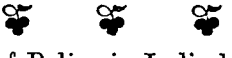
With this chapter we come to the narration of a series of activities which take place in the Provinces and here, as in Chapter VII, we have thought it desirable to go outside the limits of a mere chronicle of the year's events to present, as a background to current events, the division of powers and functions between the Government of India and the Provinces, and to explain the structure of the Provincial Government and the meaning of the terms 'reserved' and 'transferred' as applied to its departments. Without such a general background of exposition, this and the following chapter would be hardly more than a tale of possibly interesting, but certainly not cohering, facts and activities.

The present constitution of this country is based on the Government of India Act, 1919, a Statute of the British Parliament. The grand object of the Statute is to implement the historic declaration of August the 20th, 1917, which announced the intention of His Majesty's Government to guide India in a measured progress towards responsible self-government. The Act of 1919 was meant to take India along the first stage of this progress, and its provisions were formulated after enquiry into all the conditions of the problem, both in India and in England. Here we are concerned only with the division of functions under the Act of 1919—that is, the division between the Central and Provincial Governments, and, more particularly, with the arrangements according to which the provincial sphere is divided between the Governor acting with his Executive Council and the Governor acting with his Ministers.

By rules known as the Devolution Rules, made under the 1919 Act, the different subjects of administration were divided up between the Central and Provincial Governments. The division of work between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments follow certain broad and easily comprehensible lines. To the former belong Military and Foreign affairs, Tariffs and Customs, Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, Income-tax, Currency and the

Public Debt, Commerce and Shipping and legislation relating to Civil and Criminal Law—in short, those subjects which must by their nature be administered by the Central Government. Practically all other important subjects of administration are within the sphere of the provinces.

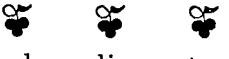
The subjects of administration listed as Provincial subjects in the first Schedule to the Devolution Rules underwent a further division into reserved and transferred. It is in this division that we find the principle now familiar to everybody under the name of dyarchy, which is a compound of two Greek words meaning "Government by two authorities". Under the reformed constitution, therefore, the provincial executives now consist of two parts. The first part is the Governor working with Executive Councillors nominated by the Crown. The second is the Governor working with Ministers selected from Members of the Provincial Legislature. The first half of the Provincial Government administers the reserved subjects and is responsible for them to the Government of India, and, ultimately, to Parliament through the Secretary of State. The second half of the Government deals with the transferred subjects and is responsible first to the Provincial Legislative Council and ultimately to the Electorate. Among the most important of the subjects thus transferred to popular control are Local Self-Government, Medical Administration and Public Health, Education, all branches of Public Works except Irrigation, Agriculture, Fisheries, Forests in one or two provinces, Co-operative Societies, Excise, Registration, Industries, and various other items. Thus a very large proportion of those subjects of administration on the development of which India's progress depends have now been made over directly to Indian control subject to the provisions of rule 52 (3) of the Act which empowers the Governor of a Province to dissent from the opinion of his Ministers if he sees sufficient cause to do so. Of the reserved subjects the most important are Police and Law and Order, Land Revenue, Irrigation, and Forests in the majority of the provinces. The two latter topics have already been discussed in an earlier chapter and here we will confine ourselves to the work of the Police throughout India.



The existing system of Police in India has grown out of the system of constabulary police organised in Sind as far back as the

'forties' of last century by Sir Charles Napier who conquered the province in 1843. He drew his inspiration from the Irish Constabulary of those days and his Sind Police may fairly be claimed as the parent of the modern Indian Police.

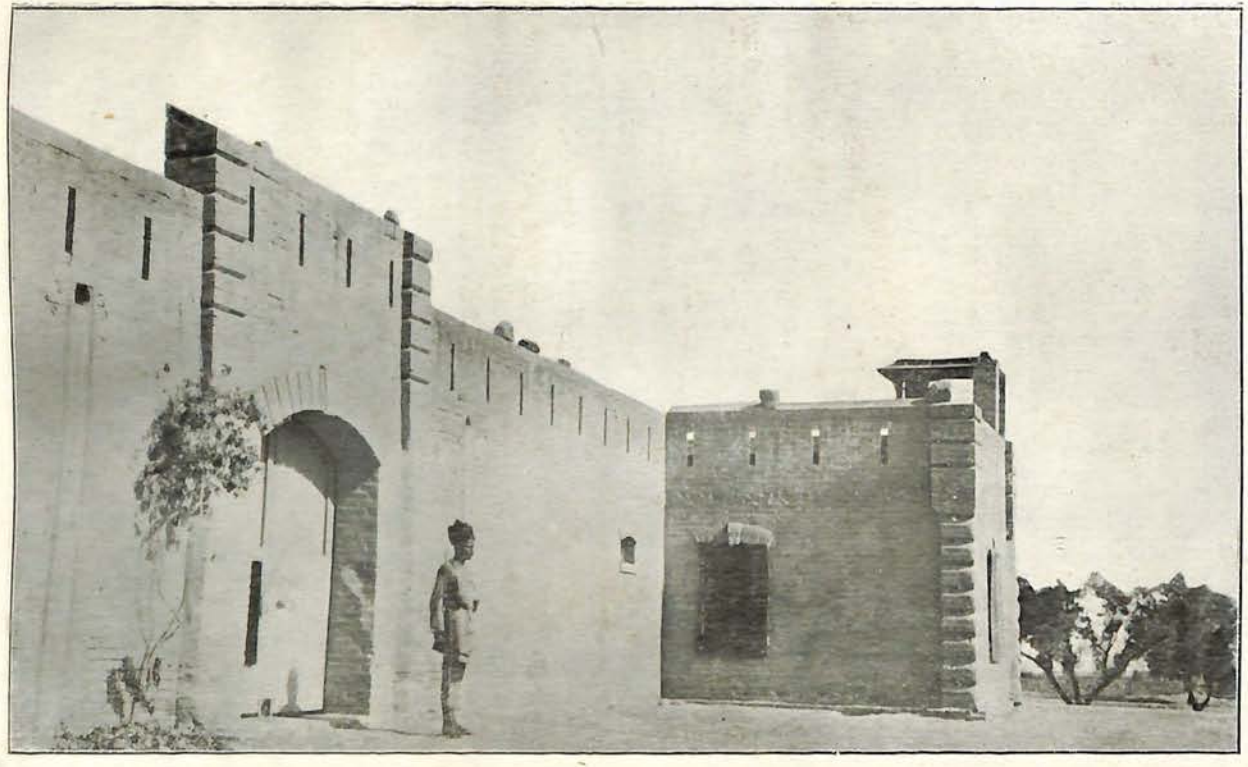
All over India the Police are organised, disciplined and controlled according to the provisions of the Police Act of 1861, and by Police Rules made thereunder by Provincial Governments to suit the different conditions in the different provinces. In some provinces there are local Police Acts. The basis of organisation is provincial, and inside the province the administrative unit is the district. At the head of the provincial force is an Inspector-General with a varying number of Deputy Inspectors General under him according to the size of the province, whilst the police force of a district is under a District Superintendent of Police who, in most provinces, is called simply Superintendent of Police. Every district is divided up into a number of police station jurisdictions each in charge of a " Station-house Officer ", who is usually of the rank of Sub-Inspector. The police station, or *Thana*, is the basic working unit of the Indian police system. Every crime which happens must be reported in the first instance to the Station-house Officer within whose jurisdiction it has occurred and on him devolves the duty of investigating the report and, if possible, bringing the offender to justice. But the Station Officer's duties are far from being limited by his work of reporting and investigating crime. In very many places in India he is the only representative of the Government for miles around and almost everything that happens within his jurisdiction concerns him more or less closely. In flood, fire and all other accidents and calamities he and his constables have got to play the part of local providence. He has got to do various odd jobs for other departments of the Government and although it is not likely that our famous librettist was thinking of the *Thanadar* when he described the policeman's lot as " not a happy one ", his words certainly apply to him.



But although the regular police system, as described above, is based on the model of the old Royal Irish Constabulary, and is thoroughly Western in conception and organisation, the police administration of the country contains certain indigenous elements of great antiquity and value. Over practically the whole of

India the old pre-British village policeman still exists. In the South of India he has been from very ancient times the servant of the village community, but in Northern India, where the village system, owing to historical reasons, has not survived so completely, the village policeman or village watchman was the servant of some landowner or other and was not the servant of the whole community. The first duty of the village watchman is to report crime, but his functions, like those of the *Thanadar*, are many and varied and extend to the arrest of offenders, general aid to the police, surveillance over bad characters and suspicious persons, and the general supply of local information, particularly when an investigation is being held into a crime in his own village.

Having now seen what a Reserved Department is, and having learnt something of the organisation of the Indian Police, we can now glance rapidly at the conditions in which they function. For English readers the word " police " conjures up a vision of the typical Borough police force with its members serving permanently within the comparatively narrow confines of the Borough. If his thoughts go a little further to the county constabulary, he will think of the village policeman stationed in his little country village with his beat of a few square miles of countryside. He must beware of applying this vision to India, because there things are very different. The photographs opposite this page show two extremes of conditions under which the Indian Police do their work. From the crowded street in the heart of the second biggest city in the British Empire to the grim environment of the Frontier Fort is a far cry, and between the two are to be found all manner of intermediate conditions. In the three presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, and also in Rangoon, the police are organised as a separate force for the city and are under the command of a Commissioner of Police. But everywhere else in India, however big a city may be, the police stationed therein are part of the police force of the district in which the city is located and, any one of the policeman serving there might find himself at any time transferred to a rural station twenty or thirty miles away. Outside the bigger cities there are few towns which have a police force for duties solely within the town. At the best, the town will be the headquarters of a police station jurisdiction, and will



BURJ HARI SINGH.

POLICE HEAD QUARTERS, CALCUTTA.

contain a police station with a varying number of constables in it, but the town will merely be the centre of an *alaquah*, that is, an area, greater or smaller according to circumstances, containing a number of villages and hamlets, all of which have to be patrolled and guarded as closely and carefully as circumstances permit. The whole of British India is divided among these police station jurisdictions, the average personnel of which,—certainly of the rural stations—probably does not exceed a dozen or so men, including the Station House Officer, the station clerk, and a head constable, who acts as assistant to or deputy for the Station House Officer in investigating cases. It is easy to see, therefore, that the regular police can hardly be ubiquitous, and the importance of the village watchman as their eyes and ears, and, also, the absolute necessity for the co-operation of village headmen and of the public generally become easily apparent. Few, if any rural police stations jurisdictions can be properly patrolled by only ten or a dozen men, and this is the chief reason why it is possible for gangs of armed robbers, or dacoits as they are called in India, to continue their depredations for weeks or months before they are hunted down and either destroyed or captured. Again from what was said in Chapter III we were able to make some sort of a mental picture of the immense Indian countryside with its lonely little hamlets and shielings, its paucity of roads, and its general out-of-the world conditions. In such places as these, crimes may be easily committed, and the custom of hoarding wealth, whether in hard cash or in the shape of gold and silver ornaments, which is so prevalent in this country, is another inducement to crime. Where there is no policeman within ten miles, and where natural hiding places, whether in mountain, swamp, or dense jungle, exist in profusion, the task of the criminal is rendered easy, and it must be remembered that there are many potential criminal elements in this country. From time immemorial wandering and criminal tribes have moved to and fro over the plains of India, and there are still very many of these tribes unreclaimed and unreformed. There are many who take readily to violent crime, either for adventure, or from revenge, or because of adverse financial circumstances, or out of sheer desire to get easy money. There can always be found hardy spirits not infrequently ready to collect a band of desperados around them and go out to commit burglaries or dacoities, that is, gang robberies with violence. Cattle stealing is rife in many parts of India,

because, as we saw earlier in this report, the Indian countryman's real wealth is in his cattle and he is often ready to pay ransom for his animals to the cattle thief rather than invoke the aid of the police, who may or may not be successful in recovering his animals for him. In fact, in all parts of India, there are many persons who make their living by acting as middlemen between the cattle thief and his victim, and in the north of India there is a regular name for the ransom paid for stolen cattle. It is called *Bhunga*, and there are even places where what might be called a *Bhunga* market exists.

Naturally the isolation and primitive conditions of life in which so many of the people of India live are accompanied by a degree of ignorance and consequent credulity which almost passes belief, and from this state of affairs many crimes are bred. A very good illustration of this remark is afforded by a case reported from Bhagalpur in Bihar and Orissa. A swindler obtained some gold and silver jewellery from two men on the undertaking that he would double it for them in quantity. He dug a hole in the ground, sacrificed a pigeon, and said that during the night fairies would descend from the skies and dance with the witches of the village who would put on the ornaments. Of course during the night both the man and the jewellery disappeared. This is only one of innumerable stories which might be quoted, of swindles of all sorts which are rendered possible only by extreme gullibility arising out of ignorance.

The number of murders committed in India seems very high to an English reader. During the year 1927 no fewer than 3,323 murders were reported to the Police in British India including Burma. There is a saying in this country to the effect that murders are due to the three Zs, that is Zan, Zar, Zamin—lust, loot, and land. It is true, for the vast majority of murders in India can be traced to causes originating in one or other of these things which are springs of passions all three of them primitive, and one elemental. It cannot be denied that among many sections of the Indian peoples, human life is held very cheaply, and murder is regarded far too generally as not an anti-social crime but as an offence against an individual only. Wealthy men commit murders or have them committed in the hope of being able to save themselves by bribing magistrates, police or witnesses. The hired assassin's occupation is not yet gone and, altogether, the lack of

adequate motive to account for very many of the murders committed in this country is a disquieting feature of its general conditions.

The following extract from the Punjab Police Report for 1927 well illustrates the conditions amidst which wild crimes can be committed—the remoteness of rural areas and people from the nearest representatives of the law, the supineness, whether due to fear, or sympathy, or mere apathy, of witnesses to terrible tragedies, and the reckless indulgence of fierce passions—all of which may be reproduced in any province in India.

" On the 16th October a gang of dacoits belonging to the Ferozepore, Amritsar and Lahore districts went to the village of Bhagu, Police Station Abohar, District Ferozepore, and raided the house of Waryam Singh, Jat. They shot the owner of the place and his servant named Mogha, a Chamar. They then proceeded to the house of one Dalip Singh, where they attacked and wounded Ganpat, Chamar, who shortly after succumbed to his injuries. The next object of attack was Lekhu's house, Lekhu was a rich moneylender. He happened to be away, but his two wives and a nephew were present. One of the women was tortured with fire and beaten and compelled to point out where her husband's money was hidden. The dacoits succeeded in digging up cash estimated at from Rs. 6,800 to Rs. 12,000 and jewellery worth Rs. 2,600 which was removed from a safe. Some deeds and other documents are also alleged to have been deliberately piled up and burnt. The raiders then went to the house of one Hanwanta whom they threatened with death on suspicion of his having concealed Lekhu, the moneylender. After this they left, taking away three camels and a large quantity of booty and proceeded to village Kikar Khua, five miles to the north of Bhagu. There they raided the house of Bega, Jat, and abducted his daughter aged 20 years. The motive which inspired the gang was obviously to loot and take revenge on persons with whom they were at enmity. In the subsequent pursuit, which started on the 18th and continued for a period of 4 days, one of the dacoits named Maghlu was captured in Sirsa city together with the woman who had been abducted by the gang, and about Rs. 2,000 was recovered. The pursuing party consisting of men from the Ferozepore and Hissar Police were assisted by arms license-holders and by a Sergeant Instructor and three European drivers of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway with a Lewis gun.

Two of the gang were subsequently arrested by the Jaipur Police and five others by the Ferozepore Police."

From what has been said above, it will be realised that the criminal elements in the Indian population are pressing on the police all the time in most parts of India and that inefficiency or slackness on their part may be speedily followed by a partial break-down of law and order. This may happen also in times of political agitation or widespread disorder. The Moplah Rebellion, many of the incidents of non-co-operation days particularly the Chauri Chaura tragedy and such widespread disorders as the Hindu-Muslim riots in Bihar and Orissa in 1917 and the South Western Punjab in 1915 are all proofs of this.

The Hindustani word for criminal—in the sense of criminal law or criminal administration is ' Faujdari ' from the title of the old Moghul Official, the Faujdar, who commanded a body of armed men with which he kept down crime and disorder with the strong hand as the Sheriff did in old England centuries ago. The word Faujdar is in its turn derived from Fauj, which means army, and so the word ' Faujdari ' takes us straight back to the days when an investigation into a serious crime was a minor military operation. And that the old order of things has not entirely passed away is shown by the report of the operations during 1927 of the Special Dacoity Police in the United Provinces, a document published only this year, tell of the conditions which still prevail in that great Province.

Dacoity is still prevalent in India to an extent which is hardly credible. Its strongholds are naturally the less frequented tracts of the country, and of these, the favourites are those where different jurisdictions meet. It was so common in certain parts of the United Provinces a few years ago that the ordinary district police were unable to cope with it and it became necessary to call a Special Dacoity Police into being in 1922. Under the leadership of Mr. F. Young, Superintendent of Police, this force has waged successful war on dacoits for some years past and the report of its operations during 1927 has many passages reminiscent of the famous classics mentioned above.

One of the principal achievements of the year was the rounding up of the notorious and dreaded Chambal Kanjars a band of dacoits,

or, rather, a clan of dacoits made up of some five separate bands under individual leaders, who had long victimised the countryside. The task was no easy one for these desperadoes operated in very difficult country which was unfamiliar to the Special Police and much of which lay within the confines of Indian States. Mr. Young and his men addressed themselves methodically and resolutely to this delicate and dangerous undertaking.

Early in 1926 they opened their campaign, studying the terrain, establishing friendly relations with the rulers of the States concerned, obtaining information about "the haults, habits and movements" of the dacoits and in other ways preparing for action. The assault was delivered during the rains of 1926, but proved abortive. One big raid failed of its purpose owing to difficulties of transport, while the other was spoiled by the treachery of the guides. During the ensuing winter further attempts were made to capture the outlaws but without success. One of these might have terminated otherwise but for an unfortunate accident. After a skilful approach and arduous marching the Special Police came up one night with two of the robber gangs concealed in dense cactus thicket among precipitous ravines. They had got to close quarters and were about to surround them when a rifle went off accidently. This gave the alert dacoits their cue and with a single exception they all succeeded in escaping. This stroke of luck appears to have emboldened them and they continued their raids on the villages. Their doom, however, was sealed, and at the end of March 1927 one of their leaders, Hazara, and two of his lieutenants were captured at the Gwalior Railway Station while "on their way to spy out the land for a series of dacoities in Southern Gwalior". A few days later word was brought that two other leaders, Pirbhoo and Faujdara, and their men, were hidden on the banks of the Chambal river. A raid was organised with the aid of the Gwalior State Police and some thrilling incidents ensued. After difficult marching, dangerous fording of the river, and discomfiture from the heat, a brisk fight took place, mainly in the bed of the river, between the police and the dacoits. In the result, both the dacoit leaders were wounded and secured, while a lesser leader, Hukma, was shot dead after he had missed Sub-Inspector Izhar Husain at point blank range. Other members of the gang, with their women and children, were also taken and a good deal of booty, including firearms, was recovered.

Another act of this stirring drama was staged near a village called Madhopura. The dacoits were encamped near by and as a signal for the advance on them at night Mr. Young sent up a green Verey light. This was a species of frightfulness entirely new and completely terrifying to the dacoits, who fled ignominiously and concealed themselves precipitately in the neighbouring village. This the Special Police surrounded and searched carefully after daybreak. The dare-devils of a hundred fights were discovered in the most undignified of hidding places, Hira, one of the fiercest of the leaders, being found behind a grain bin.

The report mentions many instances of bravery and prowess which cannot but excite admiration. One of the most striking of these is connected with the capture of a notorious dacoit, Kalay, in which constable Kishen Lal figures as a great hero and in which he lost his life. The story is told later in this chapter.

Mr. Young fittingly concludes his report with a tribute to the *esprit de corps* of his men which he attributes in no small measure to the spirit of self-reliance and the faculty for independent action without reference to superior officers which has been strongly inculcated in the Force.

Thus the ancient order has not passed altogether away even now, and all over India the police have to be equipped with and trained to the use of fire arms. Except in the Punjab, the Provincial Police forces are divided into two categories, the armed police and the civil police. But in the Punjab no distinction is made between the two and a percentage of the rifles is kept in every district. All Punjab policemen have to be prepared to undertake duties which fall to the armed police in other provinces. Any day in practically every part of India the police are faced with the possibility of having to conduct operations against well armed and desperate men to whom human life is of no account and for the past few years extensive operations of a semi-military character have been going on against the numerous gangs of dacoits which infest the United Provinces. The following few stories of the way in which the King's Police Medal has been won in different Indian provinces in recent years will help the non-Indian reader to appreciate the foregoing account of the conditions in which the Indian police work more fully than many pages of mere explanation.

Four or five years ago, a famous raider of the Kohat Border and his gang attacked a village inside the Kohat district and took away three Hindus. There was a police post about 8 miles from the village but the news of the raid did not reach the Police until four hours after the gang had disappeared. A Head Constable or Sergeant as he would be called in England, named Faqir Muhammad who was in charge of the post, collected ten men of the local levies and tried to intercept the gang across the rough country through which they were retreating. After marching all night he came upon the tracks of the gang next morning and found that he was too late to cut them off before they got to the border. Nothing daunted, he insisted upon his weary party pursuing the raiders further and this they did for the whole of the second day. It was at the beginning of the hot weather, the country was very difficult, the heat was intense, and the raiders themselves suffered severely from these adverse conditions and from the hot pace which they had set. Therefore, a part of the gang, including their leader, sat down to rest, and at about five o'clock in the afternoon the Head Constable Faqir Muhammad came up with them. Both sides opened fire at sight, but the Head Constable's force, which had received some reinforcements, quickly got the upper hand of the raiders and in the end killed them all. Thus after a pursuit of 24 hours in difficult hill country a border scourge was destroyed by the determination and bravery of a subordinate Police Officer and a few stout-hearted men under his command.

Another story well illustrates the possible dangers of rural life well inside India, hundreds of miles away from the North-West Frontier, where the police expect to be involved in desperate adventures as ordinary incidents of their daily life. Sub-Inspector Yousuf Hussain, who was in charge of a police station in the Mainpuri district, heard one night of the presence of a large, well-armed gang of dacoits at a place 10 miles away from the police station. Although he had only four of his subordinates with him armed with one shot gun and two police muskets, he immediately went after the gang, tracked them for some time and came up with them just as they were starting a dacoity. He got on to the roof of a house and opened fire on the gang. The latter who had no less than 15 fire-arms between them, including modern rifles, responded briskly, but the five policemen drove them out of the village after wounding five or six of them. Owing to the darkness of the night

immediate pursuit was unavailable, but the wounded members of the gang were afterwards arrested, with the result that in the end, this gang which was headed by a notorious dacoit leader was entirely broken up.

From the Punjab records of the Police Medal we may quote one story as an example of the many others which can be related in illustration of the bravery and quickness of mind which characterises members of the Indian police of all grades in every province in India. A Sikh Sub-Inspector named Dawindar Singh learned of the whereabouts of a desperate leader of dacoits, for whose arrest the Punjab Government had offered a very handsome reward. Arrangements were made to round up this man and Dawindar Singh accompanied by others succeeded in surrounding the place where the dacoit leader was believed to be hiding. The dacoit, seeing himself surrounded, fired on the police and thus disclosed his presence inside a large bush the branches of which reached the ground on all sides. Dawindar Singh immediately leapt off his horse and flung himself into the bush. Both he and the dacoit were exceptionally powerful men, and a desperate struggle ensued until the arrival of others who helped the sub-inspector to secure his man.

We said above that the police in India have got to play the part of local providence in flood, fire and all other incidents and calamities, and the following account of how two British Officers in Bihar and Orissa won their Police Medals well illustrates this. In August 1923 some very serious floods occurred in Arrah town. The Superintendent of Police, Mr. Guise, who had won the Military Cross during the War, and his assistant, Mr. Pearman, were engaged without rest or sleep for three days and nights in the arduous work of extricating people, and in this time they rescued or assisted to rescue no less than 500 people. On the 19th August these two officers noticed some people signalling for help from the roofs of their houses. They were separated by a stream in which a strong current was flowing, but the officers, accompanied by two constables, swam across the current at the great risk of being carried off into the main flood and succeeded in rescuing 130 people in the face of further risks. On the same morning they again swam across a similar channel to a hamlet where the houses were rapidly collapsing, and put heart into the people and effected many rescues at the risk of their lives. Again, on

the same morning, they heard that three women were cut off in a house and although the approach thereto lay through a rapid current of water, Mr. Guise reached the house by means of a rope thrown to him and Mr. Pearman by crawling along the roofs of the adjoining building and using a ladder to bridge gaps. The water had then nearly reached the roofs of the houses, but the two officers succeeded in effecting the rescue of three women and three children who were conveyed to safety along the roofs of houses by means of a ladder. On completing this piece of dangerous work they learned that there were more people in the lane in which this house stood, and they immediately retraced their steps and were just in time to save 24 persons before all the houses in the lane collapsed.

About fifty Police Medals are awarded in India every year, and, of course, their recipients are the most meritorious of a much larger number of candidates for the honour. The stories quoted above were taken practically at random from among the records of the past three or four years only, and it may be safely assumed that incidents similar to those quoted in them are happening somewhere or other in India almost every day of the year.

It would be idle to deny that there is still much fear and distrust of the police on the part of a large number of the people of India, and it would also be idle to attempt to deny that corruption and oppression are still practised by some Police officials, who, however, mostly belong to the lower subordinate ranks. These practices have persisted among Police officials in India from very early times. Readers of books of travel and memoirs of the old Moghul days will find many references to the methods of the Faujdars and Kotwals of those times, whilst much farther back, namely in the well-known drama " The Little Clay Cart ", written possibly in the Fourth Century A. D. are to be found criticisms of Police methods which might have been lifted from an Indian newspaper of yesterday. In a matter like this it is impossible to dogmatise or to say confidently that corruption has either increased or decreased of late years, but such indications as we have, point to decrease. Certainly oppressive methods have become increasingly rare, and a case of actual torture by the Police is almost certain to be detected and punished. The higher police officers have for

years kept the suppression of corrupt and oppressive methods in the forefront of their duties and the police force of to-day, from the rank of sub-inspector upwards, is recruited very largely from among men of good birth and good education, a policy, if not initiated, at any rate strengthened by Lord Curzon's Police Commission of 1902. Even constables are now recruited to an appreciable extent from among young men who are at any rate literate. A fact which has some bearing upon this matter of corruption in the Indian Police is that a constable's pay is less than that of many unskilled labourers, and this goes some way towards explaining, although certainly not towards palliating the offence. Also, it must be remembered that it takes two to make a bribery case, and the Indian public has got to do its share towards helping to suppress this evil. But in the light of the examples of devotion to duty, and of public services rendered at the imminent risk of life, which we have given above, examples let it be remembered which can be multiplied indefinitely, it must be apparent that all the sweeping allegations of oppressive and anti-social conduct which are so frequently made against the Indian Police will not stand. During the year 1927 no fewer than thirty-four policemen in India laid down their lives in the performance of their duty whilst two hundred and sixty-eight suffered wounds or other injuries. These are services which cannot but have a cumulative effect on public feeling towards the police, and it is certainly significant that whenever any proposal is made to abolish a police station or police outpost a very strong opposition is invariably raised to this proposal by the people of the locality concerned. An upright and capable police officer is acknowledged by all classes in India to be one of the greatest boons which any locality can have, and it is encouraging to read from time to time in police Administration Reports, as, for example, in the Bihar and Orissa Administration Report, of good feeling and mutual confidence between police and people. As the civic sense strengthens in this country the police will improve, and from this point of view it is greatly to be regretted that the Volunteer Police Bill, which was introduced in the Legislative Assembly by the late Sir Alexander Muddiman during the Delhi Session of 1927, was rejected at Simla in August the same year. The Bill represented an attempt to mobilise men of good will who were prepared to combine together to defeat the forces of anarchy and disorder, in support of the Police. Sir Alexander

had only time to introduce his Bill in the Delhi Session, and when it was brought up again in Simla by his successor as Home Member, Mr. Crerar, it was obvious that a large majority of the opposition in the Assembly regarded it as nothing more than an attempt to organise an army of supporters to be used as a weapon by the Government in times of political and communal trouble. In view of this attitude Mr. Crerar had to withdraw the Bill.

It is clear from what has been said earlier in this chapter that the typical day to day problems confronting the Indian Police are those arising out of the inducements to crimes against person and property in rural areas, which are afforded by natural and social conditions, by the urge of primitive and unbridled passions such as revenge and lust, by the inevitable paucity of regular police, and by a still undeveloped sense of civic responsibility with its necessary consequence of incomplete liaison between police and people. But other more subtle and sophisticated problems have now to be solved by the detective forces of this country. Increased literary and technical knowledge has caused such crimes as bogus bank and company promoting, note and coin forging, confidence tricks and the like to take on an increasing popularity, whilst the growth of commercial houses, banks, and other businesses has brought in its train all manner of embezzlements, forgeries, swindles, too-ingenious speculations and forward operations, and other offences. The spread of communications has enabled criminals to work over wide areas and has given rise to criminal organisations whose operations are inter-provincial or, even, as the Karachi and Calcutta Coining cases reported in subsequent pages will show, international in scope. More and more do the expert investigators of the Provincial Criminal Investigation Departments find their time and energies occupied by the refinements of up-to-date crime, and the annual police reports, bear ample, if bald, testimony to their success. The Indian Criminal Investigation Departments are well abreast of modern conditions, and it should not be forgotten that it was they who pioneered and established the use of finger prints, and that many of the best improvements in the science of late years are the products of Indian brains.

Let it not be supposed, however, that the use of modern instruments and methods of criminal detection is confined to the

specialist Criminal Investigation Departments of the different provinces. All over India, the district police are re-adjusting their ideas and their practice to changed and changing conditions. In particular they are now employing extensively the *modus operandi* method of detection. They do not now investigate such crimes as burglary—the investigating officer's *bete noire*—as individual cases. They investigate them in the mass, noting characteristic methods employed, plotting on their crime maps the location of offences which show constant and individual peculiarities, and thus tracing the movements of gangs and, in the end running them to earth. Much success has attended the use of this method which is being extended all over India.

During the calendar year 1927 although no striking increase or decrease in crime was reported in any province most of them showed slight fluctuations of an upward tendency. In most provinces, too, burglaries and crimes against property generally, showed a slight increase, but not enough to make it worth while to comment on it. Several provincial reports make special mention of inter-communal tension and trouble, and from them it is possible to understand something of the strain that was thrown on the police during these widespread outbreaks. As they have been described already at length in the opening chapter of this Report there is no need to say anything more about them here.

Delhi Province, in which the new capital of India is situated, reports no noteworthy change from the previous year in the amount of crime reported during 1927. For the past year or two, however, burglaries in and about New Delhi have given rise to much uneasiness among the residents and to some anxiety on the part of the authorities. In order to cope with this form of crime, the superior investigating staff has been slightly increased, and, as a result, the senior Superintendent of Police reports a gratifying increase in the percentage of successful investigations and prosecutions. A notable act of heroism on the part of a police constable occurred during the year. As part of the operations against the dacoit gangs in the United Provinces, a party of police from the Meerut district raided a house in Old Delhi City in February 1928

but were repulsed, the dacoits wounding the police inspector in charge of the party, and also killing a private citizen and wounding three others. The gang escaped for the time being, but were believed to be still in Delhi. A police guard was therefore put on the bridge across the Jumna to watch travellers going towards Meerut, and, at the beginning of April, one of the most desperate and brutal of the dacoit leaders was identified as he tried to cross the bridge. The police who were watching the bridge were unarmed whereas the dacoit had two pistols. However, he was challenged by a constable named Kishen Lal of the Meerut district, who was immediately fired at and mortally wounded by the dacoit. In spite of his fatal wound Kishen Lal closed with the dacoit, and held him until his comrades came up. The brave constable died a few minutes after the dacoit had been secured.

Financial stringency has, of late years, prevented the Bombay Government in spending as much on their Police as they would have wished. But the policy of retrenchment forced on them by circumstances has not hitherto been reflected in the figures of crime, which showed little change in 1927 from the figures reported during the previous year.

Perhaps the most important case handled by the Bombay police during 1927—certainly the case which attracted the most attention—was the one known as the Duzdap Coining Conspiracy in which some Europeans were concerned. On January the 31st 1927 a Customs appraiser at Karachi discovered a wooden box concealed in a recently imported cylinder which the clearing agents had been asked to handle for a well-known Karachi firm. When it was opened, it was seen that the box contained six dies for turning out rupees. This discovery was, of course, reported to the Criminal Investigation Department in Sind, and an Indian police officer, Rai Sahib Narayan Das, was put in charge of the enquiry. From this small beginning, the Rai Sahib, by industrious and brilliant investigation was able to elicit evidence of the existence of a conspiracy with ramifications in Quetta, Duzdap, Karachi, Birmingham, London and Liverpool. A retired Army man named Farrell had conspired with certain members of a firm of Indian contractors, whose acquaintance he had made in Quetta, to start an illicit mint at Duzdap in Persian territory. A retired conduc-

tor named Dickinson had brought the dies from Birmingham in 1924, having secured them through a man named Wheeler. Overwhelming documentary and other evidence was collected through Rai Sahib Narayan Das's exertions and a complete conspiracy case was made out against Dickinson and Wheeler and four members of the firm of contractors above-mentioned, and in April 1928 they were all sentenced to long periods of imprisonment. Farrell escaped through turning approver. Rai Sahib Narayan Das visited England, and, by his grasp of the case and his sound investigation, earned the commendation of the India Office and of the Director of Public Prosecutions. In passing sentence on the gang on 12th April, 1928, the Judicial Commissioner in Sind observed: "If the scheme had worked out as was intended they (the gang) would have flooded not merely India, but the surrounding countries also with counterfeit coin."

During 1927 and the first months of 1928, crime in the United Provinces, if anything, showed a slight tendency to decrease when compared with the crime of the previous year. Offences against property, particularly dacoities and burglaries, continued to decrease. Unfortunately, however, communal troubles continued throughout the year and gave the Police much extra work and anxiety, and serious disturbances occurred in Bareilly, Cawnpore and other places. We have seen, however, that in spite of these distractions, the work of crushing the formidable dacoit gangs of the Province has gone brilliantly forward, and on this account alone the provincial authorities, and particularly the police, can look back on the year with much satisfaction.

Assam reports that the figures of crime remained practically stationary during 1927 at their previous year's level and that the Police met with a satisfactory measure of success in dealing with the cases reported. Offences against the person declined in numbers, but there was a slight increase in offences against property, this increase occurring mostly in the districts to which immigrants from Bengal mostly resort. Many of these immigrants have criminal tendencies and the newly settled areas to which they go are naturally deficient in accessible communications. Add to this

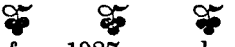
that the strength of the Police in this area has not increased in proportion to the rate of immigration and it will be seen that the authorities are not in a position to deal adequately with the results of the inflow of new population. However, the Assam Government is giving full attention to this side of its duties. New Police stations are being opened and proposals for increases in the strength of the Police are now being considered.

The Madras Police report fails to discover any features of exceptional interest. As the result of unfavourable economic conditions in some parts of the Presidency there was a slight increase in crime, particularly in crime against property, and detection was not quite up to the very high level achieved in the province during the one or two years immediately preceding 1927. It is satisfactory, however, to note that the public peace was maintained almost inviolate throughout the year.

The Central Provinces are almost alone in reporting an appreciable increase in crime during 1927, and there, the reported figures are about 10 per cent. in excess of those of the previous year. The increase occurred principally in house-breakings and thefts, a fact which points to economic conditions being at the root of the trouble. There was no falling off, however, in the quality of Police working during the year in spite of the increase in crime, and, also, in spite of the very strained relations which existed throughout the year between Hindus and Muhammadans. In practically every district of the Central Provinces there was anxiety on this account. The outbreak of rioting in Nagpur city in September has been already discussed, as also has the week of sporadic rioting in Jubbulpore during the celebration of the Dusserah festival. It is particularly satisfactory to note that the behaviour of the police throughout this very anxious and trying time earned practically unanimous praise and in no case was there any reason to suspect their impartiality.

In February 1927, a Parsi propounded a fantastic scheme for expelling the British from Nagpur and for this purpose he urged the collection of arms and explosives. Later on, his scheme took the shape of disobedience of the Arms Act, and he got a number

of men and women to court arrest by the Police by marching publicly through the streets of Nagpur carrying weapons the possession of which without a licence from the authorities was unlawful under the Arms Act. This demonstration was continued for some months and a number of people were arrested, but tactful handling of the situation by the Police kept the movement within narrow limits, and the conviction of the Parsi, and his sentence to four years' imprisonment brought this troublesome affair practically to an end.



The Bengal report for 1927 reveals no features of special interest as regards ordinary crime, although in some parts of the province, economic distress led to an increase in crimes against property. But in certain districts a heavy strain was thrown on the force by the prevailing tension between the two great communities, and this together with a passive disobedience movement in certain places, and labour strikes in Calcutta and elsewhere, made the work of the Police during the year extraordinarily difficult and strenuous and unfortunately the signs are that these things will have to be looked upon as normal features of the life of Bengal henceforth. One notable case of international importance occurred during the year. This was the Tibetan coining and note forgery case, during the investigation of which the Bengal Criminal Investigation Department, working on certain clues obtained from Darjeeling, discovered a factory in Calcutta for making Tibetan notes and coins. The investigation resulted in the arrest of five men, of whom three were sentenced to various terms of rigorous imprisonment. Notwithstanding all their difficulties and preoccupations, the work of the Bengal Police during the year was distinctly successful and the year as a whole was one on which the Bengal Police can look back with satisfaction.

In the Punjab the outstanding features of the year's work were the handling of inter-communal trouble and rioting and the investigation and prosecution of cases arising out of these, effective action against dacoits, robbers, and organised gangs of burglars and thieves, and extensive use of the *modus-operandi* system, which is working well, especially in the detection of offences against property, the special campaign against cattle-thieves in the south-

eastern districts of the Punjab, detection of an important gang of forgers and utterers of Government Currency notes, and large seizures of illicitly possessed arms and drugs. There was a slight increase in crime during 1927, for which a rise in thefts and burglaries is partly responsible. In the south-eastern districts of the Punjab the increase was mainly due to the efforts of the special Cattle-theft staff—to which we shall return in a moment—better reporting, but the inter-communal tension which was the outstanding feature of the year was responsible to no small extent for the increase in crime in other parts of the province because it kept the attention of the Police constantly riveted to it. We showed in the first chapter of this report that two serious riots occurred at Lahore and Multan. These kept a large body of Police busy for a long time and contingents had to be sent to these two cities from all over the Punjab. Although actual bloodshed on a large scale occurred only in Lahore and Multan, the tension in the province was acute throughout 1927, and a feeling of unrest and insecurity pervaded not only the urban areas, but infected the rural population also. The police had constantly to be in readiness for inter-communal clashes and their energies were thus diverted to an appreciable extent from their more normal duties.

Out of 484 murder cases sent for trial no fewer than 293 ended in conviction. Some of these murders were committed during Hindu-Muhammadan rioting, and their investigation presented innumerable difficulties, the most important of which was the escape of practically all the perpetrators of deeds of violence before the sporadic attacks on isolated wayfarers, which were one of the outstanding features of the riots, were brought under control. Other difficulties arose out of the fact that the evidence of the contending communities was scanty in some cases and tainted in others. Communal pressure was brought to bear on witnesses who found it difficult to resist this particular form of influence. Yet, in spite of these and similar difficulties, the majority of cases sent up for trial, as a result of the Lahore disturbance, resulted in conviction.

During 1927, the Punjab Police had the satisfaction of wiping out two bands of armed dacoits who had been responsible for a number of dacoities and murders in six or seven districts.

In last year's Report we gave a fairly detailed account of the special measures now being taken by the Police of the Punjab and

the United Provinces acting in concert to suppress cattle-theft. We saw there that cattle-theft takes place in certain parts of the south-eastern Punjab, particularly in the Canal districts, on such a scale as to present a very serious menace to the peace and welfare of that part of India. For various reasons, the chief of which is the difficulty of recovering stolen animals through police agency, many cattle-thefts are not reported, and the victims prefer to apply to the Bhunga market mentioned earlier in this Chapter. This, of course, is a thoroughly unsatisfactory state of affairs, and as a result of a conference held in 1925 between police officers of the Punjab and the United Provinces, a special police force to deal with cattle-thefts in the south-eastern Punjab came into existence. Throughout 1927, this special force continued to work in the Ambala, Karnal, Gurgaon and Rohtak districts of the south-eastern Punjab, and it also co-operated with similar special bodies of police formed for the suppression of cattle lifting by the Governments of the United Provinces and the Delhi Province. Numerous conferences and meetings have been held to co-ordinate measures and exchange views, not only between police officers of the British provinces concerned, but also between them and the police of the Patiala, Nabha, Jhind and Malerkotla States. The amount of work done by the special cattle police in the Punjab can be seen from the following table:—

District.	Cases registered.	Persons sent up under C. T. Act.	Persons sent up under (109, C.P.C.)	Persons sent up under (110, C. P. C.)	No. of cattle recovered.
Karnal	362	83	28	658	29
Gurgaon	154	...	...	157	107
Rohtak	204	...	6	130	79
Ambala	28	...	...	42	2
TOTAL	748	83	34	987	217

Throughout 1927, as in the previous year, the number of cattle-theft cases reported increased steadily. This increase has been due to the efforts now made to obtain more complete registration of this class of crime. Many amazing examples of the extensive ramifications of cattle-thefts in the south-eastern Punjab have come to the notice of the officers engaged in this work, and the following is as good as any for the purpose of illustrating the complexity of

cattle-theft cases. A sub-inspector of cattle-theft police staff went to interview certain criminals in Delhi jail. He persuaded two of them to make a full disclosure of all the offences committed by them, and also to explain how cattle lifters and the persons who run the clearing-houses for the receipt and disposal of stolen cattle carry on their business. One of these two men had taken part in no less than 99 cattle-thefts over a range of country about the size of the north of England, and he had been associated with almost a hundred accomplices during the commission of these offences. On the whole, the special cattle-theft police have no reason to be disappointed in the results of their work hitherto. They are still at the beginning of a task of great difficulty and complexity. Natural, social and economic conditions all make cattle thieving a very popular form of crime in India, and it will be a long time before the police can gain the absolute confidence of the people whom they are trying to help, and, without absolute confidence on their part, full success will not be obtained.

In Burma there was a negligible increase in the number of cases reported during 1927, as compared with the reports made during the previous year. Unfortunately, however, most forms of serious crimes show an increase. Dacoities are more by 32, robberies by 31, fire-arm cases by 61 and murders by 112. The figures for all forms of crime appeared favourable with the previous year's figures by the end of October after which a mild epidemic of important crime broke out in a number of districts notably in the Pegu division which had suffered from a phase of somewhat serious political activities. Daily gangs of dacoits appearing in certain districts gave a good deal of trouble during the early part of 1927, but were subsequently broken up. The system of open season patrols along the Siamese border were continued during the year with good results.

In Bihar and Orissa the tense feeling that existed between the Hindu and Muhammadan communities called for the exercise of continual vigilance on the part of the police. In many places in the province the various communal festivals gave rise to great excitement and anxiety and riots mostly of minor importance

occurred in several towns. In spite of the widespread unrest due to inter-communal trouble the number of true cases reported to the police during 1927 was the least on record since the province was constituted, whilst the percentage of convictions obtained was the highest since 1916. Dacoities were appreciably more numerous than they had been during the two previous years, but the police met with much success in dealing with them. Robberies, burglaries and thefts decreased as compared with 1926 and in these cases the police met with very gratifying success. The Bihar and Orissa Police Report for 1927, shows one or two disquieting features. In particular the number of dastardly attempts to derail trains was a cause of grave anxiety to the police and strikes and unrest on the railway gave them much extra work. Another somewhat alarming feature is the frequency of suicides of women in Orissa. The most cheering features of the whole report are the repeated references to the growing good feeling between police and public and the increasing confidence which the latter experience in the good will and capacity of the former.

Recent events in India make it eminently desirable to continue the remarks on communism in this country which have appeared in previous reports for during 1927-28 the movement has come more and more into the open and its leaders have succeeded, temporarily at least, in establishing a very considerable influence over large bodies of discontented industrial or railway employees.

Up to a year or two ago, the man in the street was not immediately concerned with the activities of Communists in this country. He was aware, in a general way, of the desire and the efforts of foreign agents to sow the seeds of Communism in India, and his complacency was occasionally disturbed by press accounts of prosecutions of indigenous Bolshevists, such as those convicted in the Cawnpore Conspiracy case of 1924. But as no practical results of the Communist campaign were visible, he was usually content to regard Communism in India either as the somewhat fatuous occupation of a few unbalanced agitators, whose influence for evil was exceedingly small, or as the substitute for Bridge of a few notoriety hunting would-be intellectuals. Even when the disorders in China and Java were cited as examples of the powerful and baneful effect which Communists had been able to achieve among

Oriental populations, the average man in this country was wont to argue: " But India is different. Bolshevism is the negation of religion. Its doctrines cannot possibly take a hold on a people whose social fabric is based on religion. Bolshevism connotes equality of status. India is the home of caste and feudalism. The doctrines of Communism can never take deep root in this country." Such contentions were difficult to refute; but the march of events during the last few years has shown the folly of minimising the importance and danger of Communist activities in India. The leaders of the Communist movement in Europe have repeatedly declared that the first step in the conversion of the masses of the East to Communism is to arouse among them discontent with the prevailing conditions of life. " First disturb their placid contentment and then inculcate in their minds the principles of Communism." That this policy has been pursued in India with vigour during the last two years is evident from the activities of the Workers' and Peasants' Parties, which are manned by Communists and have grown in strength and influence under the able guidance of Communist emissaries from abroad.

In " India in 1926-27 ", reference was made to the formation of Workers' and Peasants' Parties in Bombay and Calcutta. After the conviction of George Allison, *alias* Donald Campbell, who was mainly responsible for the organisation of these Parties, a very able and energetic successor was found in the person of Philip Spratt, of whom brief mention was also made in last year's volume. Spratt is a graduate of Cambridge University, who came to India in December 1926, ostensibly on behalf of the Labour Research Department, London. This organisation is under the control of the Central Council of Trade Unions in Moscow, and there is little doubt that Spratt's mission to India was mainly in Communist interests. At any rate, it is certain that he has been a powerful influence in strengthening the organisation of the Workers' and Peasants' Parties. Both he and Allison were in a position to instruct local Labour agitators in the doctrines of Marx and Lenin, and, but for their guidance, it is unlikely that the Workers' and Peasants' Parties would have been able to secure the hold they now have over the discontented workers on the railways and in the jute and cotton industries.

It is doubtful, however, whether the indigenous labour agitator is a Communist at heart. He is ordinarily a man of little educa-

tion, who has acquired a smattering of Bolshevist theory, and who is able to impress the ignorant workers with violent harangues inter-larded with the catchwords and slogans employed by the Communist tub-thumper all over the world. He must, nevertheless, be given credit for an energy and pushfulness which is not apparent among the ranks of the " bourgeois " Trade Unionists. While pursuing, on the whole, a sane course in their dealings with Labour, the Right Wing of the All-India Trade Union Congress have remained somewhat aloof from contact with the worker himself, and have, therefore, not succeeded in " getting under his skin ".

The discontent among the cotton mill workers in Bombay and the railway employees at Lillooah, furnished the Workers' and Peasants' Parties with an opportunity of which they were quick to take advantage. They addressed meetings of the strikers, organised picketing, and held out promises of an early and favourable settlement of the workers' grievances. Philip Spratt was most active in Bombay until his departure for Calcutta in March, 1928, and, with his Communist underlings, encouraged the Lillooah strikers to stand firm, and induced other railway and jute workers to down tools.

The dislocation of the jute and cotton industries and the railway services naturally focussed the attention of the press and public on the activities of the Workers' and Peasants' Parties. It became evident that the theory of Communism was being translated into practice. A handful of agitators had succeeded in temporarily paralysing essential services and important industries, and the law-abiding citizen found himself seriously inconvenienced by these manifestations of Communist doctrines.

The strikes in Bombay and Bengal were hailed with delight by Communists abroad, and much space was given in Communist publications to the labour troubles in India and to the activities of the Workers' and Peasants' Parties. The extracts given below are from foreign Communist periodicals, such as the *Masses of India* (the organ of the Indian Communist group in Europe) and the *International Press Correspondence*:—

" It is the duty of a true friend of the peasants and workers . . . . to prepare them for the great struggle which alone will bring them happiness and freedom, as it has brought to the pea-

sants of Russia and is bringing to the peasants of China . . . ." —*Masses of India, April, 1927.*

" The Communist Party must harness this awakened revolutionary proletarian energy and give it an organised expression. The Communist Party must be in the midst of every struggle and endeavour to develop it . . . . The proletarian movement must be led by the class—conscious vanguard organised in the Communist Party . . . ."—*Masses of India, November, 1927.*

Alleging that the threat of a general strike secured favourable terms for the strikers at Kharagpur, the *Masses of India, February, 1928*, remarked:—" The Indian Labour movement must learn very valuable lessons from the experience of the Kharagpur workers. The most important lesson is that the general strike is the most powerful and effective weapon that the working class possess. The second lesson is that the workers' struggle can be conducted only by the workers themselves. The third lesson is that the true defenders and leaders of the Indian working class are the Communists and the Workers' and Peasants' Party . . . ."

" It is only a victorious revolution on the part of the workers and peasants that can put an end . . . . to all the misery and want resulting from the rule of British capital . . . ."—*International Press Correspondence, 14th March, 1928.*

" All signs go to show that the period of stagnation in the Workers' and Peasants' movement . . . . is now approaching its end. The political revival now taking place in India is creating conditions favourable for the mobilisation of the masses . . . ."—*International Press Correspondence, 21st March, 1928.*

The following is an extract from a telegram dated 24th November, 1927, from Lozovasky, General Secretary of the Red International of Labour Unions, Moscow, to the Cawnpore Congress and the All-India Trade Union Congress:—" In the struggle against alien oppressors and national exploiters, the working class of India and the Trade Unions may always count upon the aid of the Red International of Labour Union and all its sections."

One Benjamin Francis Bradley arrived in Bombay in September, 1927, and, like Philip Spratt, took a most active part in the organisation of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, and in work among the cotton mill and railway employees. He addressed numerous meetings, and was closely associated with the Bombay

Communist group in organising the strikers and encouraging them in their struggle against the millowners.

While the activities of the Workers' and Peasants' Parties were the most prominent feature of the Communist campaign in India during the year, it must not be forgotten that other ways and means of bringing about the much desired upheaval of the masses continued to occupy the attention of Communist plotters abroad. M. N. Roy's organisation has still continued to function, though his mission to China, where he occupied himself in propaganda work among the Indian residents, necessarily hampered the activities of his satellites in Europe. Now that he has returned to Moscow, signs of renewed activity are apparent.

During the year, the nationalist press in India has devoted some attention to the organisation known as the League against imperialism, which, from its headquarters in Berlin, has sent out much offensive literature dealing with "British oppression" in India and other countries. Although this organisation is not professedly Communist, there is little doubt that it is used as a link with Communist sources. There are some well-known Communists on its Executive, and its support of revolutionary movements in "Imperialistic" countries would appear to be Communist in inspiration. A resolution passed at the Madras session of the Indian National Congress welcomed the formation of the League, and the Congress later agreed to affiliation with it, and contributed financially to its support.

CHAPTER X.

The Provinces.

(II).

THE TRANSFERRED DEPARTMENTS.

In the last chapter we saw what the term Transferred Department meant and which departments of Government have been Transferred. The list of these departments is a long one, and in this chapter we can deal with only four or five of the more important among them. But before we turn to the narrative of the year's activities in these departments, we may glance quickly at the proceedings of a largely attended conference of provincial representatives which met in Delhi on November the 16th, 1927, under the presidentship of Mr. J. Crerar, Home Member, to consider questions in connection with the organisation of new provincial services on the transferred side of the administration. About 35 members, representative of all the provinces, attended and these included Ministers from Madras, Bengal, the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, the Central Provinces, and Assam. In opening the proceedings Mr. Crerar referred to the difficulties experienced by Provincial Governments in working out schemes for the establishment of their new provincial services and he said that it would be advantageous if some general understanding could be reached in regard to matters of principle, and if also, a certain measure of uniformity could be secured in practice as far as was compatible with the varying circumstances of the different provinces. Preliminary views were exchanged on the questions of whether new separate services should be created to replace certain existing all-India services, what system of recruitment and what machinery would prove most suitable for this purpose, and how far inter-provincial uniformity, particularly in respect of remuneration, was desirable or feasible? The Conference then divided itself into four sub-committees to report on educational services, engineering services, agricultural, veterinary and other services, and, fourthly,

on general questions of leave, pension, and so on. No attempt was made to reach rigid conclusions which would be applicable to all the provinces, but it was found that the reports of the sub-committees were likely to afford valuable guidance to Provincial Governments in completing their schemes for the creation of new provincial services to administer the Transferred Departments.

Local Self-Government has attracted more general attention than, perhaps, any other of the transferred departments. Provincial legislative activity since the Reforms has been devoted more to this than to any other single item, and has centred in the regulation of Municipalities and District Boards (which do for rural areas what municipalities do for urban areas).

From time immemorial, institutions containing the germs of Local Self-Government have existed in India, but they differed essentially from representative institutions as now understood. They were not constructed on the elective principle, were not correlated with the institutions of superior administration, had few definite functions, and were not regarded as representative of the locality by the State, which was inclined to ignore them. During the chaos which preceded British Rule in India, and, also, partly as a result of the administrative changes of the new regimé, they disappeared almost entirely, and British administrators have, consequently, had to build up Local Self-Government in India *ab initio*.

In 1882, Lord Ripon's government made an attempt to convert such local institutions as were in existence into school-houses for full self-government. They issued a resolution declaring that their object was to train the people in the management of their own affairs, and that political education, should, as a rule, be given preference over departmental efficiency. This well-meant effort did not produce the results for which the Indian Government looked. It was inevitable that the infant local bodies should be at first under official guardianship and thus the growth of initiative and self-reliance among those for whose benefit the system was devised, was slow, a circumstance which lessened the attraction of the new bodies for public-spirited men.

A material advance was made in 1918, when the Central Government promulgated fresh general instructions for the development of

local self-governing institutions which reiterated the principles enunciated in 1882, announced a policy of gradual removal of all unnecessary official control, and demarcated the spheres of the State and of local organisations. Hardly had these principles been implemented when the inception of the Reforms handed the control of local self-government over to responsible Ministers. As a result, the development of these organisations has been greatly stimulated in certain ways. Many fresh laws have been enacted, municipal bodies reconstituted on more popular lines, municipal franchises extended, and the powers of local bodies enhanced. Also a desire for experiment became apparent and materialised in many forms. One of the most interesting of these was the revival of the old Village Panchayat or Committee of Elders which in some places were amalgamated and called " Union Boards." The general plan adopted was to place these ancient institutions on a modern legal basis and to provide them with definite powers and functions. While there were a certain number of failures, due chiefly to apathy and unwillingness to shoulder fresh taxation, these experiments have in some parts of India proved popular and satisfactory. Reports show that these new organisations are on the whole serving a useful purpose in the life of the people, though in places they seem more inclined to exercise their judicial functions than to attend to matters like public health and sanitation.

In 1925-26 there were 767 municipalities in British India, with nearly 19,000,000 residents within their limits and an aggregate income of Rs. 16·20 crores. When it is remembered that Calcutta, Bombay and Madras alone hold three million people, the average Indian municipality is seen to be of only moderate size. The great majority of the members of municipal bodies are elected and the proportion of elected members tends to increase steadily. Municipal functions relate mainly to public health, safety, convenience and instruction, but as only about 10 per cent. of the population of British India live in towns, it is clear that municipal administration cannot as yet affect the majority of the people and help to educate them in civic duties in the manner desired. Therefore, greater interest and importance attaches to the constitution and working of the District Board, which is, in fact, a rural municipality. Nearly every district in British India possesses such a Board, with, usually, two or more sub-district boards subordinate

to it. In Madras and Bihar and Orissa, there are also Union Committees while in Bengal there are both Union Committees and Union Boards. In 1926-27, District Boards, and sub-district boards, Union Committees with the Union Boards in Bengal combined, numbered 3,735. Of the nearly 43,200 members of these bodies about, 70 per cent. were elected, and 30 per cent. represented officials (*ex-officio* and nominated members). The tendency is for the elected element to increase. The receipts of these institutions (excluding Union Committees and Union Boards in Bengal) aggregated in 1926-27 a little over Rs. 15·1 crores, and their chief activities were education, medical relief, and civic works.

Such big cities as Calcutta, Bombay and Rangoon naturally lead the way in municipal progress in India. Improvement and Development Trusts have been operating for years in these and other important industrial cities and have done much good. Loans have been floated for such objects as housing schemes, the abolition of slums, the provision of open spaces, the alignment of streets, and the segregation of offensive trades, and evidences of progress are not wanting.

From the facts and figures cited, it must be evident that a very real advance has been made in de-officialising local institutions and opening them up as fields for popular initiative and enterprise. A review of local self-government institutions as a whole reveals the prevalence of certain general tendencies. The enhanced powers of local legislatures in these organisations is reflected in increased activity in the organisations themselves. The non-co-operation movement hampered progress in local bodies to a great extent, but as Mr. Gandhi's ban did not extend to them non-co-operators became members in many places. Here and there the non-co-operation members subordinated their political views to their municipal or board duties, but in other places, they carried their politics into the local bodies. Keen interest is taken in many parts of India in elections to both Municipalities and District Boards. It is, of course, impossible to make any general statement, which will be true of all local bodies, as to the way in which they have worked. Where keen and public-spirited men have entered them, their work has been good. Where men of inferior fibre have been elected, their work has been indifferent or bad. It is not easy, even now, to form an opinion on the post-Reforms working of Indian Local Self-

Government, for financial stringency, political stress, and lack of experience have all affected the local bodies, and it is difficult to decide what weight to allow to these factors in making up our general calculus.

Coming now to the progress of Local Self-Government during the year 1927-28 we may begin by mentioning the more important measures of Local Self-Government legislation undertaken during that period. A non-official Bill was introduced to amend the Madras District Municipalities Act, 1920, with the object of *inter alia* of abolishing nominations to the Madras Municipal Council and arranging for the proper representation of minorities by co-option by the Council, the reintroduction of the annual election of a Chairman who should be unpaid, and making somewhat less restrictive the rules relating to the admission of voters. Another non-official Bill, which was introduced in the Madras Legislative Council, aimed at the amendment of the Madras City Municipal Act, 1919. Its object is to provide that the Commissioner, who is the chief executive officer, should be appointed and removed by, and be wholly responsible to, the Council of the Corporation and that his salary should be materially reduced. The previous sanction of the Governor General was accorded to the introduction of a non-official Bill to amend the Madras District Municipalities Act, 1920, the Madras Local Boards Act, 1920, and the Madras General Clauses Act, 1891. The object of this measure is to establish beyond doubt the right of all citizens to the use of all roads, etc., maintained from public funds.

Three non-official Bills to amend the Bombay Local Boards Act, 1923, were introduced in the Bombay Legislative Council with the object of extending the franchise and lowering the qualification of electors for district local boards.

Another non-official bill to amend the Bombay City Municipal Act, 1888, was introduced with a similar purpose; it also aimed at providing for the due representation of backward and depressed classes by reserving separate seats for them.

In the United Provinces a non-official Bill was introduced in the local legislature to amend the United Provinces Town Areas Act,

1914, with the object of introducing the elective element in the panchayats and giving them greater powers without impairing their efficiency. The previous sanction of the Governor General was accorded to the introduction of a non-official Bill which aimed at repealing a large part of the existing Local Self-Government Legislation in order to introduce a new form of self-government into the rural areas by dividing each district into " Unions " and establishing for each union, a Union Board for the performance of executive duties, a Union Bench for the trial of certain specified criminal offences, and a Union Court for the disposal of certain civil suits.

As a result of a ruling of the Punjab High Court, a Bill was introduced in the Punjab Legislative Council to validate up to 15th November 1927 the imposition of the Haisiyat or occupation, Tax by District Boards in the Punjab. The Bill was passed by the provincial legislature and assented to by His Excellency the Governor General. The question of the levy of this tax in future is at present under the consideration of the Government of India. Another Bill to provide for the appointment of Executive Officers in municipalities was introduced in the provincial council and referred to a select committee, which presented its report to the council at the end of November 1927 after suggesting certain changes.

The previous sanction of the Governor General was accorded to the introduction in the Burma Legislative Council of a Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to municipalities in the province. This measure has been undertaken with a view to revising the existing law thoroughly so as to suit the present administrative and political conditions. It provides among other things for the constitution of school boards and hospital committees and the appointment of Chief Executive Officers.

A non-official Bill to amend the Bihar and Orissa Local Self-Government Act, 1885, was introduced in the provincial legislative council and circulated for opinion. It aimed at the establishment of separate electorates for Muslims as it was feared that under the system of joint electorates adequate representation of that community on District Boards could not be secured. Two other non-official Bills to amend the same act were introduced in the council with the object of removing the restriction that only members of a district board shall be eligible for election as chairman, and of

providing for a new office of President who would preside at meetings instead of the chairman.

The Central Provinces Village Sanitation and Public Management Amendment Bill, 1927, mentioned in the last year's summary was referred to a Select Committee, who suggested certain amendments. Sanction was accorded to the introduction in the Central Provinces Council of a Bill to amend the Central Provinces Village Panchayat Act, 1920, in order to encourage the development of panchayats upon lines which offered a better hope of success. The Bill was passed by the local legislature. The Council also passed a non-official Bill to amend the Central Provinces Municipalities Act, 1922. Its object was to fix the proportions of selected and nominated members respectively of Municipal Committees and to remove the disqualification which rendered a person sentenced to transportation or imprisonment for a term exceeding six months ineligible for election, nomination, or selection as a member of a committee. Both these bills were assented to by the Governor of the Central Provinces and the Governor-General.

Of the actual working of local bodies during the year 1926-27, the latest year for which information from the provinces is available, there is little to report from Madras. There are now 24 district boards, in the Presidency. Three district boards including the new Kistna board, and one taluk board, were given the privilege of electing the president. Two taluk boards and two union boards were dissolved and reconstituted during the year, as the old bodies had been found incompetent to discharge their statutory functions. Two municipal councils also were superseded on the ground of incompetency. The Madras Local Authorities Entertainments Act empowering local bodies to levy an amusement tax, came into force in September 1927.

In Bombay the Back Bay Reclamation Scheme attracted a great deal of public interest. The Legislative Council decided to complete part of the original scheme and reasonable progress was made notwithstanding one or two mishaps.

Twenty-five new chawls in the Industrial Housing Scheme were opened for occupation by the working classes. Rents were substan-

tially reduced, and, at the close of the year, ranged from Rs. 7 to Rs. 5 per mensem. Activities in departmental schemes in the suburban areas of Bombay were at a standstill during the year, except for certain road and water-supply schemes.

The Bihar and Orissa Administration Report for 1926-27 reports a continuance of the steady deterioration in the standard of municipal administration which has been mentioned in earlier reports. Some of the importat factors contributing to this result are financial mismanagement and laxity of supervision. The incidence of taxation remains at the low figure of Rs. 2-0-9 per head of population, and in ten municipalities it is still less than Re. 1. In one municipality arrears have been allowed to pile up to the figure of Rs. 83,000. Remissions are still frequently granted on too lavish a scale, but the figures for 1926-27 denote a slight improvement in this respect. Eight municipalities closed the year with no balance in hand, whilst the balances of six others were insufficient to meet the liabilities they had already contracted. The total liabilities of no less than 15 municipalities were in excess of the total assets, even after making allowance for uncollected taxes. The absence of proper supervision is reflected in the condition of roads, drains, latrines, wells and public markets. The defective sanitation of most municipalities has become a serious menace to public health, and various forms of intestinal disease are now endemic in some of the larger towns. As in former years, a few municipalities stood out as exceptions to the general rule of incompetence. The record of rural self-governing units is, happily, less depressing. There is no doubt that most of the non-official members of the district boards take a keen interest in local affairs, and the figures of attendance at the monthly meetings continued to be very satisfactory and the relations of most boards with the local officials underwent a change for the better. The aggregate income for the year 1926-27 was about 19 lakhs in excess of the previous year's figure and represents something like one third of the revenues of the province.

Many initial difficulties have been experienced by the Union Boards recently set up under the Bihar and Orissa Village Administration Act, and the Provincial Government have been compelled to defer any large extension of the Act until further experience has been gained of the working of existing Union Boards and of the possibility of exercising close supervision over them.

In Bengal the municipalities continued their slow and spasmodic, but nevertheless interesting struggle towards better things. In 22 municipalities, realisations were either equal to or in excess of the current demand, and in six others they were over 99 per cent. of the demand. Over the whole province, the percentage rose from 94·3 to 95·6 per cent. The low and unsatisfactory results in some places can, therefore reasonably be attributed to local conditions, or to some unfortunate sequence of events which has, for the time being, placed the control of municipal affairs in improper hands. This factor is the most likely explanation of errors in assessment and remission and of the weakness in dealing with recalcitrant ratepayers or with fraudulent officials. These adverse features can, however, be eliminated, and continued effort on the part of the Provincial Government to raise the standard of administration will undoubtedly bear fruit in due season. Water supply occupied a large share of attention during the year. There are 29 municipalities with their own water-works, and seven in mill areas get their supply from the local factories. Tube wells have grown in public favour, and many municipalities are experimenting with them. On the whole, the future municipal administration of Bengal may be anticipated if not with optimism, at least with hopefulness. The success achieved in various places in varied directions indicates both that similar results can be obtained elsewhere, and that no hasty generalization can be made, more particularly as it has been shown that failure is not due to any inherent incapacity to manage local affairs successfully. Union Boards in Bengal continue not merely to hold their own but to entrench themselves more firmly as the first line of attack on welfare problems. Several boards are maintaining free primary schools. In Faridpur twenty-six such schools are to be found in the jurisdiction of four Boards. The education of the rural population in the advantages of local self-government is steadily maintained by Circle and District Board Officers. Opposition is gradually diminishing and some districts are now entirely organised into Union Board units.

In the United Provinces the three Improvement Trusts of Allahabad, Cawnpore and Lucknow have made considerable progress in their schemes for town improvement. At Allahabad, for instance, several schemes that were being worked in 1926 have advanced a definite stage during 1927. One scheme includes the making of

a model village consisting of 48 houses with adequate air spaces in between. In both Cawnpore and Lucknow, housing and road schemes have been pushed well forward.

The financial position of District Boards in the United Provinces continues to be unsatisfactory. Increasing expenditure on education, and ambitious schemes for town improvement impose a heavy drain on the resources of the boards, and the need for fresh taxation is chronic. Communal antagonism has penetrated into the affairs of boards, and while it impairs the efficiency of their administration it adds to the sterility of their deliberations. Nearly nineteen per cent. of the meetings held were either abortive or had to be adjourned. But, in spite of the strain under which district boards have to labour, indications of progress are not lacking. Education, for example, is making a rapid advance, and is receiving increased attention. Measures for improving sanitation and water supply, and for the control and treatment of diseases are being progressively organized and financed. Considerable headway has been made in the provision of qualified dais to the rural areas for maternity and child welfare work.

Reviews on municipal boards are, on the whole, more favourable than on the district boards. These also have not escaped from the prevailing communal tension, and at times party strife has been acute. Their financial position, however, was not on the whole satisfactory. The total expenditure exceeded the total income by Rs. $11\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs, and while indebtedness increased investment declined. Fourteen towns now enjoy the use of pipe water. Eleven towns employ electrical energy, two of which, Aligarh and Muttra, started their installations in 1927, and licences in the case of two others have been issued or are under consideration.

In general, criticism on the Panchayats in the United Provinces is favourable. There is no doubt that on the whole the system has taken root, and that, in spite of many buffetings in various places, its popularity is increasing. In Benares, for instance, not only did panchayats arrange in consultation with the medical officer of health for improved sanitation, but they also helped in the establishment of seed depots, arranged for manure pits outside villages and devised other details of local improvement. In Rohilkhand several panchayats obtained a new type of plough for the purpose of demonstration.

In the Central Provinces the number of District Councils and Municipalities was the same as in the previous year, but a new independent Mining Local Board in Chhindwara district was constituted and a new municipality in Kamptee was established. The affairs of one large Municipality, Akola, were managed directly by Government through a special office as the elected Committee was dissolved on account of its irresponsible and inefficient conduct of business. The Government grant to district councils amounted to nearly Rs. 45½ lakhs, a sum equal to fifty-five per cent. of their total income, and a similar grant to Municipal Committees totalled Rs. 8 lakhs, or 10 per cent. of the total receipts (including extraordinary and Debt) of all committees. These grants were much greater than have ever been made before, and as a result the total income of District Councils and Municipal Committees showed a large increase. Their income apart from the Government grants were, however, also greater than in the previous year. In District Councils the main objects of the enhanced expenditure were education, medical relief and civil works, and in Municipal Committees water-supply improvement schemes. An important non-official Bill has recently been introduced, providing, among other matters, that an appeal shall lie against an order dismissing a Municipal servant.

There is nothing much to report regarding the progress of Local Self-Government in Burma during 1926-27. In Rangoon the problem of a pure water-supply was tackled and some progress was made, and various other municipalities also made efforts to improve their water-supply—a task in which they were helped by grants made by the Public Health Board. The general level of sanitation, however, remained low, but indications of the existence of a progressive spirit were provided by the extension in some places of electric light in streets and the adoption of motor transport for conservancy purposes.

Rural Self-Government in Burma has hitherto failed to realise all the hopes that attended its birth in 1921. In particular the subordinate bodies—the Circle Boards and Village Committees—have been left without functions and without revenues. The whole question of rural administration was reviewed in a comprehensive resolution during 1927 and referred in detail to the Local Government Advisory Board. Provincial contributions to district funds were again increased and a special grant was made to the Akyab

District Council which had suffered from the effects of the cyclone in 1926.

Municipalities in Assam paid some attention during the year to water-supplies, road-building, and sanitation, and the degree of interest taken in their duties by office-holders and members was satisfactory. Local Boards spent 29 per cent. of their free income on education, 24 per cent. on communication, and 23 per cent. on public health. It has now been decided to revise the policy of handing over important roads to Local Boards for maintenance—a change which has been found necessary partly because the Boards have neither the staff nor the plant necessary for the increased work involved, and partly because the provincial council has decided to raise a large provincial loan for the improvement of the main lines of communication. The Boards will thus be free to concentrate their money and energy on roads of lesser importance.

The number of village authorities in the province rose slightly and their work is reported to have been satisfactory in a part of the province. The Rural Self-Government Act for Assam has recently been brought into force and it is hoped that this will in time lead to a great increase in the number and efficiency of village authorities.

Turning now to the vastly important subject of Public Health, we may begin by drawing attention to the graph at page 358, from which some indication may be had of the scope of the problems which face the doctors in this country.

The distribution of the population of India, the general poverty, and the backwardness in education make it inevitable that all improvement in sanitary conditions should be almost entirely the work of the state. Climatic and other natural conditions render the people of India prone to many devastating epidemic or contagious diseases which have been stamped out in more fortunate countries. Certain diseases like malaria, hookworm, and kala azar are endemic in many parts of the country and although these are all preventable, their prevention requires an amount of labour, financial expenditure, and determination, which, in existing circumstances, can hardly be looked for from the people themselves. Municipalities and other units of Local Self-Government are, as we have seen,

taking an increasing share in this work, not only by providing medical relief, but also by undertaking schemes for water supply, and by instructing children and parents in elementary notions of hygiene. But, in addition to adverse natural conditions, social and religious customs, and superstition place obstacles in the way of the sanitary reformer. As we so often find in other matters, what in the west is one problem is in India a bundle of problems, each one having its roots deep in traditional usage or religion. Progress therefore in this country is necessarily slow and made against greater obstacles and with greater expenditure of money and labour than elsewhere. Yet in spite of all these things it cannot be contested that conditions of public health improve in India if not from year to year, at any rate from decade to decade. Since the regular census in this country was started half a century ago, the population has grown steadily. The greater part of this growth is no doubt due to the internal and external security and the freedom from famine which followed the establishment of British rule, but some credit is due to the spread of medical facilities and the strengthening of the organisations which deal with epidemics of plague, malaria and other destructive diseases. In the past, every important fair or other crowded gathering was a likely source of disease and death to many thousands, but now-a-days medical arrangements either prevent outbreaks of disease on these occasions or immensely minimise their effects when they cannot be prevented. The number of hospitals, dispensaries, and trained medical practitioners grows yearly and the gap between the demand and the supply of medical facilities in India continually narrows. Every housing, water, and other sanitary scheme undertaken by a municipality or other body is a valuable contribution to the cause of public health and sanitation and such schemes show a regular increase in number. Much is hoped for from the education of the rising generation, and particularly the girls, in elementary rules of hygiene. In every province, earnest efforts are now being made to cope with the adverse conditions outlined above.

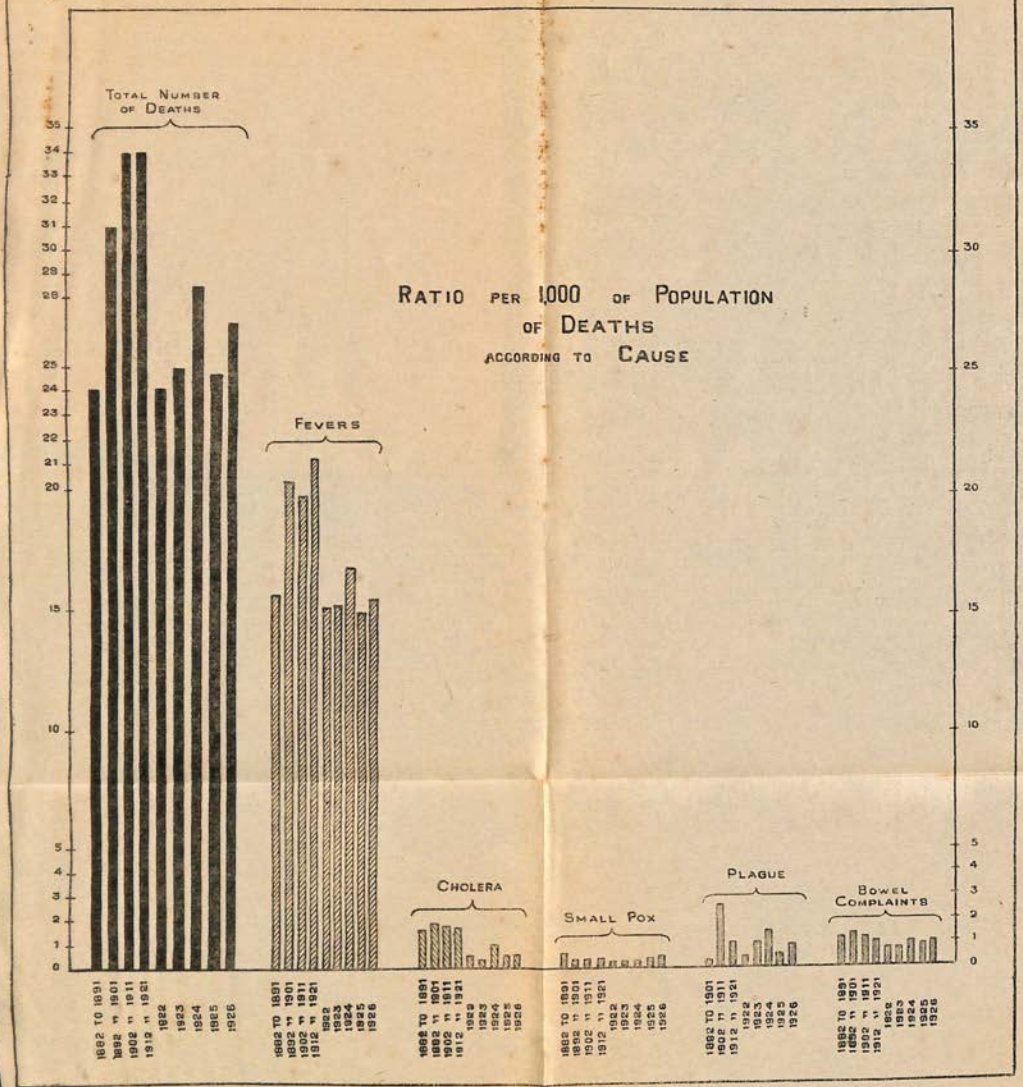
During the year 1927 the Government of Madras sanctioned the appointment of health officers in eight municipalities and thirty-four of the eighty-one municipalities in the Presidency now have their own health officers. The Public Health Department was further expanded. The project to investigate the prevalence of

Malaria was consummated by the creation of a special establishment for a period of two years and systematized investigations in four badly affected areas have already been completed by this body. A geographical survey of the incidence of cholera was completed during the year, and experiments were carried out to determine the relative efficacy of two anti-cholera vaccines, one of which is administered by inoculation and the other by the mouth. A geographical survey of plague was also completed during the year. Nearly two million people were vaccinated, and the success rate of 96 per cent. for primary cases shows that the lymph in use is of a very high protective value. The National Health and Baby Week is steadily growing in popularity and has come to stay as an annual function. Nearly 30,000 lectures were delivered during the week, and nearly Rs. 1½ lakhs was collected and spent.

The scheme for the expansion of medical relief in rural tracts was further developed during the year by the sanction of 40 new dispensaries. Facilities for dispensing anti-rabic treatment were extended to several mission hospitals and dispensaries throughout the Presidency. The training of nurses has been revised and the syllabus prescribed by the General Nursing Council of England and Wales has been adopted with modifications suitable to this Presidency. Lastly, considerable progress was made in the campaign against hookworm during the year.

In Bombay the chief epidemic diseases cholera, small-pox, plague, and influenza combined, showed a reduction of thirty per cent. as compared with the previous year. Over 220,000 deaths were registered as due to fevers, malaria alone accounting for 54,000. Additional doctors and dispensaries were provided to cope with this disease and generous distribution of free quinine were made. Infant mortality received a setback during the year as compared with the previous year and the birth-rate exceeded the death-rate by 8·5 per thousand. The Presidency was practically free from cholera, only seventy-three deaths having been reported as due to this cause. Both the number of hospitals and dispensaries and the number of patients treated in them showed substantial increases during the year.

The most striking feature of the vital statistics of Bengal during 1926 is the steady downward trend of the birth-rate accompanied by a death rate which fluctuates considerably but does not yet show


Ratio per 1,000 of Population of Deaths according to Cause
Total Number of Deaths
Fevers
Cholera
Small Pox
Plague
Bowel Complaints
1882 to 1891
1892 " 1901
1902 " 1911
1912 " 1921
1922
1923
1924
1925
1926

1872 TO 1881
1882 TO 1891
1892 TO 1901
1902 TO 1911
1912 TO 1921
1922
1923
1924
1925
1926
NUMBER OF DEATHS ACCORDING TO CAUSE FROM 1872 TO 1926
(Decennial Averages from 1872 to 1921)
TOTAL NUMBER OF DEATHS
DEATHS FROM CHOLERA
" " SM. POX
" " PLAGUE
" " FEVERS
" " BOWEL COMPLAINTS
In Thousands
8,500
8,000
7,500
7,000
6,500
6,000
5,500
5,000
4,500
4,000
3,500
3,000
2,500
2,000
1,500
1,000
500

definite signs of a permanent fall to a lower level of mortality. The year was marked by a virulent outbreak of cholera, and the total deaths recorded were 59,000 against 34,000 in 1925. Inoculation was popular, and the amount of vaccine supplied was nearly five times the quantity issued in 1925. The attack on sources of infection was maintained, and the Public Health Department disinfected 17,284 wells and 9,588 tanks. The Publicity Branch of the Department distributed posters and by means of lectures and lantern demonstrations endeavoured to educate the public in the latest preventive and curative methods. Small-pox was responsible for 25,000 deaths, a high number and largely due to an epidemic which affected a part of the province. A very interesting experiment in this connection was the employment of female vaccinators in Murshidabad. These ladies visited 147 villages, delivered 209 lectures to women and 107 to local midwives, and performed 281 primary and 1,492 re-vaccinations among women. The total number of deaths reported from fever in 1926 was 822,000 against 874,000 in 1925. The rate per mille fell from 18·8 to 17·7, and the percentage of fever deaths to total mortality from 75·5 to 71·5. The campaign against malaria took the form, as before, of extensive and widespread distribution of quinine. A noteworthy incident was the visit of Sir Ronald Ross to the Meenglas Scheme in January 1926. A number of anti-malaria societies continued to operate and a few additional societies were organised. The mortality from kala-azar showed a decrease all round, the reduction in the provincial rate being 13·9 per cent. The campaign against this disease still continues, and the district reports show that the number of centres for treatment is steadily increasing. The statistics regarding this disease are still vague and indefinite, but, making every allowance for defective diagnosis and reporting, it appears that the incidence of kala-azar is on the decline.

There was a further extension of school hygiene work, while child welfare continued to attract increasing attention. The public health laboratories at Calcutta and Dacca and the municipal laboratory in Darjeeling examined over 12,000 samples with results that afford ample ground for uneasiness regarding the food supply of the province.

Figures, although not complete, are sufficiently accurate to show that the year 1927 was one of the healthiest on record in the United

Provinces where the number of deaths declined and the death rate decreased from 25·10 per mille of population to 22·59, which is 2·72 lower than the quinquennial average. Infantile mortality also fell. Campaigns against the various diseases were vigorously renewed. Cholera stricken districts were supplied with permanganate of potash and cholera vaccine. Quinine was distributed free in districts attacked by malaria, and grants were sanctioned for anti-cholera and anti-plague measures. The Indian Research Fund Association made grants for research in plague and cholera, and special staffs were appointed to carry these out. The campaign against tuberculosis and leprosy was intensified. The Lucknow Anti-Tuberculosis League has resolved to establish at Lucknow a special hospital for this disease for which the Provincial Government have promised an annual grant of Rs. 32,000. The subscriptions paid and promised for the establishment of the hospital amounted to Rs. 83,649, and the amount actually in hand was Rs. 67,377. The vitally important subject of maternity and child welfare continued to receive attention. The number of maternity and child welfare centres was raised from 27 in 1926 to 33 in 1927. The scheme for the training of midwives on probation proved a success, and 28 candidates qualified at the dai and midwife examination. Baby Week functions were held in 22 places. The question of discontinuing the holding of these weeks in places where maternity and child welfare centres exist was under consideration by the Provincial League.

The health of the province of Bihar and Orissa continued to be generally good, although a widespread epidemic of cholera broke out in the month of April. Energetic preventive measures carried out in connection with the Rath-Jatra festival at Puri were successful in limiting the cases of cholera to a comparatively small number. Anti-malaria measures, including a special malaria survey in the Ranchi Municipality continued to be pushed vigorously.

The engineering staff of the Public Health Department was chiefly engaged on water-supply projects. The increasing reliance on tube-wells for this purpose is a striking feature, and nearly all the wells sunk on behalf of Government have proved successful.

The problem of leprosy in Bihar and Orissa is receiving special attention. A leprosy clinic, opened as an experimental measure in 1926, is working at Bakheri in Champaran, and another has since

been opened in Darbhanga. A third clinic is to be opened experimentally in the district of Balasore, and the construction of buildings for a clinic at Cuttack has been completed. The opening of a Pasteur Institute at Patna for the treatment of anti-rabic cases has now been sanctioned.

In the Central Provinces the year 1927 showed a slight decrease in the birth and death-rates. Small-pox, plague, and influenza in a mild form have been present in many areas, and during the first half of the year Jubbulpore district and the Chhattisgarh Division were badly infected with cholera. A special Welfare Committee of the Red Cross Society has now been constituted to organize and expand maternity and infant welfare work and the Provincial Government made a grant of Rs. 30,000 to be devoted to this object. Welfare centres in thirteen important towns are now in being, and the usual " Baby Week " was held in thirty-four towns. In fact, health measures for women and children have gained a firm hold. The necessity for measures to counteract the scourge of plague, cholera and malaria however, is pressing. Against bubonic plague which is endemic in Nagpur and Jubbulpore " anti-rat " campaigns are pursued, but these are not sufficiently systematic. Unless the measures taken to destroy rats are carried out continuously for a long period both during the time of plague and more especially during the period of immunity there seems little hope of stopping effectually the recurrence of epidemics, and the large town will remain an endemic focus of plague.

In Burma, during 1926, the recorded provincial birth-rate was higher than in the previous year, but there was a rise also in the death-rate, and the excess of births over deaths remained practically unaltered. There was a widespread epidemic of cholera, which caused over six thousand deaths, and made inoculation highly popular. Fevers and dysentery were also responsible for more deaths than in 1925; on the other hand, the incidence of both plague and small-pox was milder. The infantile mortality rate increased to a high figure, but there was good reason to suppose that the registration of births was far from complete, with the result that the mortality rate was exaggerated. Three new infant welfare societies were formed, and " Baby Weeks " were held at sixteen centres. The attendance in hospitals again increased, and over seven thousand patients were treated by medical practitioners sub-

sidised by Government to practise in out-of-the-way places, a system, which, if successful, will probably go far to retard the growth of expenditure on hospitals and dispensaries. A further advance in preventive medicine was marked by the opening of the Harcourt Butler Institute of Public Health as a centre of research and instruction.

Both the birth-rate and the death-rate in Assam increased slightly during the year 1926 which witnessed serious outbreaks of cholera in four districts in the Assam Valley. The number of cases of Kala-Azar, which is such a scourge in certain parts of East India, fell appreciably as, also, did the number of deaths due to this disease. It is reported that the new treatment by Urea Stibamine has proved very successful. In pursuance of the campaign against malaria the price of quinine was reduced, this resulting in largely increased sale of the medicine.

Few will be found to deny that lack of education, especially among the masses, is one of the main roots of India's ill, social, economic and political, and that her comparative backwardness in so many spheres of human activity is traceable to this ultimate cause. On the eradication of this defect depends alike the economic uplift of her people, and the full and intelligent realisation of those ideals of nationhood and self-government so long and fervently cherished by her political leaders. It has already been stated that the greatest weakness of the present educational situation is the widespread illiteracy of the masses. It is here that the most urgent need for action lies, but the problem is rendered difficult by factors peculiar to the country. India is a land of vast spaces and her communications are still far in defect of her requirements. Immense numbers of her people are poor and ignorant, bound by iron tradition and age-old custom. Above all, the women teachers, who are the prime instrument of elementary education in all other civilised countries, are scarcely available for this work in India. Educated men drift inevitably from the country-side to the towns and the village schoolmaster is therefore isolated, too feeble a ray to dispel the surrounding gloom of ignorance unaided. But there is a glimmer of hope in the policy of encouraging medical men to settle down and open dispensaries in rural areas for their presence ought to stimulate intellectual life in such places. Yet, in spite

DIAGRAM.

Totals of Literates and Illiterates : British India.

LITERATES
18·6 Million
[each square represents 1,000,000]

ILLITERATES
229 Million

DIAGRAM SHOWING THE MALE AND FEMALE POPULATION OF INDIA AT EACH CENSUS AND THE ESTIMATED POPULATION ON 31-3-26 AND 31-3-27 AND THE MALE AND FEMALE LITERATES AND ILLITERATES ON THOSE DATES.

MALE POPULATION

FEMALE POPULATION

MALE LITERATES

FEMALE LITERATES

POPULATION (IN MILLIONS)
1872

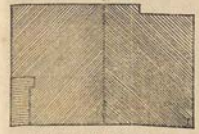
MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
106	100	206

LITERATES (IN MILLIONS)

MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
9	2	9·2

POPULATION (IN MILLIONS)
1881

MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
130	124	254

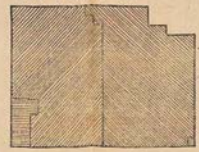


LITERATES (IN MILLIONS)

MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
10·5	0·4	10·9

POPULATION (IN MILLIONS)
1891

MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
147	140	287

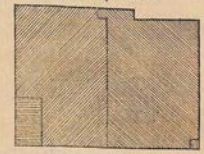


LITERATES (IN MILLIONS)

MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
11·5	·5	12

POPULATION (IN MILLIONS)
1901

MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
149	144	293

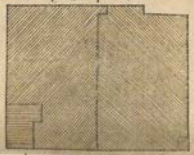


LITERATES (IN MILLIONS)

MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
14·7	1	15·7

POPULATION (IN MILLIONS)
1911

MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
161	154	315



LITERATES (IN MILLIONS)

MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
16·9	1·6	18·5

POPULATION (IN MILLIONS)
1921

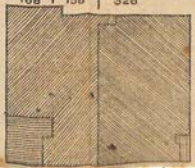
MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
164	155	319

LITERATES (IN MILLIONS)

MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
19·8	2·8	22·6

ESTIMATED POPULATION (IN MILLIONS) ON 31-3-26

MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
168	158	326



LITERATES (IN MILLIONS)

MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
22·0	3·3	25·3

ESTIMATED POPULATION (IN MILLIONS) ON 31-3-27

MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
169	159	328

LITERATES (IN MILLIONS)

MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
22·7	3·5	26·2

NOTE.—IN ARRIVING AT THE ESTIMATED POPULATION ON 31-3-26 AND 31-3-27, AS ALSO THE ESTIMATED NUMBER OF MALE AND FEMALE LITERATES ON THOSE DATES, THE FOLLOWING FACTORS HAVE BEEN CONSIDERED :—

1. THE NUMBER OF BIRTHS IN EACH YEAR FROM 1921.
2. THE NUMBER OF DEATHS IN EACH YEAR FROM 1921.
3. THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN (MALE AND FEMALE) ABOVE FIVE YEARS OF AGE ATTENDING SCHOOL.
4. THE ANNUAL AVERAGE RATES OF INCREASE IN POPULATION, AND THE ANNUAL AVERAGE RATES OF INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF MALE AND FEMALE LITERATES, FROM 1872 TO 1921.

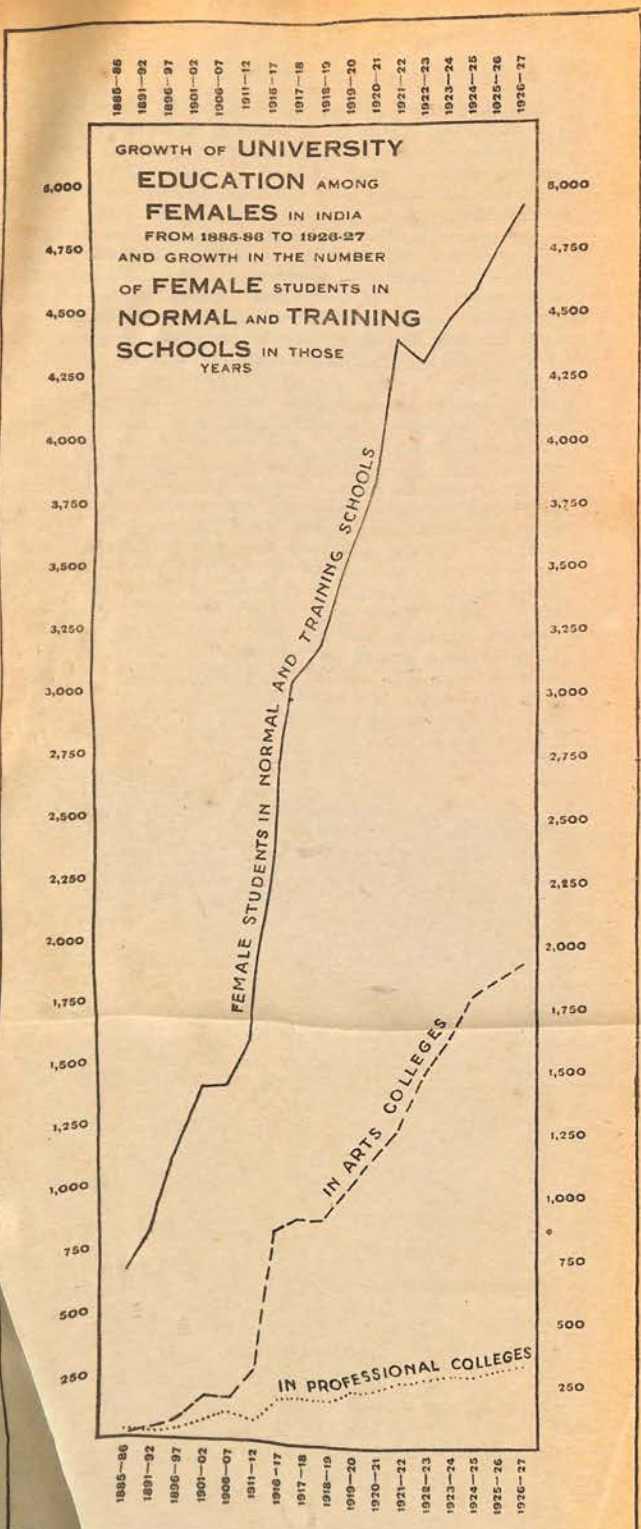
of these difficulties, steady progress is being made. It is gratifying to notice also that much attention is being given to the enlightenment of the masses in general, and to that of the backward classes and of women in particular. In this report will be found graphs, specially compiled for the purpose of showing the progress of women's education in all branches over a long period. These graphs, together with those which show expenditure of all kinds on education in India, have been specially prepared in the hope that they will be useful to students of Indian social problems, for in the education of India's women will be found one of the most potent of all the forces now at work for her progress and uplift. Owing to the social customs and religious prejudices of large and important sections of the population the difficulties in the way of women's education are especially great. The demand for such education has hitherto been very small and this is the first and greatest obstacle. Another obstacle is the serious dearth of women teachers, who must mainly undertake the instruction of their illiterate sisters, and it is in this respect that the work of the Women's Conference, which we described in Chapter I, may bear its richest fruit. A handful of enlightened individuals, it is true, defying caste, precept and ancient usage have insisted on the education of their womenfolk, but the sum total of these efforts have hitherto been almost negligible. Recently, however, many hopeful signs have appeared. The growing enlightenment of the people is tending to break down the old prejudices, women themselves seem less satisfied with the customary illiteracy of their mothers and grandmothers, female education and co-education in the primary classes have, as we shall see in a moment, already attained somewhat impressive dimensions; schools and colleges for women are on the increase; women are being encouraged to take up physical training, games and vocational education; and, perhaps best of all, propaganda in this excellent cause is widespread. There is a steady increase in the number of girls schools and girl pupils. During 1925-26 the number of recognised institutions for girls rose by over eleven hundred to 27,110, whilst their strength increased largely during the same period to more than a million. But this number does not comprise all the girls under instruction for over six hundred thousand girls were reading in boys schools. Thus, the number of girls in recognised institutions is now approaching the neighbour-

hood of one and three-quarter millions. The vast majority of these girls, however, are reading in primary schools. In all India there were only one hundred and eighty-two women studying in medical colleges and one hundred and thirty-four in Training Colleges for teachers. There are seven Primary Education Acts in force in the Provinces, but of these only three—the Bombay, Madras, and Central Provinces Acts were applicable to girls at the end of March 1926. In Madras, elementary education for girls had by then been made compulsory in four divisions of the City of Madras and in two other Municipalities. In Bombay, education for girls is compulsory in two wards of the Bombay Corporation and in two other Municipalities, but in the Central Provinces the sections of the Act which refer to girls have not yet been applied. Compulsory education is another matter which deserves special mention. It had begun to come slowly into favour before the reforms and since their inception the need for it has been more generally recognised. The popular legislatures early declared themselves in favour of the principle, but the Municipalities and District Boards at first showed some hesitation in adopting it. They seemed loth to identify themselves either with any coercive measures or with the imposition of the additional taxation necessary to meet the cost of compulsion. But, happily, this attitude is gradually disappearing and to-day we find compulsory primary education spreading over an ever-increasing area. The latest figures available show that compulsion has been introduced in 114 Municipalities and 1,527 rural areas. The table given below shows the distribution of compulsory education by Provinces. The part taken by the Punjab in the movement is noteworthy, and this Province alone contains exactly half of the municipalities and all but 28 of the rural areas which have compulsory education.

Compulsion has been introduced in the following areas:—

Province.	Municipalities.	Rural Areas.
Madras	21	3
Bombay	7	...
Bengal	...	...
United Provinces	25	...
Punjab	57	1,499
Burma	...	...
Bihar and Orissa	1	4
Central Provinces	3	21
Assam	...	...
GRAND TOTAL	114	1,527

GROWTH OF FEMALE EDUCATION IN INDIA
FROM 1885-86 TO 1926-27
IN THOUSANDS
TOTAL NUMBER OF FEMALES RECEIVING EDUCATION
FEMALES IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS
FEMALES IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS
1885—86
1891—92
1896—97
1901—02
1906—07
1911—12
1916—17
1917—18
1918—19
1919—20
1920—21
1921—22
1922—23
1923—24
1924—25
1925—26
1926—27
100
200
300
400
500
600
700
800
900
1,000
1,100
1,200
1,300
1,400
1,500
1,600
1,700
1,800
1,900



NOTE—THE NUMBER OF FEMALE STUDENTS IN PROFESSIONAL COLLEGES WAS MADE UP PRINCIPALLY OF STUDENTS ATTENDING MEDICAL AND TEACHING COLLEGES. THE NUMBERS OF THOSE ATTENDING OTHER COLLEGES WERE AS FOLLOWS IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS:

	LAW COLLEGES	COMMERCIAL COLLEGES
1922-23	11	3
1923-24	24	4
1924-25	8	1
1925-26	8	11
1926-27	9	11

Progress is still hampered by the chronic poverty of the masses and their hereditary prejudice to educational innovations, but Ministers are displaying more and more courage, enthusiasm and initiative in this part of their work. They are closely studying the problems involved and taking such steps as seem best fitted to solve them. In particular they are gradually eliminating the old, inefficient, one-teacher village school and are endeavouring to provide the children of the agricultural classes with instruction more suitable to their circumstances. The grant in aid system, too, is receiving attention. Side by side with these improvements is going on a process of decentralisation of control. Municipalities and local boards are being entrusted with more and more powers and functions, and many of these bodies are exercising their increased responsibilities with care and wisdom. A particularly satisfactory feature of recent developments in education is the increasing attention now being devoted to the education of children belonging to the depressed classes. Owing to differences in the manner of classification in the provinces it is difficult to give accurate figures for the total number of pupils belonging to the depressed classes who are now under instruction. The majority of the provincial reports, however, now classify "untouchables" or outcast Hindus separately from Aborigines, Hill tribes, and other backward classes. Leaving aside Burma, where there are no untouchables, and Assam, where it is impossible to distinguish between the large numbers of Aborigines and Hill tribes and the untouchables, properly so called, the total number of depressed class pupils reading in all kinds of institutions in the remaining seven provinces was approximately 667,000. This figure bears the percentage of 2·3 to the total depressed class population of these provinces, as against the all-India figure for all communities of 4·0. The number of depressed class pupils has shown a satisfactory increase, but much leeway has still to be made up and in all provinces, except Bengal, the number of scholars reading at the secondary and University stages is depressingly small. In Madras 23 scholars were reading in Arts and Professional Colleges during 1925-26, in Bombay the number was 14; in the United Provinces 11; in the Central Provinces 8; in Bihar and Orissa one, and in the Punjab *nil*. One satisfactory feature of the reports from the provinces is the increase in the number of depressed class pupils reading in ordinary schools and in the number of caste pupils read-

ing in the special schools mainly intended for the depressed classes. In the Punjab as many as 15,899 pupils, out of a total of 19,049, were reading in ordinary schools and in Madras out of a total of 262,716 pupils reading in schools especially intended for the depressed classes nearly 70,000 were caste pupils.

The Government of Madras has continued to insist on all publicly managed schools being located in quarters accessible to the depressed classes and during the year 210 schools situated in inaccessible quarters were removed to accessible centres. In consequence of the policy adopted, 83 per cent. of the schools under the management of Municipalities and Taluk boards are now held in quarters accessible to the depressed classes.

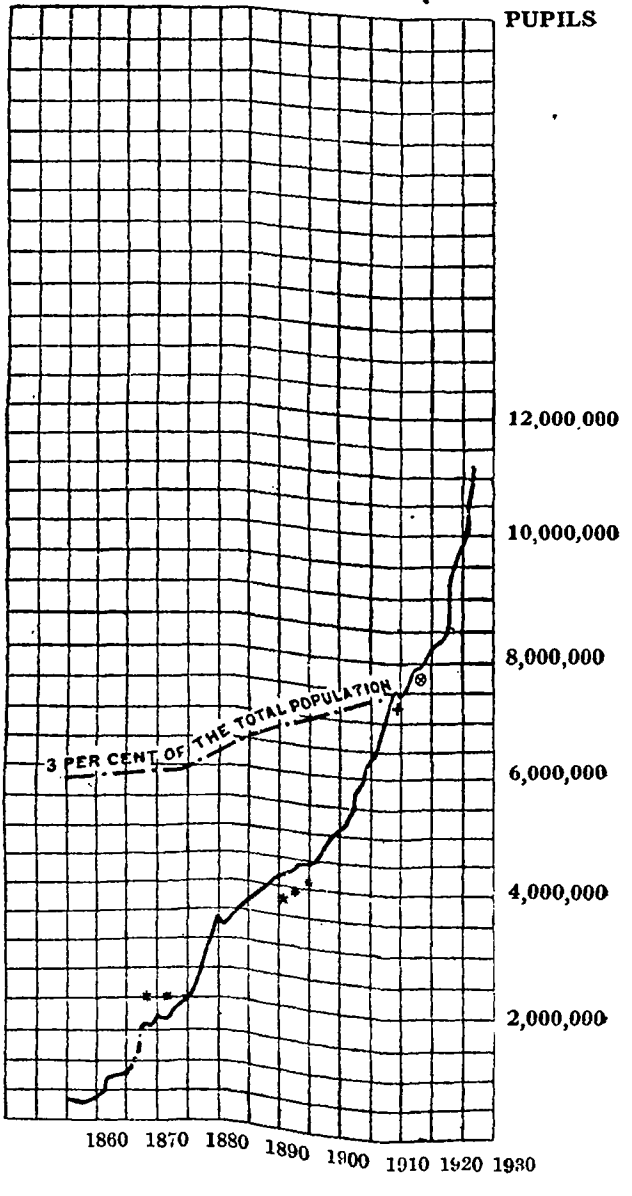
In Bombay there was an increase of nearly 6,000 depressed class pupils under instruction and the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, reports that " the prejudice against the depressed class children is lessening. In the Deccan there is little doubt that these communities are sharing in the general awakening of the backward classes. There are fewer signs of any such awakening in Gujerat." The Director of Public Instruction in the United Provinces also reports that caste prejudice is breaking down and states that " there is now no strong opposition to these boys reading in the ordinary board schools and the number of such boys is increasing. Still stronger evidence of the breaking down of caste prejudice is to be found in one Inspector's report that high caste boys were found to be reading in a number of schools for the depressed classes."

The higher branches of education share with the primary stages the progress which has taken place during recent years. There is a feeling abroad that however satisfactory may be the position of secondary and university education from the quantitative point of view, from the qualitative there is much to be desired. This is especially true of secondary education, which, generally speaking, is poor as compared with Western Standards and is in parts ill regulated. The methods of instruction are faulty; the staff takes little interest in its work and the ambition of the pupils is generally mercenary. Too slight attention has been given in the past to the moral, social, and physical sides of education the intellectual side has been everything. It is encouraging to observe, however, that serious attention is now being paid to physical training in the schools, and some provinces now have whole time

DIAGRAM.

Total number of pupils under instruction in India.

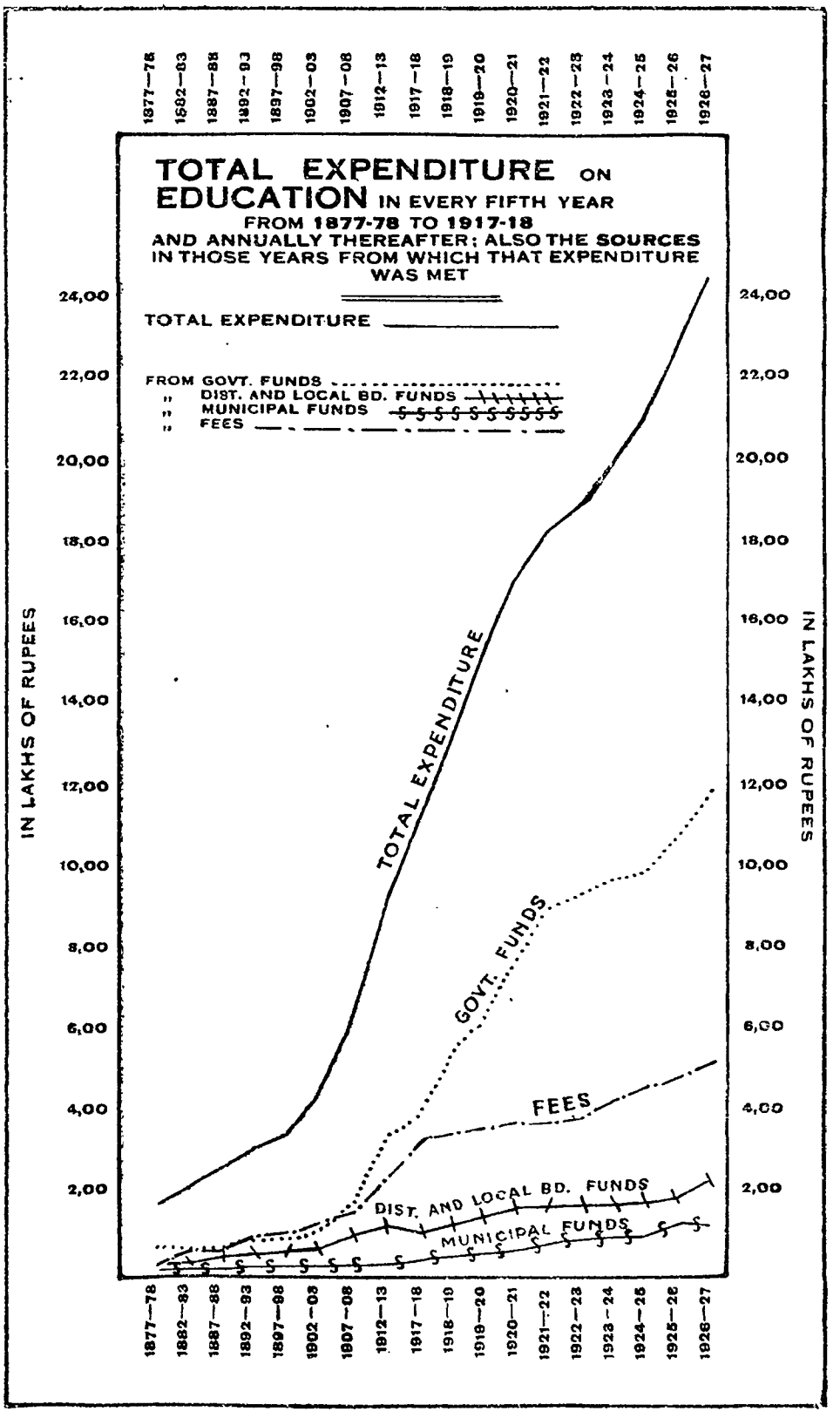
Famine.....*
Commencement of Plague.....*
Influenza.....⊗
Indian States omitted.....+

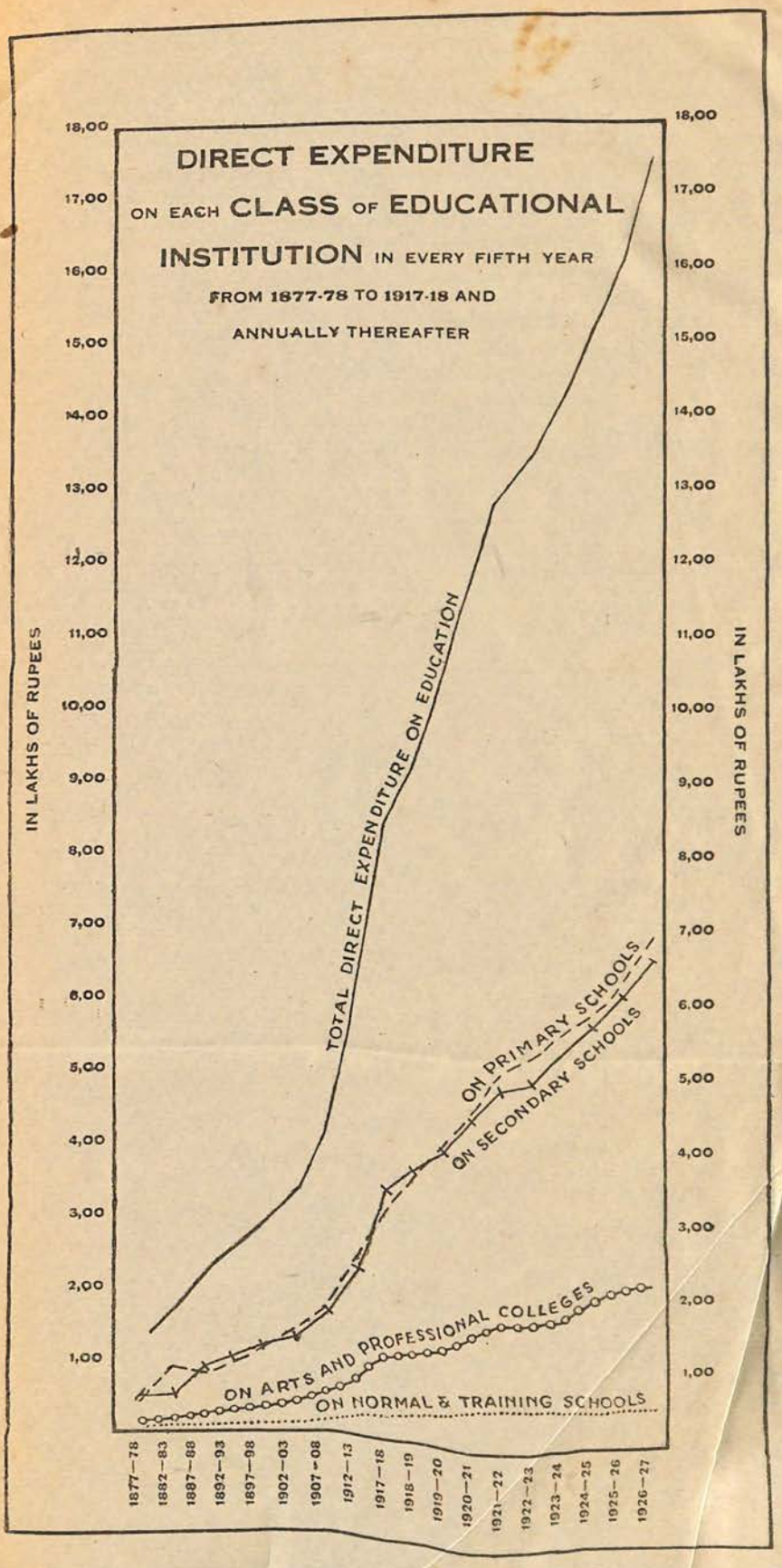


Directors of physical education. Little improvement, though, is to be looked for as long as the demand for secondary education remains what it is, for efforts are likely to lead to nothing more than the mere multiplication of institutions of the present inefficient and ineffectual type. It seems to be recognised that the system of secondary education stands in need of some overhauling so as to bring it more into line with present-day requirements and aspirations. It is recognised, too, that since even at best only a small portion of India's vast population can hope to pass beyond the stage of secondary education, this education should be sound and complete in itself. Hence there is a growing desire and an increasing endeavour to reconstruct it so as to separate secondary and university education confining each to its proper sphere and making the former self-contained. Boards of Secondary and Intermediate Education or Boards of Secondary Education have been constituted in certain provinces, and are doing valuable work, intermediate colleges have been established in some places, and vocational training is becoming steadily more popular. This is satisfactory since unemployment among the middle classes is due largely to the purely literary type of the education hitherto imparted. There is still great scope for the expansion of professional and technical education. In 1926 there were, in all India, only sixteen Engineering Colleges, and Schools with less than three thousand five hundred scholars. Unlike primary and secondary education, university education is not under the entire control of Provincial Governments. A few universities are directly under the Government of India, which continues to exercise certain powers in respect of these universities. Formerly, the great majority of Indian Universities were examining bodies, testing the attainments of the alumni of groups of individual and often scattered colleges, sometimes inadequately staffed and equipped, whose ambition usually outran their capacity. The old universities are one by one being remodelled so as to be both teaching and examining bodies and new ones are being set up. Further, a desire to relegate preliminary work to the intermediate colleges and to confine the universities to higher instruction is now evident in some parts of India. Colleges have been reorganised, new methods of administration adopted, and new courses of instruction introduced. Unfortunately, the establishment of new colleges seems to be leading to an undesirable competition for students, and,

consequently, a lowering of the standard of education. The inauguration of the central Inter-University Board might provide a safeguard against this danger and it is possible that the growing tendency to specialise in the teaching of particular subjects will in the end provide a way out. The attack on illiteracy has not been confined to the formal educational institutions. Recognising that education in the true sense, is a life-long process and that adult education is a necessity if the country is to have an electorate able to understand and properly to use the suffrage that has been conferred upon it, Ministers have been turning their attention to this important problem. The urban population presents no difficulty, for the towns offer much scope for the university extension movement. The case of the rural population, however, is different and to meet their wants various measures have been adopted. One of these is the organisation of lectures on matters connected with health and welfare; another is the night school movement; another, the device already mentioned of encouraging medical men to settle down in the villages; yet another is the establishment of village libraries and elementary literary societies. All these are yielding small but favourable results. It is difficult to give accurate details for the number and strength of schools for adults in the provinces since in many provinces no distinction is made in classification between schools which really provide for the education of illiterate adults and schools, especially night and part time schools, which are attended most largely by ordinary primary school children who are unable to attend day schools. In the following table the figures for Bombay, the Punjab, Burma and for the Central Provinces represent schools which educate adults only. The figures for the other provinces include schools which admit children as well as adults.

Province.	1926. Number of institutions.	Number of Pupils.
Madras	5,287	136,626
Bombay	191	7,730
Bengal	1,445	27,773
Punjab	3,208	85,422
Burma	19	1,065
Bihar and Orissa . . .	1,036	22,701
Central Provinces . . .	41	1,067
TOTAL .	11,227	282,384


TOTAL EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION IN EVERY FIFTH YEAR FROM 1877-78 TO 1917-18 AND ANNUALLY THEREAFTER; ALSO THE SOURCES IN THOSE YEARS FROM WHICH THAT EXPENDITURE WAS MET
TOTAL EXPENDITURE
FROM GOVT. FUNDS
DIST. AND LOCAL BD. FUNDS
MUNICIPAL FUNDS
FEES
IN LAKHS OF RUPEES
24,00
22,00
20,00
18,00
16,00
14,00
12,00
10,00
8,00
6,00
4,00
2,00
1877—78
1882—83
1887—88
1892—93
1897—98
1902—03
1907—08
1912—13
1917—18
1918—19
1919—20
1920—21
1921—22
1922—23
1923—24
1924—25
1925—26
1926—27
TOTAL EXPENDITURE
GOVT. FUNDS
FEES
DIST. AND LOCAL BD. FUNDS
MUNICIPAL FUNDS


DIRECT EXPENDITURE
ON EACH CLASS OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION IN EVERY FIFTH YEAR
FROM 1877-78 TO 1917-18 AND
ANNUALLY THEREAFTER
IN LAKHS OF RUPEES
18,00
17,00
16,00
15,00
14,00
13,00
12,00
11,00
10,00
9,00
8,00
7,00
6,00
5,00
4,00
3,00
2,00
1,00
TOTAL DIRECT EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION
ON PRIMARY SCHOOLS
ON SECONDARY SCHOOLS
ON ARTS AND PROFESSIONAL COLLEGES
ON NORMAL & TRAINING SCHOOLS
1877—78
1882—83
1887—88
1892—93
1897—98
1902—03
1907—08
1912—13
1917—18
1918—19
1919—20
1920—21
1921—22
1922—23
1923—24
1924—25
1925—26
1926—27

As will be seen from the above figures the Punjab is leading the way in the provision of schools for illiterate adults. And the activities of the Rural Community Board and the District Community Councils in the matter of providing village libraries, lantern slides, lecture notes and pamphlets have greatly stimulated the movement for mass education. By the end of the year under review vernacular libraries, open to adults, had been started in 1,531 vernacular middle schools in the Punjab.

In the Central Provinces the majority of the schools are managed by the Depressed Class Mission Society and by the Young Mens' Christian Association and in Bombay a number of schools are managed by the Central Co-operative Institute and by the Adult Educational Association.

There is one school for adult women in Rangoon and one for adult women in the Central Provinces.

Before turning to the progress of education in the provinces during the year 1926-27 we will notice a few features of general interest from the all-India Education Report for 1925-26, the year to which the latest number of this report relates. During 1925-26 there was an exceptionally large increase in the number of scholars under instruction throughout India. The number of recognised institutions increased by over 9,300 during that year, and the number of scholars by over 690,000. There was also a rise in the number of scholars reading in professional colleges. The percentage of males under instruction in recognised institutions to the total population was 6·5 as against 6·0 in 1924-25, and the percentage of females was 1·3 as against 1·2 in the previous year. The rise of 0·5 per cent. in the percentage for males was the largest increase recorded in any one year during the last ten years, and though this percentage is still far from satisfactory it compares very favourably with the figure for ten years ago which was only 4·7. Unfortunately the percentage for females is rising very slowly. It was 0·9 in 1916 and after ten years it has risen to only 1·3. The percentage of trained teachers employed in 1925-26 in recognised secondary and primary schools in British India to the total number employed was 45·6 in 1925-26, an increase of 1·3 per cent. over the previous year, and it is satisfactory to note that though there has been a large increase of late years in the total number of teachers, the percentage of trained teachers has slightly improved. The latest figures show that the number of men under training has

slowly decreased but the number of women under training has appreciably increased.

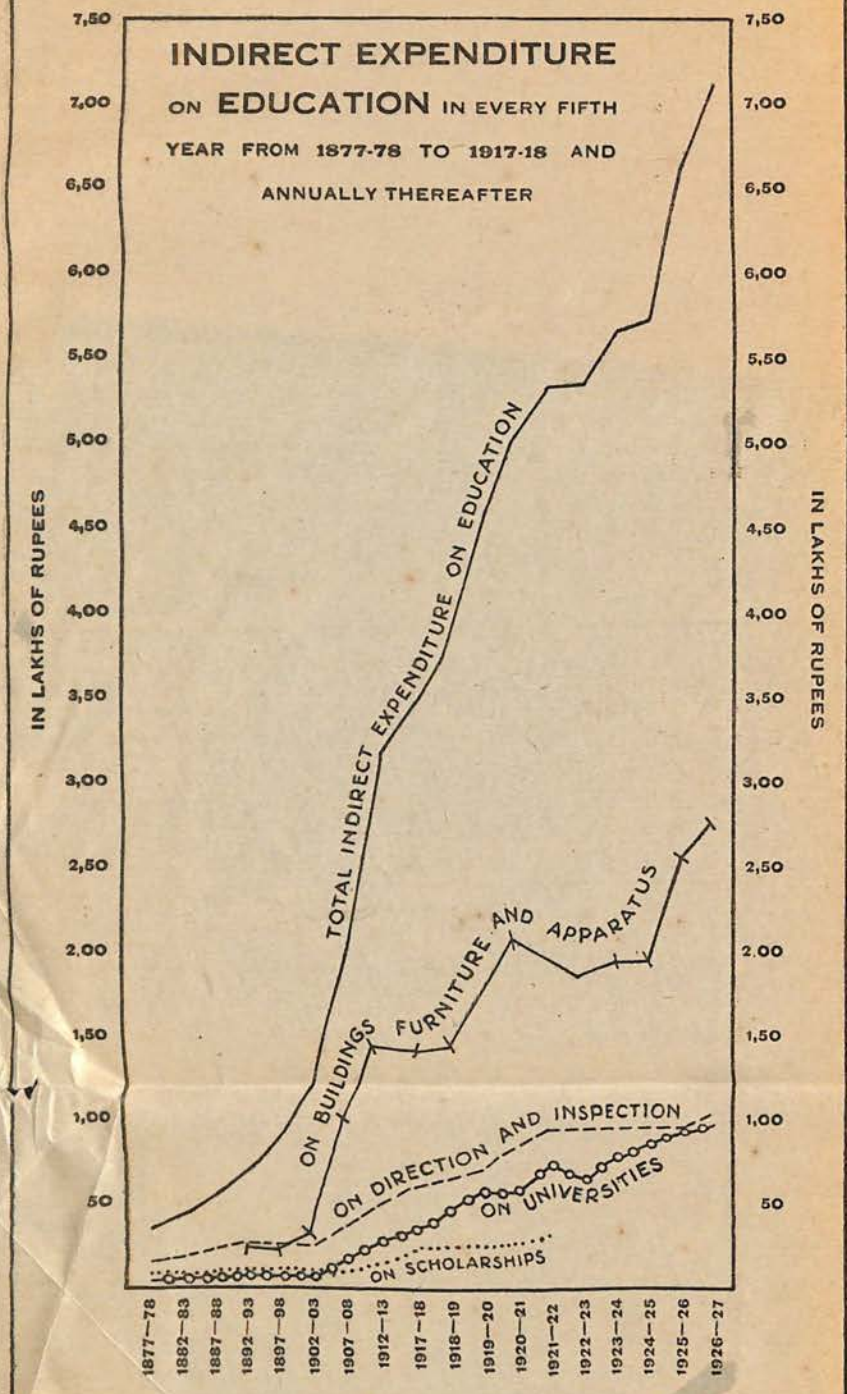
We may now turn to the progress of education in the Provinces during 1926-27, the latest year for which provincial reports are available.

In Madras the most important educational feature of the year was the progress made with the Government's policy of expanding elementary education. Sanction was accorded for the opening of 1,554 schools. These included 409 board elementary schools, opened in centres with a population of 500 and above which, before this time, had been without schools; 500 aided board elementary schools for girls who thus shared in the general progress, and 500 elementary schools under the management of village panchayats—the participation of the latter in this sphere representing a new and interesting development.

Increased facilities for the training of women teachers were afforded during the year by the opening of two secondary training classes and a higher elementary training school. The general question of female education was discussed at a conference of women officers of the Indian and Madras Educational Services whose recommendations were under consideration at the close of the year.

Measures were taken to make the Government Muhammadan College, Madras, a complete college unit, additional classes being opened in order to permit students to graduate from the college itself instead of completing the course at other colleges.

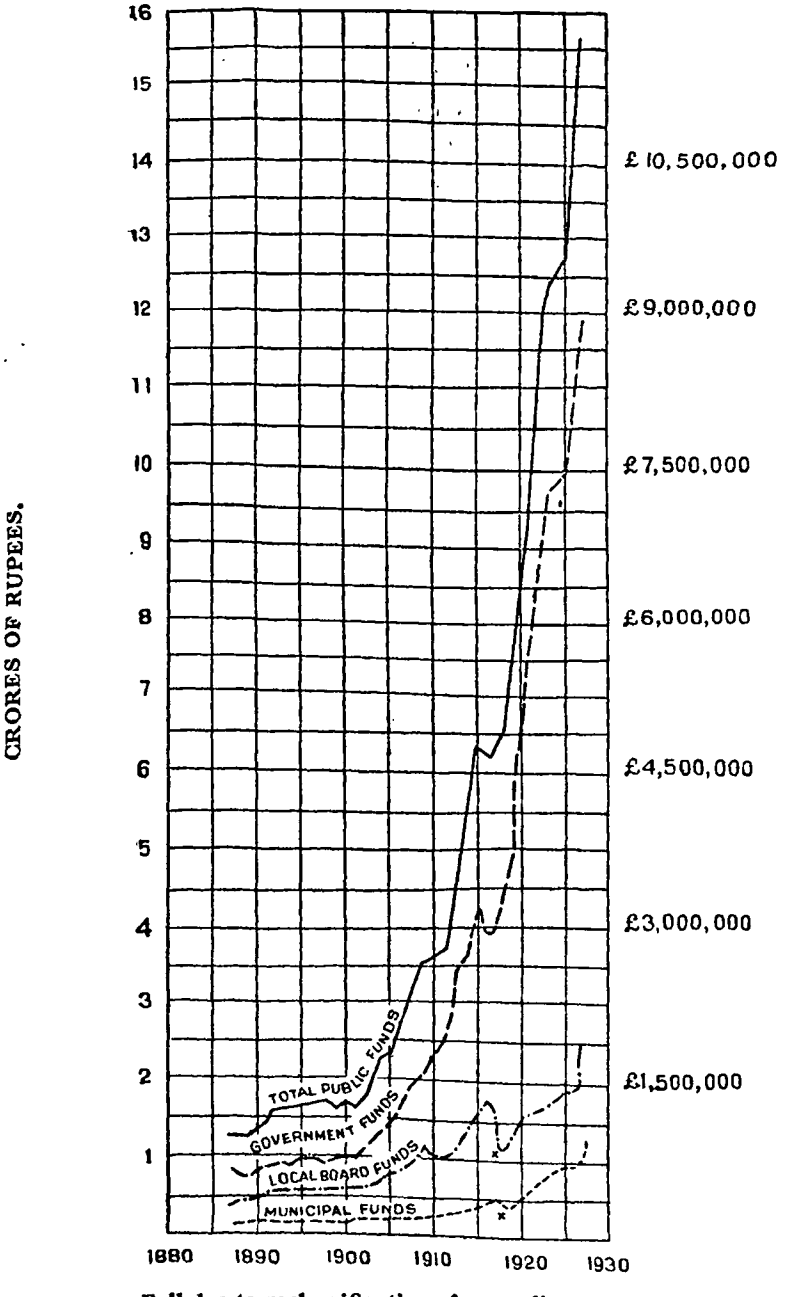
In Bombay continued progress in education was reported during the year, educational institutions and their pupils both increasing in numbers. The percentage of male scholars under instruction to the total male population was 9·12, the figure for females being 2·43, both higher than in the previous year. In the Presidency there are 26,731 towns and villages, of which 10,244 now possess schools, the average area served by each school being 12·1 square miles. The number of Secondary Schools also increased and so did the pupils, who now number over 100,000, of whom nearly 13,000 are girls. In Primary Schools the number of girls under instruction was 198,604, an increase of 16,518; the number of boys 851,483, an increase of 61,286. There are 15 Training Institutions in the Presidency for men and 18 for women, with 1,665 pupils, of



NOTE.—FIGURES OF EXPENDITURE ON "BUILDINGS, FURNITURE AND APPARATUS" ARE NOT AVAILABLE FOR YEARS PRIOR TO 1892-93: NOR IS THE EXPENDITURE ON "SCHOLARSHIPS" FOR YEARS SUBSEQUENT TO 1921-22 AVAILABLE

DIAGRAM.

Public Expenditure on Education.



x Fall due to reclassification of expenditure according to which Government contributions made to local bodies for education are included in expenditure from provincial funds.

whom 666 are women. The total number of Muhammadans under instruction increased by 14,276 to 187,919, of whom 26,562 were in girls' schools. There are nearly 451,000 Hindus receiving instruction in intermediate institutions and 121,555 members of the Backward Classes, including 61,600 of the Depressed Classes.

The total expenditure on Public Education rose during the year to over three hundred and eighty-one lakhs or more than twenty-eight and a half millions sterling. Of this sum, the Provincial Government provided 51·9 per cent.

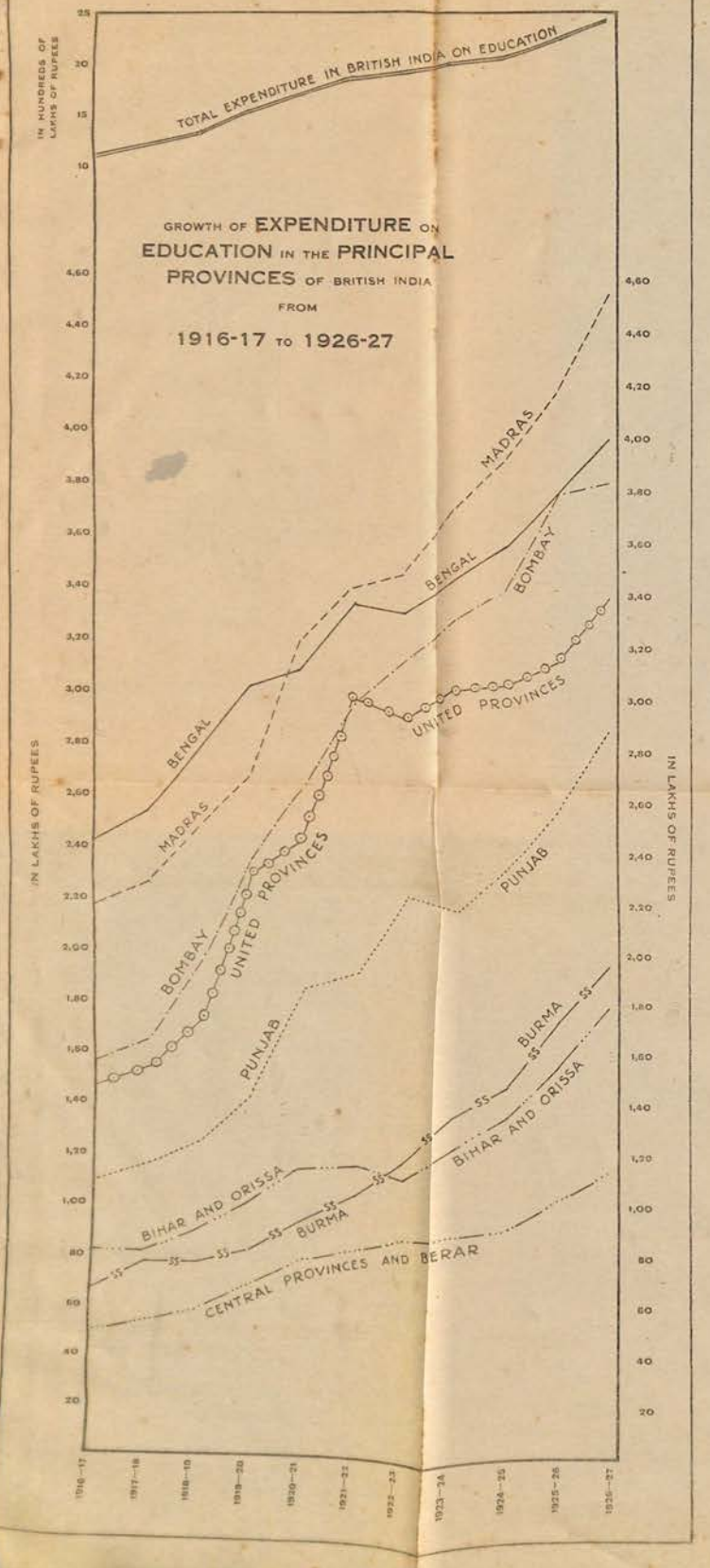
In Bengal, the unsatisfactory condition of secondary education mentioned in last year's report continued without any fundamental change and unfortunately, the Provincial Government were unable to provide increased grants for this branch of education. Until new sources of revenue are available these schools must continue to look to the public for their support. The situation of primary education has changed little during the year the only new feature being the allotment of an additional two lakhs per annum to supplement the pay of trained teachers in primary schools. While the actual percentage of Muhammadans at the primary stage of education, namely 51·4, may at first sight appear satisfactory, progress is more apparent than real, as the great proportion of the children are concentrated in classes I and II and get no further. This figure may be contrasted with the percentages in high and middle schools, 15·5 and 19·3, respectively—figures which reveal the true position of the Muhammadan community. Owing partly to the apathy of parents, partly to the distribution of the population and its remoteness from high schools, and partly to the strong preference which still exists for indigenous institutions like maktabs and madrassahs, little progress has been made towards higher education and in the secondary and collegiate grades the community is far behind. The Calcutta Islamia College was established during the year under report and is reserved for Moslems for whom places have also been reserved in some of the Arts and Professional Colleges, and in Government and aided high schools. Some institutions are reserved entirely for Muhammadans, and scholarships, stipends, free-studentships are bestowed on them liberally.

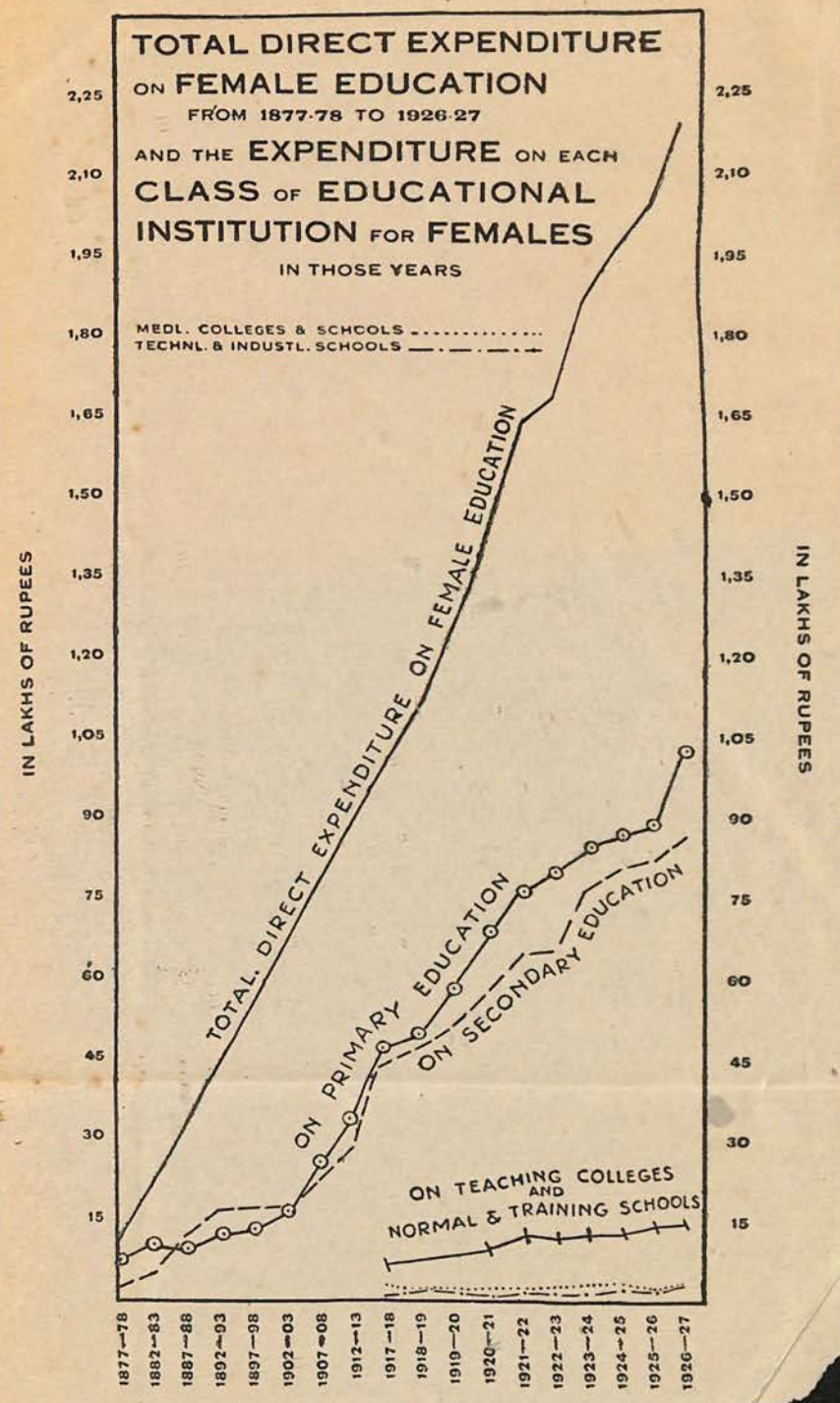
The opening of a new high school at Krishnagar and the prospect of changing the Coronation Girls' School at Khulna into a high school are symptoms of the growing demand for the higher education of girls. Attention is being given in a larger measure

to health and hygiene and a course in hygiene, first aid and home nursing has been added to the syllabus. The most significant event of the year, however, was the first conference of the Bengal Women's Education League in February 1927, when women interested in education as teachers or organisers met and discussed the various problems of women's education in the province.

In the United Provinces, during 1926-27, education continued to make great strides. As compared with last year there are now nearly 760 more educational institutions, and the number of scholars has increased by about 50,000 to 1,350,000. Expenditure has arisen by Rs. 25¼ lakhs to Rs. 3,38 lakhs, nearly 58 per cent. of which was contributed by the Provincial Government. By the end of 1927, 30 municipalities had adopted compulsory primary education, and schemes in respect of seven others have been sanctioned. Similar schemes are contemplated by a number of district boards, and 22 of these have been examined. Proposals made by 23 municipal boards for opening a total of 60 night schools were under consideration at the end of 1926-27. The tendency to unify the various types of secondary schools continues to develop whilst the number of secondary schools rose during the year to 889. The number of high and middle schools rose slightly to 236, but the number of primary schools rose by about 600. The number of institutions for female education has increased by nearly 50, and 81,300 girls are now receiving education in the United Provinces, of whom over 4,700 are reading in high and middle schools and over 54,000 in primary schools. The Crosthwaite Girls' College, Allahabad, and the Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow, continued to impart both degree and intermediate education, while the Theosophical National College, Benares, gives instruction only of the latter class. Missionary schools still form a majority of the establishments which enter for the education of girls. Complaints against the paucity of women teachers continue, and men still teach in several institutions for female education.

In Bihar and Orissa the most important event of the year was the opening of the new Science College at Patna. In pursuance of the policy of introducing vocational training into ordinary schools, five more classes in science and two more classes in manual training were started in Government high schools during 1927. In eight middle schools industrial classes were opened in such subjects as weaving, tailoring and carpentry. Four more district


GROWTH OF EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION IN THE PRINCIPAL PROVINCES OF BRITISH INDIA FROM 1916-17 TO 1926-27
TOTAL EXPENDITURE IN BRITISH INDIA ON EDUCATION
IN HUNDREDS OF LAKHS OF RUPEES
IN LAKHS OF RUPEES
BENGAL
MADRAS
BOMBAY
UNITED PROVINCES
PUNJAB
BURMA
BIHAR AND ORISSA
CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR
1916–17
1917–18
1918–19
1919–20
1920–21
1921–22
1922–23
1923–24
1924–25
1925–26
1926–27



NOTE.—THE TOTAL EXPENDITURE WAS MADE UP AL
ENTIRELY OF EXPENDITURE ON SECONDARY AND PR
SCHOOLS IN THE YEARS 1877-78 TO 1912-13.

boards availed themselves of the option of assuming the control of middle English schools. The numerical progress made in the sphere of primary education during the last five years has been remarkable, the increase in the total number of pupils being no less than 37 per cent. during this period. During the last year of this quinquennium progress was less rapid owing chiefly to a fall in the number of unaided schools. Improvement in the quality of primary education is now more necessary than expansion, and it is particularly important that the system of training teachers for elementary schools should be placed on a sounder basis. This question has been receiving the serious consideration of the Provincial Government, and a scheme has been drawn up at an estimated cost of Rs. 6·84 lakhs recurring, which, if introduced, will result in an adequate output of properly qualified teachers who have received a two years' course of training, although it will at the same time bring about a reduction in the number of elementary training schools from 116 to 64.

In the sphere of women's education the most important development was the creation of a special scale of pay within the Vernacular Teacher's Service for trained women matriculates. The rules for the grant of vernacular certificates to women teachers were also revised during this period.

An important event was the constitution in April of a permanent board to advise on the selection of candidates for first appointment to the provincial educational services. Another interesting measure was the experimental appointment, for a period of two years, of a special staff of inspecting officers to supervise the education of the untouchable castes.

In the Central Provinces the year has been one of consolidation and steady progress. The number of institutions has increased to 5,422 and the number of pupils under instruction from 377,983 to 399,289 during the past year. Of these 391,623 were reading in recognised schools. The total expenditure on public instruction amounted to Rs. 113·64 lakhs in 1926-27. Important building operations have been carried out, foremost among these being the construction of new buildings for the Victoria College of Science and the completion of a hostel for the College, additional bungalows for King Edward College, Amraoti, and the improvement of vernacular schools buildings, especially in Berar. In the colleges the number of students has increased from 1,383 to 1,410

and the Morris College, Nagpur, has now reached the limit of its present accommodation. The education of girls has received growing attention and a committee to enquire into the state of female education and make recommendations for its expansion and improvement was appointed by the Government of the Central Provinces in November 1926. Compulsory education is slowly but steadily gaining ground and spread during the year 1926-27 to 42 villages in the Bhandara and to 3 villages in the Raipur district. Before the end of the calendar year 1927 several other schemes for urban and rural areas came into operation.

In Burma expenditure on education rose still further during 1926-27, and came within measurable distance of two crores of rupees. Nearly half the total fell directly upon Provincial funds, while much of the expenditure nominally contributed by local bodies was indirectly drawn from Provincial revenues. There was a rise in the number of pupils in all stages of instruction. The increase was highest in the lower primary stage, in response to the decision to open 250 new elementary schools every year over a period of five years, but the number in the collegiate stage showed a greater proportional increase. Unfortunately economic reasons drive the great majority of parents to remove their children from school as soon as they are old enough to tend cattle or to look after their younger brothers and sisters and, in consequence, the numbers that persist to the upper primary and secondary stages are small indeed. The number of girls under instruction continued to rise rapidly, but it was estimated that only about 20 per cent. of the girls of school-going age were at school, and the great majority of these will be removed at a very early age. One of the most interesting schemes under consideration during the year was the replacement of the Anglo-vernacular normal schools by a central teachers' training college, which would work in conjunction with the University. The proposals, however, had not matured by the end of the year.

For the University one of the most important events of the year was the collection of funds throughout the province for an endowment intended to make the University less dependent on Government aid. Many generous donations were made, and at the end of the year the fund promised to reach very satisfactory figures. The fact that Arts and Law do not have things all their own way, and that Science, Engineering and Medical courses attract more

students than they used to do shows that the University is adjusting itself better to the needs of the province. The foundation stone of the new Medical College was laid in February, and the building was expected to be ready for use in 1929.

In Assam the year 1926-27 saw an increase in the expenditure on public instruction and in the number of all classes of educational institutions. A Primary Education Act to allow of the gradual introduction of free and compulsory education was passed during the year, and a special officer has been appointed to frame rules under it.

In a earlier chapter, we dealt at some length with the operations of the Central Agricultural Department, and it is not necessary here to go into the details of the work of the provincial departments. The main task of research falls on the central organisation, but the local departments do an immense amount of good work in distributing improved seeds and implements, demonstrating methods of cultivation, and so on.

It is with the Co-operative Society movement that we come to what is unquestionably one of the most promising and important of the efforts now being made to improve the conditions of life in India. Its activities are not confined merely to the agricultural population, although, of course, it is among them that it finds its greatest scope and widest field of work. It is now about 23 years since the Co-operative Societies movement was started in India and its record has been one of uninterrupted progress, the total number of Co-operative Societies having risen to well over 70,000. Moreover, the growth has, on the whole been a sound and healthy one, and if the most important of all the statistics which are prepared in connection with the Co-operative Societies are studied—the figures which show the overdue recoveries outstanding by the Societies—will be seen that the Co-operative movement in this country is in a good state of health.

It is obvious that in a land of the size of India, the Co-operative movement does not function under homogeneous conditions in every part. If the reader glances at the map of India, he will see on the east and in the centre an immense block of territory represented by Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the Central Provinces

and the United Provinces where, broadly speaking, the agriculturist is a tenant holding his land by one form of tenure or other from a landlord. This means that he can offer only personal security for any obligation contracted by him. To the north, west, and south of this block are the ryotwari provinces where the agriculturist as a rule has mortgageable rights in his land and therefore can offer real, instead of personal, security. Thus the Co-operative movement in the former group of provinces is faced with certain difficulties which do not appear in the latter group, and this general consideration should be borne in mind by all who study the work of the Co-operative Societies in India.

Through these societies a good deal of quiet constructive work has been carried on. Their membership and capital grow steadily, and one of their primary objects is the encouragement of thrift by collecting small shares, receiving deposits and attempting to induce members to make compulsory contributions for special purposes. In no province in India does the work of the Co-operative Societies and with the supply of credit or with the removal of indebtedness.

Agricultural non-credit societies are extending their operations every year. They undertake the joint sale of agricultural produce, the production and sale of implements and manures, the furtherance of irrigation projects, and the consolidation of holdings. They open dispensaries and schools; they assist the Agricultural Departments in spreading knowledge of improved methods of cultivation and they maintain communications and build new roads.

A striking feature of the working of the co-operative movement in Madras during the year is the large expansion which has taken place, as many as 1,455 new societies having been registered. At the end of the co-operative year, June 30th, 1927, there were over 13,000 societies at work in the Province. The Central Urban Bank and the district central banks enjoyed a successful year, while the divisible profits of the primary societies, both agricultural and non-agricultural, were also appreciable in most instances. The trading activities of non-credit societies, however, were not so brisk as in the previous year, although loans advanced on the security of standing crops and agricultural produce were considerable. Labour contract societies, the number of which increased during the year, are gradually establishing themselves. Those in the Tanjore district were able to secure the contracts for the execu-

tion of large piece works in connection with the Cauvery-Mettur irrigation project. The organisation of irrigation societies in dry areas for the erection of power pumps for lifting water received particular attention during the year and budget provision for the grant of loans to them has now been made. Of the ten land mortgage banks—a comparatively new and experimental feature of the movement—whose chief object is to enable cultivators to clear off old debts on their lands, two are now in working order.

Notwithstanding the very low prices of cotton and certain other kinds of agricultural produce which prevailed during the year, and the damage done to the crops in some areas by rain and locusts, the general progress of the Co-operative Movement in Bombay was steadily maintained during the year. The number of agricultural credit societies increased as also did their working capital. This progress was all the more satisfactory because it was not artificially fostered. It was spontaneous, and, was accomplished in the face of the discouragement given by the Co-operative Department to the formation of new societies which held out no promise of ultimate success. But a disquieting feature of the year was the large increase in the unauthorised arrears which rose from 36 lakhs to 82 lakhs, or 29 per cent. of the outstandings. The Provincial Co-operative Bank continued to make progress and opened three branches, of which there are now 16.

The Co-operative movement in Bengal had a fair year during 1926-27, but economic conditions were not really satisfactory. There was a general shortage of money in the districts, the demand from societies was very keen, and for the first time the Provincial Bank found it difficult to comply with the applications for loans sent in from different centres. The introduction of long-term and short-term loans mentioned has greatly improved the facilities for obtaining credit from the Imperial Bank, not only of the Provincial Co-operative Bank but of the local Central Banks and selected Urban Banks. This arrangement has, in fact, considerably increased the resources as a whole of the co-operative movement and will assist in keeping a major portion of the assets of societies in a fluid state. A scheme of Land Mortgage Banks is now under the consideration of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies and has been referred to the Central Banks for an expression of their opinion. The co-operative movement generally seems to be steadily taking a deeper hold on the province, and the extension of its

activities in the marketing and sale of produce is a gratifying feature. On the non-credit side the progress of the movement is satisfactory. There are now 78 sale societies. The most important of those started during the year are at Narayanganj, Akhoura, Chowmohani and Nakalia (Shahzadpur) most of them having as their main objective the co-operative sale of jute. On the whole the experience gained during the year is satisfactory, although the financial results have not been particularly bright. The most notable event in connection with these non-credit societies is the establishment of the Bengal Wholesale Society, Limited, with which various sale societies have now affiliated themselves. This has to a large extent solved some of the difficult problems which confronted the sale societies last year. Owing to an unprecedented demand from all sides, more attention was paid to the promotion of industrial co-operation than was possible in previous years. The success of the Calcutta Milk Union and its affiliated societies has created a demand for the establishment of similar unions and societies in every big district. Co-operative irrigation societies are a special feature in the districts of Bankura and Birbhum, and towards the end of the year a demand arose for the formation of such societies in the districts of Malda, Burdwan and Midnapore.

The visit of the Royal Commission on Agriculture to Bengal created considerable interest in agricultural and co-operative matters. At the time of their visit there, the Dacca and some other Central Banks with the assistance of the Bengal Co-operative Organisation Society organised a Divisional Conference to which Lord Linlithgow and some of the members of the Commission paid a visit. An interesting and perhaps somewhat curious development of the movement appears in the continuous growth of societies with public or social aims as their main object.

The year 1926-27 was a successful one for the Co-operative movement in the United Provinces. The special feature of the period, however, was not so much the advance of the movement as its general reorganization in matters of detail with a view to achieving a more healthy development than has been possible in previous years. During the year ending June 30, 1927, the number of central societies was practically the same as in the previous year, *i.e.*, 70, though their working capital increased by nearly two lakhs of rupees and their share capital by a lakh. There has been an increase both in the number and in the membership

of non-agricultural societies, whose capital rose during the year by nearly Rs. 2½ lakhs. With the weeding out of useless societies in the United Provinces the development of the movement is more assured. No less than twelve new schools for adults have been started and are in full working order. In a quiet way several credit societies have made improvements in farming. An interesting development is that in one case tenants have adopted the practice of paying their rents to the landlord through their society, instead of paying directly to his representatives.

In Bihar and Orissa, the progress of the Co-operative movement was slower this year than usual. Provisional figures for the year 1927 indicate that 510 new societies of various kinds were registered during the twelve months, comprising 501 primary societies, 7 guarantee unions and 2 central banks—while 64 societies were liquidated during the same period. In the past, too much importance has been attached to the numerical expansion of the movement and too little to the well-being of the existing societies. There is reason to fear that the movement is not developing on altogether sound lines, and it has been thought better to concentrate attention on consolidating the ground already won rather than strive after further expansion. Village societies continued to form a common meeting-place for all agencies of progress, and particularly valuable work was done, in co-operation with the Agricultural Department, in demonstrating the value of new and untried seeds and manures. The floods in Orissa provided an opportunity to the movement to show its practical utility. The provincial bank made a donation of Rs. 1,000 to charitable relief funds, while special loans were issued to the affected societies at a low rate of interest. Most of the central banks have now taken up seriously the task of giving proper training to the *panches* of primary societies and the secretaries of guarantee unions.

Consolidation rather than expansion was the feature of the year under review in the Central Provinces. Some societies were cancelled, and about half their number of new societies were registered. The policy of recognization of promising societies continues, and during the year 548 societies were recognized in the Central Provinces and 70 in Berar. Progress was also made in regard to the formation or conversion of societies on a share basis, and the number of such societies now stands at 323 against 116 in the previous year. The number of societies enjoying the benefit of the reserve

fund scheme has increasd. This scheme has the effect of stimulating punctuality in repayment, reducing arrears and enlisting new members. There was some improvement in the condition of primary societies, but recoveries of principal have declined mainly owing to the unfavourable agricultural conditions of this year, and in Berar particularly, to the poor harvests during the last three years and the continuous fall in the price of cotton.

During 1926-27 the extension of the co-operative movement in Assam continued to be steady with but few set-backs. The number of societies of all kinds increased as also did the number of those affiliated to central banks. Among developments of the movement in this province, which merit special attention, are the Kamrup Co-operative Land Mortgage Bank and the organisation of a Jute Sale Society in the Nowgong district. The Agricultural Department made greater use of co-operative societies for the distribution of seeds and implements than in the previous year and the Surma Valley Co-operative Organisation Society continued to do useful propaganda work. Important recommendations relating to the development of Co-operative Societies are now under the consideration of the Provincial Government.

The importance of the part played by cottage industries in rural economics in India as elsewhere need not be demonstrated here, for it is sufficiently obvious. Here in India it is possible to apply some of the lessons which have been learnt in Western countries as the result of often bitter experience, and no provincial Government is blind to its responsibilities in the matter of the introduction or development of rural industries. Departments for the development of industries are in existence in Madras, Bombay, the Punjab, the United Provinces, Bengal and Bihar and Orissa, and amongst their functions is that of the supervision and, where possible, the assisting of rural industries. An Industrial Loans Act has been passed in the Punjab, whilst Madras and Bihar and Orissa have passed State Aid to Industries Acts. Under these Acts assistance can be given from provincial revenues subject to certain conditions for private enterprise for starting new industries. Wherever there is an Industries Department, the development of rural industries benefits to a certain extent and much good work has been done during the past few years in this direction.

In Madras the survey of cottage industries, undertaken with a view to their revival and establishment on an economic basis as subsidiary occupations for agriculturists in the non-agricultural season, was completed in four districts of the Presidency during the year. Five peripatetic weaving parties continued to demonstrate the Department's hand-driven sizing machine and to distribute warp, prepared in most cases from yarns supplied by the weavers themselves. Some of the most important work done by the department is in the sphere of industrial education. The Madras Trades School is growing in popularity and applicants for admission were again numerous and of a good standard of general education. Many applicants for admission to the preparatory classes which are a new feature of the School, had to be refused admission for lack of accommodation. Industrial schools recognized by the Government increased in number to 61, all of which except six are aided by grants from public funds.

With its headquarters staff at full strength, and after the opening of the research laboratory in Calcutta the Bengal Industries Department is fully equipped to carry out the policy outlined by the Industrial Commission. It is to be feared, however, that the great change in industrial conditions since the date of the Commission's report has renderd the achievement of success on the lines anticipated by the Commission much more difficult than was at first thought. On the research side the Industrial Chemist has undertaken a number of investigations relating to the better utilisation of raw materials available in Bengal. His improved process for the purification of shellac was demonstrated in Malda, and he has concluded certain experiments on match head compositions. The Bengal Tanning Institute has been established on a permanent basis and research has been continued into many difficult and interesting problems connected with local leather and its tanning. On the educational side instruction is given to a number of apprentices, who are put through a regular course. The value of the export trade in hides and skins through Calcutta is immense, and there is no reason why local tanners should not have a bigger share in the industrial side of the business. An interesting development is the establishment of classes for women, some of whom on the completion of their training, will be employed in the formation of female peripatetic demonstration parties for the training of *purdanashin* women at their own homes. The Silk weaving and

dyeing Institute at Berhampore has recently been opened, and it is gratifying to know that a large number of candidates for admission have come forward. The needs of the Province as regards technical education and instruction in weaving are well-known, and the Bengal Government have granted a fixed increase of Rs. 30,000 per annum for three years to the grant-in-aid allotment for these objects.

In the United Provinces the Government have made strenuous efforts to encourage research and broadcast the results obtained. They have done pioneer work in establishing new factories; they have instituted technical surveys, and given scholarships to students for studying modern methods of production abroad at the centres of industrial progress; they have started technical schools, and they have given loans and grants to nascent industries. Over a hundred demonstrations of various kinds were given during the year at fairs and exhibitions for the benefit chiefly of the rural population.

The Department of Industries in Bihar and Orissa was created as recently as 1920 to supervise the provision of technical and industrial education and to stimulate the industrial development of the province. More than three quarters of the expenditure of this department is still devoted to educational work. The Bihar College of Engineering completed the third year of its existence in July. A mechanical apprentice class was introduced during the year in the Ranchi Industrial School, the status of which has thus been raised to that of a technical institute. A new committee of management has been constituted, and applications for admission into all the classes were again very satisfactory. The Tirhut Technical Institute, which was started in July 1925, had already become popular and appears to be doing useful work. The district board of Purnea has decided to open two industrial schools, to which carpentry, smithy and weaving classes will be attached. Various schemes for the development of different industries are being considered by the Government of the Province, these including the establishment of a cottage industries institute at Cuttack, and the installation of two power looms in the existing institute at Gulzarbagh.

The Central Provinces Industries Department continued its educative propaganda in the sphere of cottage industries. In the sphere of home industries, the campaign to introduce improved

sleys among weavers was extended outside urban areas, in spite of the depression in the cotton trade, and 1,028 fly-shuttle sleys were sold as compared with 347 in the previous year. The rise in the price of yarn and the fall in the price of mill-made cloth has intensified the difficulties of weavers in marketing their goods at a profit, and the teaching of the use of the improved sleys to this class of artizan is, therefore, important. Further experiments in the demonstration of modern methods of demonstration of knitting and webbing manufacture by means of modern appliances is contemplated. An increasing demand is being made for industrial education, and the opening of two new aided schools is projected in addition to those already existing. The Leather Tanning School opened late in 1925 has now successfully turned out six trained apprentices.

The activities of the Assam Industries Department continued, as in past years, to be mainly confined to the encouragement of handloom weaving and sericulture and to the control of technical and industrial education. There was, however, expansion along certain lines during the course of the year. It has been decided, for example, to form a fourth peripatetic weaving party and to open sections in the Gauhati Weaving Institute and the Surma Valley Technical School for the special instruction of females. The industrial schools well maintain their standard of training and their students are finding employment.

Compressed as is the foregoing account of some of the most important and fruitful of the manifold activities of the Indian Provincial Governments, it nevertheless shows something of the scope and variety of the attempts which are being made to improve the conditions of living, the civic capacity and the economic conditions of the masses of this country, and if progress seems often to observers to be disappointingly slight and slow, the level from which the progress started must be remembered.

APPENDIX I (*a*).

THE INDIAN STATUTORY COMMISSION.

GEORGE R.I.

GEORGE THE FIFTH, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India, to

Our Right Trusty and Well-Beloved Counsellor Sir John Allsebrook Simon, Knight Commander of the Royal Victorian Order, Officer of Our Most Excellent Order of the British Empire.

Our right Trusty and Well-Beloved Cousin Harry Lawson Webster, Viscount Burnham, Knight Grand Cross of our Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Member of the Order of the Companions of Honour, upon whom We have conferred the Territorial Decoration;

Our right Trusty and Well-Beloved Donald Sterling Palmer, Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal.

Our Trusty and Well-Beloved Edward Cecil George Cadogan, Esquire (commonly called the Honourable Edward Cecil George Cadogan), Companion of Our Most Honourable Order of the Bath;

Our Right Trusty and Well-Beloved Counsellor Stephen Walsh;*

Our Right Trusty and Well-Beloved Counsellor George Richard Lane-Fox, Honorary Colonel, the Yorkshire Hussars Yeomanry, upon whom We have conferred the Territorial Decoration;

Our Trusty and Well-Beloved Clement Richard Attlee, Esquire, Major, late South Lancashire Regiment;

Greeting!

Whereas We have deemed it expedient that the Commission for which provision is made in Section 84A of the Government of India Act should forthwith be appointed for the purpose of inquiring into the working of the system of government, the growth of education, and the development of representative institutions, in British India, and matters connected therewith, and should report as to whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible government, or to extend, modify, or restrict the degree of responsible government then existing therein, including the question whether the establishment of second chambers of the local legislature is or is not desirable:

Now know ye that We, reposing great trust and confidence in your knowledge and ability, have on the advice of Our Secretary of State for India acting with the concurrence of both Houses of Parliament authorised and appointed, and do by these Presents authorise and appoint you, the said Sir John Allsebrook Simon (Chairman); Harry Lawson Webster, Viscount Burnham; Donald Sterling Palmer, Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal; Edward Cecil George Cadogan; Stephen Walsh; George Richard Lane-

* NOTE.—The Right Hon'ble Stephen Walsh having resigned for reasons of ill-health the Right Hon'ble Vernon Hartshorn was appointed in his place under a Warrant, dated the 7th December 1927.

Fox and Clement Richard Attlee to be Our Commissioners for the purposes aforesaid.

And for the better effecting the purposes of this Our Commission, We do by these Presents give and grant unto you, or any three or more of you, full power at any place in Our United Kingdom or in India or elsewhere in Our Dominions to call before you such persons as you shall judge likely to afford you any information upon the subject of this Our Commission: and also whether in Our said Kingdom, or in India, or elsewhere in our Dominions to call for information in writing; to call for, have access to and examine all such books, documents, registers and records as may afford you the fullest information on the subject, and to inquire of and concerning the premises by all other lawful ways and means whatsoever, including the appointment by the Commission with the sanction of Our Secretary of State for India, of any person or persons to make subordinate enquiries and to report the result to the Commission:

And We do by these Presents authorise and empower you or any of you to visit and inspect personally such places as you may deem it expedient so to inspect for the more effectual carrying out of the purposes aforesaid:

And We do by these Presents will and ordain that this Our Commission shall continue in full force and virtue, and that you, Our said Commissioners, or any three or more of you, may from time to time proceed in the execution thereof, and of every matter and thing therein contained, although the same be not continued from time to time by adjourment:

And We do further ordain that you, or any three or more of you, have liberty to report your proceedings under this Our Commission from time to time if you shall judge it expedient so to do:

And Our further will and pleasure is that you do, with as little delay as possible, report to Us under your hands and seals, or under the hands and seals of any three or more of you, your opinion upon the matters herein submitted for your consideration.

Given at Our Court at *Saint James's* the *Twenty-sixth* day of *November*, One thousand nine hundred and twenty-seven; in the Eighteenth Year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command.
W. Joynson-Hicks.

APPENDIX I (*b*).

STATEMENT BY H. E. THE VICEROY.

Eight years ago the British Parliament enacted a Statute which regulated the conditions under which India might learn by actual experience whether or not the Western system of representative government was the most appropriate means through which she might attain responsible self-government within the Empire. That statute never professed to incorporate irrevocable decisions, and recognised that its work must of necessity be reviewed in the light of fuller knowledge with the lapse of years. Parliament accordingly enacted that at the end of ten years, at latest, a Statutory Commission should be appointed to examine and report upon the progress made.

Considerable pressure has during recent years been exercised to secure anticipation of the statute, but His Majesty's Government has hitherto felt that circumstances in India were not such as to justify, in the interests of India itself, advancement of the date at which the future development of the constitution would be considered. So, long as the unwise counsels of political non-co-operation prevailed, it was evident that the conditions requisite for calm appraisement of a complicated constitutional problem were lacking, and that an earlier enquiry would have been likely only to crystallise in opposition two points of view, between which it must be the aim and the duty of statesmanship to effect reconcilliation. But there have been signs latterly that while those who have been foremost in advancing the claims of India to full self-government have in no way abandoned principles they have felt it their duty to assert, yet there is in many quarters a greater disposition to deal with the actual facts of the situation and to appreciate what I believe to be most indubitably true, namely, that the differences which exist on these matters are differences of method or pace, and not differences of principle or disagreements as to the goal which we all alike desire to reach.

It is also certain that the review, if it is to be thorough, and deal adequately with the issues that will claim attention, will have much ground to cover, and, both for this stage and for those that will necessarily follow, it is important to ensure a sufficient allowance of time, without unduly postponing the date by which final action could be undertaken.

There is another element in the present position, which is immediately relevant to the question of when the work of the Commission should begin. We are all aware of the great, the unhappily great, part played in the life of India recently by communal tension and antagonism, and of the obstacle thus imposed to Indian political development. It might be argued that in such circumstances it was desirable to delay the institution of the Commission as long as possible, in the hope that this trouble might in the meantime abate. On the other hand it seems not impossible, that the uncertainty of what constitutional changes might be imminent may have served to sharpen this antagonism, and that each side may have been, consciously or unconsciously, actuated by the desire to strengthen, as they supposed, their relative position in anticipation of the Statutory Commission. Wherever

such activities may first begin, the result is to create a vicious circle, in which all communities are likely to feel themselves constrained to extend their measures of self-defence.

The fact that these fierce antagonisms are irreconcilable with the whole idea of Indian nationalism has not been powerful enough to exercise its influence over great numbers of people in all classes, and I suspect that the communal issue is so closely interwoven in the political, that suspense and uncertainty in regard to the political react rapidly and unfavourably upon the communal situation. Fear is frequently the parent of bad temper, and when men are afraid, as they are to-day, of the effect unknown political changes may have, they are abnormally ready to seek relief from, and an outlet for, their fears in violent and hasty action. In so far as these troubles are the product of suspense, one may hope for some relief through action taken to limit the period of uncertainty.

Having regard to such considerations as these, His Majesty's Government has decided to invite Parliament to advance the date of the enquiry and to assent forthwith to the establishment of the Commission. Subject to the obtaining of this necessary authority, His Majesty's Government hopes that the Commission will proceed to India as early as possible in the New Year for a short visit, returning to India in October for the performance of their main task.

The task of the Commission will be no easy one. In the governing words of the Statute, which will constitute its terms of reference, it will be charged with "inquiring into the working of the system of government, the growth of education, and the development of representative institutions, in British India, and matters connected therewith, and the Commission shall report as to whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible government, or to extend, modify, or restrict the degree of responsible government then existing therein, including the question whether the establishment of second chambers of the local legislatures is or is not desirable".

His Majesty's Government have naturally given careful thought to the most appropriate agency for the conduct of an enquiry so comprehensive and unrestricted.

The question of what should be the composition of the Commission is one to which the answer must inevitably be greatly influenced by the nature of the task which Parliament has to perform in the light of its advice. In order that the decision at which His Majesty's Government have arrived may be fully understood, it is necessary to state in a few words what they conceive that task to be. If it were simply the drawing up of a constitution which Parliament, which must in any circumstances be the final arbiter, would impose on India from without, the problem would be comparatively simple. But that is not how His Majesty's Government conceive it. The preamble to the Act of 1919 recognised in effect that, with the development of Indian political thought during the last generation, legitimate aspirations towards responsible government had been formed of which account must be taken. His Majesty's present Government desire no less to take account of those aspirations, and their hope is to lay before Parliament—after the

investigation into facts prescribed by the Act—conclusions which shall so far as is practicable have been reached by agreement with all the parties concerned. It is with this object steadily in view that His Majesty's Government have considered both the composition of the Commission and the procedure to be followed in dealing with its report.

It would be generally agreed that what is required is a Commission which would be unbiassed and competent to present an accurate picture of facts to Parliament; but it must also be a body on whose recommendations Parliament should be found willing to take whatever action a study of these facts may indicate to be appropriate.

To fulfil the first requirement it would follow that the Commission should be such as may approach its task with sympathy and a real desire to assist India to the utmost of its power, but with minds free from preconceived conclusions on either side. It is, however, open to doubt whether a Commission constituted so as to include a substantial proportion of Indian members, and, as it rightly would, British official members also, would satisfy the first condition of reaching conclusions unaffected by any process of *a priori* reasoning. On the one hand it might be felt that the desires, natural and legitimate, of the Indian members to see India a self-governing nation could hardly fail to colour their judgment of her present capacity to sustain the rôle. On the other hand, there are those who might hold that British official members would be less than human if their judgment were not in some degree affected by long and close contact with the questions to which they would now be invited to apply impartial minds.

But even after such a Commission had written its report, Parliament would inevitably approach consideration of it with some element of mental reservation due to an instinctive feeling that the advice in more than one case represented views to which the holder was previously committed. It would move uncertainly among conclusions, the exact value of which, owing to unfamiliarity with the minds of their framers, it would feel unable to appraise.

We should, however, be making a great mistake if we supposed that these matters were purely constitutional, or could be treated merely as the subject of judicial investigation. Indian opinion has a clear title to ask that in the elaboration of a new instrument of government, their solution of the problem, or their judgment on other solutions which may be proposed, should be made an integral factor in the examination of the question and be given due weight in the ultimate decision. It is therefore essential to find means by which Indians may be made parties to the deliberations so nearly affecting the future of their country.

Balancing these various considerations, and endeavouring to give due weight to each, His Majesty's Government have decided upon the following procedure:—

They propose to recommend to His Majesty that the Statutory Commission should be composed as follows:—

Chairman—The Right Hon. Sir John Simon, M.P.; Members—The Viscount Burnham, The Lord Strathcona, The Hon. E. Cadogan, M.P., The Right Hon. Stephen Walsh, M.P., Colonel The Right Hon. George Lane-Fox, M.P., and Major C. R. Attlee, M.P.

His Majesty's Government cannot of course dictate to the Commission what procedure it shall follow, but they are of opinion that its task in taking evidence would be greatly facilitated if it were to invite the Central Legislature to appoint a Joint Select Committee, chosen from its elected and nominated unofficial members, which would draw up its views and proposals in writing and lay them before the Commission for examination in such manner as the latter may decide. This Committee might remain in being for any consultation which the Commission might desire at subsequent stages of the enquiry. It should be clearly understood that the purpose of this suggestion is not to limit the discretion of the Commission in hearing other witnesses.

His Majesty's Government suggest that a similar procedure should be adopted with the Provincial Legislatures.

The vast area to be covered may make it desirable that the task of taking evidence on the more purely administrative questions involved should be undertaken by some other authority, which would be in the closest touch with the Commission. His Majesty's Government suggest that the Commission on arrival in India should consider and decide by what machinery this work may most appropriately be discharged. This will not of course debar the Commission from the advantage of taking evidence itself upon these subjects to whatever extent it may think desirable.

When the Commission has reported and its report has been examined by the Government of India and His Majesty's Government, it will be the duty of the latter to present proposals to Parliament. But it is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to ask Parliament to adopt these proposals without first giving a full opportunity for Indian opinion of different schools to contribute its view upon them.

And to this end it is intended to invite Parliament to refer these proposals for consideration by a Joint Committee of both Houses, and to facilitate the presentation to that Committee both of the view of the Indian Central Legislature by delegations who will be invited to attend and confer with the Joint Committee, and also of the views of any other bodies whom the Joint Parliamentary Committee may desire to consult.

In the opinion of His Majesty's Government the procedure contemplated fulfils to a very great extent the requisites outlined above.

Such a Commission, drawn from men of every British political party, and presided over by one whose public position is due to outstanding ability and character, will evidently bring fresh, trained, and unaffected judgment to bear upon an immensely complex constitutional issue.

Moreover, the findings of some of its own members can count in advance upon a favourable reception at the hands of Parliament, which will recognise them to speak from a common platform of thought, and to be applying standards of judgment which Parliament will feel instinctively to be its own. For myself I cannot doubt that the quickest and surest path of those who desire Indian progress is by the persuasion of Parliament, and that they can do this more certainly through members of both Houses of Parliament than in any other way. The Indian nationalist has gained much if he can convince Members of Parliament on the spot, and I would therefore go

further and say that if those who speak for India have confidence in the case which they advance on her behalf, they ought to welcome such an opportunity being afforded to as many members of the British Legislature as may be thus to come into contact with the realities of Indian life and politics.

Furthermore, while it is for these reasons of undoubted advantage to all who desire an extension of the Reforms that their case should be heard in the first instance by those who can command the unquestioned confidence of Parliament, I am sanguine enough to suppose that the method chosen by His Majesty's Government will also assure to Indians a better opportunity than they could have enjoyed in any other way of influencing the passage of these great events. For not only will they, through representatives of the Indian Legislatures, be enabled to express themselves freely to the Commission itself, but it will also be within their power to challenge in detail or principle any of the proposals made by His Majesty's Government before the Joint Select Committee of Parliament, and to advocate their own solutions. It should be observed moreover that at this stage Parliament will not have been asked to express any opinion on particular proposals and therefore, so far as Parliament is concerned, the whole field will still be open.

I hope that there will be none, whatever may be their political opinions, who will fail to take advantage of this potent means thus presented to them of establishing direct contact between the Indian and British peoples. There will be some whose inclination, it may be, will prompt them to condemn the scheme of procedure on which His Majesty's Government has decided. Others may criticise this or that part of the proposals. The reply to these last is that the plan outlined stands as a single comprehensive whole, and should be so regarded. Of the first, I would ask in all sincerity whether disagreement on the particular machinery to effect the end which we all alike pursue is sufficient ground for any man to stand aside, and decline to lend his weight to the joint effort of peoples that this undertaking represents. I have never concealed from myself that there are and will be differences of opinion between the two peoples, just as there are differences of opinion within Great Britain and India on these matters. It is through disagreement, and the clash of judgment, that it is given to us ultimately to approach the knowledge of the truth. It is also inevitable that on issues so momentous, difference of judgment will be founded on deep and sincere conviction. But, if difficult, our general line of conduct is surely plain. Where possible it is our duty to bring these differences to agreement; where this is at any given moment not practicable without surrender of something fundamental to our position, it is our duty to differ as friends, each respecting the standpoint of the other, and each being careful to see that we say or do nothing that will needlessly aggravate differences which we are unable immediately to resolve.

The effect that such differences will have upon the relations between the two countries will depend upon something which lies deeper than the differences themselves. All friendships are subject at times to strains which try the tempers and lay men under the necessity of exercising considerable forbearance and restraint. Such strains are indeed a sovereign test, for just as one is the stronger for rising superior to the temptation to which

another yields, so true friendship flourishes on the successful emergence from the very test which would dissolve any less firmly founded partnership. In real friendship each party is constrained to see the best in the other's case—to give credit for the best motives, and place the most charitable interpretation upon actions which they might wish otherwise. Above all, friends will strive to correct differences by appeal to the many things on which they are agreed, rather than lightly imperil friendship by insistence on points in regard to which they take conflicting views.

Thus I would fain trust it would be in the present case. I do not think I am mistaken if I assert that it is the fixed determination of the overwhelming majority of the citizens both of India and Great Britain to hold firmly by the good-will which, through many trials and it may be through some false steps on the part of each, has meant much to both. In each country there may be from time to time misunderstanding of the other. Let us not magnify such things beyond their value. Least of all let us permit such transient influences to lead us to lose sight of the rich prize of achievement of a common purpose, which we may assuredly win together but can hardly win in separation. It is my most earnest hope that this joint endeavour to solve a problem, on the wise treatment of which so much depends, may be inspired by such a spirit as shall offer good hope of reaching an issue to the great and abiding good of India and of all her sons.

IRWIN,
Viceroy and Governor General.

The 8th November, 1927.

APPENDIX I (*c*).

THE PRIME MINISTER: Yes; and I apologise to the House for the rather long answer. As the House will remember, one of the provisions contained in the Indian Reforms Act of 1919 required " at the expiration of 10 years after the passing " of that Act, the appointment, with the concurrence of both Houses of Parliament, of persons to be a Commission to inquire into the working of the Indian constitution and to consider the desirability of establishing, extending, modifying or restricting the degree of responsible government then existing there. The Government have decided, for various reasons which I need not now specify, that it is desirable to anticipate the date (December, 1929) contemplated by the Act and to appoint this most important Royal Commission forthwith.

Balancing the various considerations and endeavouring to give due weight to each, His Majesty's Government have decided upon the following procedure:

(*a*) They propose to recommend to His Majesty that the Statutory Commission should be composed as follows:

The right hon. and learned Member for Spen Valley—

Sir John Simon (*Chairman*);

Lord Burnham;

Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal;

The Hon. Member for Finchley (Mr. Cadogan);

The Right Hon. Member for Ince (Mr. Stephen Walsh);

The Right Hon. Gentleman the Minister of Mines (Colonel Lane-Fox);

The Hon. and Gallant Member for Lime-house (Major Attlee).

These names will be submitted to both Houses in Resolutions.

(*b*) His Majesty's Government cannot, of course, dictate to the Commission what procedure it shall follow, but they are of opinion that its task in taking evidence would be greatly facilitated if it were to invite the Central Indian Legislature to appoint a Joint Select Committee, chosen from its elected and nominated un-official members, which would draw up its views and proposals in writing and lay them before the Commission for examination in such manner as the latter may decide. This Committee might remain in being for any consultation which the Commission might desire at subsequent stages of the inquiry. It should be clearly understood that the purpose of this suggestion is not to limit the discretion of the Commission in hearing other witnesses.

(*c*) His Majesty's Government suggest that a similar procedure should be adopted with the provincial legislatures.

(*d*) The vast area to be covered may make it desirable that the task of taking evidence on the more purely administrative questions involved should be undertaken by some other authority which would be in the closest touch with the Commission. His Majesty's Government suggest that the Commis-

sion on arrival in India should consider and decide by what machinery this work may most appropriately be discharged. This will not, of course, debar the Commission from the advantage of taking evidence itself upon these subjects to whatever extent it may think desirable.

(*e*) When the Commission has reported and its Report has been examined by the Government of India and His Majesty's Government it will be the duty of the latter to present proposals to Parliament. But it is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to ask Parliament to adopt these proposals without first giving a full opportunity for Indian opinion of different schools to contribute its view upon them. And to this end it is intended to invite Parliament to refer these proposals to consideration by a Joint Committee of both Houses and to facilitate the presentation to that Committee both of the views of the Indian Central Legislature by delegations, who will be invited to attend and confer with the Joint Committee, and also of the views of any other bodies whom the Joint Parliamentary Committee may desire to consult.

The ante-dating of the Commission involves an amendment of the Act and a Bill to this end will be introduced at once.

MR. MACDONALD: I am sure the whole House will recognise the grave importance of the statement that has just been made. May I ask the Prime Minister when he proposes to take these Resolutions recommending His Majesty's Government to make these appointments, and when we may expect to have the Bill before us? The sooner the better.

THE PRIME MINISTER: I agree. I cannot give the actual date, but it will be our endeavour to have it as soon as possible. We will keep in touch through the usual channels. I understand that the Bill amending the law has to come first; it will be a Bill merely altering the date. It may be for the convenience of the House to say that I think the main discussion will take place better on the Resolutions in which the names are concerned. That will give us a wider scope.

MR. MACDONALD: Does the Prime Minister propose to introduce the Bill here or in another place?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I understand the Bill is being introduced in another place to-day.

MR. PETHICK-LAWRENCE: Is it the intention to fix any date for the termination of the labours of the Commission, or can the Prime Minister give us any indication when he anticipates the Commission will finish its labours?

THE PRIME MINISTER: No, Sir. With regard to questions on details of that kind they can be answered much better when the discussion takes place in this House, and Members have not had time yet to study the answer, which is rather a long one.

SIR FRANK NELSON: May I ask the Prime Minister whether he is aware that the personnel of the Commission he has just announced was apparently known in Calcutta four days ago and was announced by the entire Press of Great Britain three days ago?

THE PRIME MINISTER: Yes, Sir. I have no information as to how that leakage has occurred. To the best of our belief, it occurred in India.

COLONEL WEDGWOOD: May I ask whether the cost of the Statutory Commission will fall on the British Budget or the Indian Budget?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I am afraid I cannot answer that question now. Obviously, all these questions can be replied to in the course of the discussion.

MR. WALLHEAD: Is it too late to include an Indian on the Royal Commission?

THE PRIME MINISTER: That is a broad question of principle which, if the Hon. Member feels strongly about, he will be able to raise during the Debate when it takes place.

APPENDIX I (*d*).

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (THE EARL OF BIRKENHEAD) rose to move to resolve, That this House concurs in the submission to His Majesty of the names of the following persons, namely, Sir John Simon, Viscount Burnham, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, Mr. Cadogan, Mr. Walsh, Colonel Lane-Fox and Major Attlee, to act as a Commission for the purposes of Section 84A of the Government of India Act. The noble Earl said: My Lords, the very difficult task which I attempt to-day to discharge is one of which it cannot be expected that it will meet with unanimous approval. The difficulties involved have been very great and I may, perhaps, illustrate them to your Lordships if I say that the correspondence which has taken place between myself and the two successive Viceroys with whom I have been associated upon this subject would certainly fill several volumes. I claim and I claim only, that with the advantage of the advice in the earlier years of my noble friend Lord Reading and in later years of Lord Irwin, at any rate this whole matter has been most carefully considered, that every alternative for the proposal which I put forward has been examined and a sincere attempt has been made to appraise the advantages and the disadvantages of each course which has been recommended and pressed upon me.

The motion which I have to move is:—

> "That this House concurs in the submission to His Majesty of the names or the following persons, namely, Sir John Simon, Viscount Burnham, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, Mr. Cadogan, Mr. Walsh, Colonel Lane-Fox and Major Attlee, to act as a Commission for the purpose of Section 84A of the Government of India Act."

I shall say something in a moment as to the reasons which led the Government to the conclusion that the Commission necessarily to be appointed either this year or next year or in the early months of the year afterwards, should be a purely Parliamentary Commission, but I may allow myself the grateful task at the outset of my speech of saying something in justification of the names which I recommend to the House.

Sir John Simon occupies a position at the Bar of England which has not been so completely filled by any advocate at the Bar in my recollection. He brings to the difficult tasks which await him a mind ingenious, acute, well-stored and assiduous, and it would indeed be wrong if we did not in this House recognise that he is making an immense sacrifice, as men count sacrifice, in undertaking the difficult duties which await him. I do not, of course, mean that Sir John Simon is merely making a financial sacrifice, but he is in a position in which, as one of the masters of his profession, he has no particular difficulties or anxieties in its discharge, for he is too consummately equipped in that profession to apprehend them. But he is undertaking duties of great novelty, of the utmost complexity, in circumstances in which it would only be possible for a very sanguine man to predicate that a solution would be attainable which would be accepted not only here but in India. No man can establish a larger claim upon the confidence of his fellow countrymen than that he undertakes a task of great

difficulty involving immense personal sacrifices, and I am certain of this, that the wish of your Lordships will be to give him every support in the difficult task which in the high spirit of public service he has undertaken.

There is another member of the Commission, a member of your Lordships' House, who has for a long period of time rendered public service. I mean my noble friend Lord Burnham. His special activity has, happily, been in the direction of making us better known in the outlying portions of the Empire. I have been made aware of many of his travels. I know of no Dominion which he has visited where his pleasant and tactful personality has not done much to create good feeling between us and those whom he has visited. For him, too, the sacrifice is considerable, for I may tell your Lordships that not only will it be necessary for those who are to be the Commissioners to spend some four months in India in the next cold weather, but it will certainly be the result of their earlier efforts in India on which material will be accumulated that will require sifting and examination on their return to this country, and they have then undertaken the very much greater labour involved in their second visit of spending some six or seven months in India, travelling through the various Provinces and acquainting themselves in great detail with the matters which are relevant for their consideration and necessary for their decision. Lord Burnham, again, has undertaken this task in the spirit of public duty, and I am sure that your Lordships will appreciate that a man no longer very young has undertaken a burden of this kind in the public interest.

Another member of your Lordships' House, a younger man, Lord Strathcona, recommended to us not only by a name which we honour but also by an individuality of character and an exhibition of industry which have carried him from an inferior plane of our activities to a not unimportant post in the Party organisation, has abandoned this and in my judgment rightly abandoned it for the purpose of a larger and a more important public service. I am glad that a member of your Lordships' House with energy and youth and competence for this task has been prepared to undertake its burdens. I come now for a moment to the members of the House of Commons. Of Colonel Lane-Fox I think I need not speak in terms of any particular recommendation. He is, indeed, known to many of your Lordships in his own personality and to all by name. He has discharged more than one high public position and to the discharge of every position he has brought equal competence, industry and conscientiousness. Mr. Cadogan is known, I suppose, to all of your Lordships who were members of the House of Commons. Those of your Lordships who had not the good fortune ever to be members of another place I may remind that he was the tactful, courteous and able secretary of the Speaker of the House of Commons for a period of many years. If any man can retain popularity with all sections of the House of Commons who is the secretary of Mr. Speaker for a period of many years I say of that man that he has many qualities which entitle him to sit upon this Commission.

Now I will say a word of the two representatives of the Opposition, Mr. Walsh and Major Attlee. Here I must make a slight digression. I thought it my duty to enter into some discussion with the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, at an early stage in the development

of this matter, and I would desire in the most public manner to place it upon record that, consistently with his own position, his own responsibilities and his own duties, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald throughout the whole of these discussions has behaved as one would have expected a man to behave who has at one time held the high office of Prime Minister in this country and who, for all we know, may still hold it again. It would give an entirely wrong impression if I were to claim that Mr. MacDonald accepted any responsibility for the particular proposals which I bring before the House to-day. He did not accept them, I did not ask him to accept them, I did not expect that he should accept them. These responsibilities were the responsibilities of His Majesty's Government alone. We accept them and we shall accept the consequences of them.

It is perfectly open to any supporter of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, either in this House or in another place, to say: "We think that you would have exercised a wiser discretion if you had adopted a different form of Commission. That is your responsibility, it is not ours." Let it therefore be made perfectly plain when I say that I accepted the advice of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in the case of the two gentlemen who are to be the Labour Members of this Commission. Let it be made perfectly plain that the position which Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and his friends are entitled to assume is this: "It is your scheme and not ours, but we would not take and we do not take the responsibility of saying, when once you have adopted this scheme, that we the leaders of the Labour Party in this country propose to boycott it."

After considerable discussion between Mr. MacDonald and myself two names were put forward and were accepted. The first was that of Mr. Stephen Walsh. Mr. Walsh is an old Lancashire Member of Parliament. I have known him well for twenty-one years. He entered Parliament at the same Election as myself. I know well how great his reputation is with the mining community of Lancashire, and I know, too, that as Secretary of State for War, he stamped an unaggressive but still a firm and real personality upon those with whom he associated at the War Office. I greatly welcome his inclusion upon this Commission. I am not able to say more of Major Attlee than this: he comes to me with a very strong recommendation not only from the Leader of the Labour Party for efficiency, capacity and industry, but those of my own Party in the House of Commons to whom I have spoken have been as forward in his praise as those who recommended him to me for inclusion as a member of this Commission. I am myself unhappily almost ten years remote now from the House of Commons and therefore I had not and have not the pleasure of Major Attlee's acquaintance. Such are the men who have undertaken these burdens. I have no hesitation in recommending them warmly to your Lordships' acceptance, and I think we are fortunate indeed in having discovered seven gentlemen, many of them members of the House of Commons and, in addition to the risks which I have already indicated, exposed to electioneering difficulties which may arise who knows when, who, nevertheless, have been prepared to add these to the other risks and inconveniences which they have undertaken.

A graver question now requires discussion, and it is here I apprehend that a difference of opinion which is founded upon principle may develop between myself and the opposition. Let me state it shortly. The question is: Should this Commission be a Parliamentary Commission consisting of members of the House of Commons and the House of Lords only, or should it be a Commission in which Indian members would have found a place? I have given for years, ever since I undertook the responsibilities of this office, my deep and constant attention to this topic. I have satisfied myself, and I am not without the hope that I may satisfy your Lordships and the public, that the decision which I recommend is not only right but it is the only decision which is reconcilable with the very purposes which all of us have in view. The problem of India is one the main features of which historically are very familiar and which I do not propose to examine in great detail to-day. Nevertheless I shall presume to say one or two things quite plainly. When we went to India, in that commercial guise which has frequently in history been our earliest approach to future Dominions, we found it a country discordant, dissentient within itself, of warring sects, with no prospect of a stable and unified Dominion. I examine not at all, for it would be remote from and irrelevant to my purpose, the early history. I collect from that history only the conclusion which is logically required for my present argument and I state it plainly and boldly. It is that the intervention of this country in India, and that intervention alone, saved it at the relevant period from a welter or anarchy.

Now, my Lords, I approach the present. It has been my duty to talk in the last three years to many distinguished Indians of every faith, every persuasion, every bent of political thought. I have asked all of those who were inclined to be critical of our attitude in relation to the future constitutional development of India this question: "Do you desire that the British Army should be withdrawn from India? Do you desire that the Civil Service should be withdrawn from India? Do you desire that the protection of the British Navy should be withdrawn from the Indian shores?" I have never found one Indian, however hostile to this Government, however, critical of our proposals in relation to Indian development, who desired that the Army should be withdrawn, or that the Indian Civil Service should be withdrawn, or that the protection of the Navy should be withdrawn. Why do I state this proposition in a form so plain? It is to found upon it, as its logical conclusion, another. We undertook by Act of Parliament—that Act which substituted for the authority of the Company the authority of the British Government—Parliamentary responsibility. Does any one really suppose that the Parliament of this country, which by Act of Parliament assumed to itself the responsibilities and the functions of the Company, which, as the historical facts that I have shortly stated show, is still confronted by precisely the same problems in India as confronted our predecessor at the moment when in the first place the activities of our commercial and trading bodies, supported by the force of arms, composed the warring sects of India, when it is still conceded that our withdrawal to-morrow would reproduce precisely the conditions which existed when we went there—how can anyone in those circumstances pretend that, whatever other point may be disputable, the responsibility of Parliament not only

does not still survive but is not an exclusive responsibility from which Parliament cannot divorce itself without being false to the long and glorious history of the association of England and India?

If this be the responsibility of Parliament, considerations of no small importance arise. I had to decide, before making a recommendation to my colleagues, which they accepted, as to the character of this Commission, whether or not it ought to be a Parliamentary Commission. This, as I understand, is the point in relation to which doubts are principally entertained by those who criticise our proposals. Let me therefore examine it, with the indulgence of the House, with some care. If I am right in saying that it was Parliament which was responsible for that first and momentous charge which deprived the Company of its political activities, if from that moment Parliament has been charged with responsibility, how can we divorce ourselves from the responsibility at this moment? Observe that it is only eight years since this same Parliament, by what is known as the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform, by a great Public Act created the Constitution which is now to be the subject of revision and re-examination.

It is sometimes said by our critics in India that it is for a round-table conference or a Congress in India to decide upon the form of Constitution suitable for themselves, and then for the British Parliament formally to pass it. This suggestion has not been lightly made. It has been seriously made by men who are entitled that their observations shall be seriously accepted. I can only make this comment. I have twice in the three years during which I have been Secretary of State invited our critics in India to put forward their own suggestions for a Constitution, to indicate to us the form which in their judgment any reform of the Constitution should take. That offer is still open. It is most expressly repeated, as I shall show in a moment, in the proposals which we make for the association of Indians with the activities of the Commission. But let it be plainly said—it cannot be too plainly said—that Parliament cannot, and will not, repudiate its own duties, its own responsibility, in this matter. If anybody seriously supposes either here or in India, that we are mechanically to accept a Constitution without our own primary and ultimate responsibility for judging upon it, they have no contact with the realities of the actual situation.

We therefore formed the clear view that this Commission must be a Parliamentary Commission. It was suggested, and is being suggested still, that we ought to have associated Indians with the Commissioners in order not to inflict a supposed affront upon Indian susceptibilities. That consideration deserves the most careful attention, and, indeed, I may make it quite plain that I have given it for a period of three years my almost unbroken attention. I have considered it from every angle; there is no argument which can be put forward in its support which I have not already, to the best measure of my capacity, examined. The question whether I am right or wrong cannot be answered without deciding what is the true function of this Commission. The function of the Commission is a simple one. It is to report to Parliament. When once the Commissioners have reported, they are *functi officio*. The task then belongs to others. What is it that Parliament was entitled to require from these reporters? What could these reporters contribute that would be most helpful to Parliament? I find myself in

no doubt as to the answer to both these questions. Parliament could most be helped by the opinions of men of admitted integrity and independence, without any commitments of any kind at all in the past events of history, who went there with one object and one object only—namely, to acquaint themselves with the actualities of the problem and to equip themselves to be the wise advisers of Parliament.

We are in this country accustomed to pride ourselves upon the jury system. It has frequently been said that the collective intelligence of twelve jury men is incomparably greater than the individual intelligence of any one among their number. I hope it will not be considered that I am making any observation which is slighting to the distinguished men who are members of this Commission if I say that I conceive of them as an exceptionally intelligent jury, going to India without any preconceived ideas at all, and with no task except to come to this country and give the honest result of the examination which they make of Indian politics.

I have only two things to add on the issue whether we were right or wrong in deciding upon a purely Parliamentary Commission. I have no doubt whatever, speaking as a constitutional lawyer, that the framers of the original and determining Act, when they spoke of a Commission contemplated a Parliamentary Commission. It is true that in terms they did not so state it, but I draw the inference that they did not so state it because they thought it so obvious. I observe my noble friend Lord Chelmsford in his place in this House. I am not entitled, unless he thinks proper to contribute it, to ask him his opinion, but I should be greatly astonished if he were not prepared to state that at the time when this Commission was contemplated in the governing Act any other idea was in his head, or in the head of Mr. Montagu, except that the Commission should be entirely a Parliamentary Commission.

What would have been the alternative? It is said lightly by those who have not considered very deeply the facts, that a few Indian representatives ought to have been made members of the Commission. I was reading a speech reported in the *Pioneer Mail* a few days ago by a very distinguished member of the Legislature, who himself is a Hindu of high position and ability. It is from a speech of Mr. Goswami, made at the All India Congress —a meeting not altogether favourable to His Majesty's Government or to the present Secretary of State. He said that he did not know if there were any Mahomedan organisation in the country which represented the opinion of the Mahomedans, but so far as his own community was concerned he was certain there was no such organisation which could speak in the name of the Hindu community. We know it, therefore, from a very prominent member of the Hindu community, that in his judgment there is no one in all India who can speak officially in the name of the Hindu community.

As to the opinions of the Moslems, while we have heard some repercussions of them in the newspapers in the last few days, it has been my duty very carefully, in consultation with the Viceroy, to study the expressions of opinion which have appeared in the Indian Press and to appraise their value. I am not in the least depressed or discouraged by them. I knew that there would be many who, whatever proposal the Government brought forward, would be dissatisfied with it. But I find many elements in that great and

heterogenous population who will not be dissatisfied and who in no event will make themselves party to a boycott. Do not let us ever forget that the population of India—I suppose a general figure will be sufficient for my purpose—is somewhere in the neighbourhood of 300,000,000 people. Of those 300,000,000 some 70,000,000 belong to the Native States, and are not primarily concerned with our present Inquiry. I should suppose that of the 230,000,000 who remain about 220,000,000 have never heard of the Commission at all, and I do not believe it to be a bold prediction to say that about 200,000,000 are unaware that they are living under the benefits of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

One must retain some contact with reality when dealing with the Indian population. Remember how infinitesimal is the number of those who vote when an election comes and, of that fractional percentage who vote, how large a proportion consists of the illiterate class, who mark their papers because they are unable to write. We in this House, and those in another place, have the responsibility not for a loudly articulate India but for the real India as a whole—that India which consists, as I have said, of 300,000,000 people. I only deal with it because I think it calls to be dealt with, I saw it stated in another place, by a member of the House of Commons, that a book which has created wide public attention, called "Mother India" —It is written by Miss Mayo, I think—that that was inspired either by the Government of India or by the Government of this country. I should not deal with this matter if I were not so struck by the complete irresponsibility which would enable a member of another place to make a statement so absolutely false, without putting forward a vestige of evidence. I most expressly invite that lady either to withdraw that charge or to produce the evidence upon which she founded herself.

I was dealing with the complexity of the interests involved, and inviting the House to consider how it would have been necessary for me to proceed if I had taken a different decision, or if I had been supported by my colleagues in taking a different decision, and if we decided that there should be Indians on the Commission. In the first place it would have been evidently necessary to have a Hindu member, although I should have been in the difficulty, which Mr. Goswami's statement made plain, that there is no Hindu orgainsation. I suppose it would have been necessary in the first place to provide myself with a representative Hindu as a member of the Commission. In the next place the moment I had announced the name of a Hindu it would indisputably have become necessary to provide a non-Brahmin Hindu, because the idea that a Hindu would be accepted as a representative member by the non-Brahmin Hindu is to those who know the facts ludicrous. In the next place I must have a Mahomedan and I must have a Sikh. That is four Indian members to begin with.

Let me inform the House, for these matters are not very widely known, that various remaining classes have in fact established their right to separate representation in Provincial Legislatures, so that their claim is quite certain to be put forward in this connection. They will say: "Do not tell me that I am to be represented by a Hindu, or a non-Brahmin Hindu, or by a Mohamedan, or by a Sikh. My case is a different one"; and they have, in fact, achieved recognition of their claim in one or other of the Provincial

Assemblies. I take, first of all, the Christians. I suppose they are entitled to be at least considered in India. They are a very numerous and a growing community, and they would certainly desire that their views should be put forward.

Let me take another case, the case of the depressed classes. There is in India a vast population, even in relation to the numbers with which we are dealing, a population of 60,000,000 people in India, of the depressed classes. Their condition is not quite as terrible, not quite as poignant as it has been in the past, but it is still terrible and poignant. They are repelled from all social intercourse. If they come between the gracious light of the sun and one who despises them, the sun is disfigured for that man, for they cannot drink at the public water supply, they must make diversions of miles in order to satisfy their thirst, and they are tragically known, and they have been known for generations, as " the untouchable ". There are 60,000,000 of them in India. Am I to have a representative of them upon this Commission? Never, never would I form a Commission, nor would anyone in a democratic country, nor would my friends opposite recommend it, from which you excluded a member of this class which, more than any other, requires representation, if you are indeed to put the matter to a mixed jury of the kind which I am indicating.

I have not dealt with others—the aborigines and the inhabitants of backward tracts, or the special representatives of the cotton trade, all of whom have been strong enough to assert their claim to individual representation upon Provincial Assemblies. My proposition is of a more general kind. It would be impossible to form a Commission, other than a Parliamentary Commission, which would not excite reasonable complaints of exclusion on the part of the persons who have very strong claims to be included. And what would the help be to Parliament? It is, I suppose, conceded that if I had representatives of the classes whom I have indicated I could not possibly exclude the Indian Civil Service. After all, the Indian Civil Service has deeply-rooted interests in India. It has rendered prodigious service over the ages. Mr. Lloyd George once said that they are the steel framework around which the whole building has been constructed. It is not, I imagine, suggested that, if you were to admit other than Parliamentary representatives, you could exclude members of the Indian Civil Service. Had we proceeded upon those lines we should have found ourselves with a Commission of some eighteen or twenty people. That such a body would be convenient for the task assigned to them no instructed person, I believe, will seriously contend.

But let us attempt to imagine the resulting situation had a body so unwieldy been in fact appointed. Does any one suppose that there would have been a unanimous Report? There may not be a unanimous Report now. But at any rate we shall have a report which proceeds upon the same general point of view and principle. But what would be the Report from a body such as I have indicated? What guidance would it give to Parliament in the immensely difficult task that will await the Parliament of one year, or two or three years from now? It is obvious—because the tension and the acuteness to-day of these unhappy communal quarrels are greater in my judgment than they have been for some twelve or thirteen years in

Indian history—that you would have a very strong partisan Hindu Report, you would have a very strong Moslem Report, and you would have three or four other dissenting Reports from various sections deeply interested in the decisions which are taken.

Imagine the Joint Committee which we contemplate setting up. Imagine Parliament being assisted by the disclosure of dissenting views of this kind? I do ask for an indulgent judgment as to whether, confronted with this alternative, I have not taken the right view when I have said that seven members of the House of Lords and the House of Commons, well known and respected in each House, shall go out, using every means of associating Indian opinion with them, and shall shortly pass and present to Parliament a Report which Parliament will be in a position to understand, and by which it may usefully be guided. But it may, indeed, be very reasonably said: "Are Indians to be denied any opportunity of contributing to these decisions? Had I made any such proposal I should have known that it was foredoomed to failure, not only in India, not only in the House of Commons, but indeed in this House. There is as great a determination to secure fair play for reasonable Indian aspirations in this House as there is in another place.

Let me make plain what our proposals are in this respect, for indeed I think that they have been greatly misunderstood. It is our purpose that the Commission when it visits India should establish contact with a Committee appointed for that purpose by the Central Legislature. I pause there to point out that constitutionally the Central Legislature is the body who most authoritatively can appoint members from its own numbers to confer with the members of the Commission. I assume that appointment will be made, because I cannot believe that those who are anxious to persuade the Government of this country that they are fit for a further measure of self-government will undertake the deep and most unwise responsibility of refusing to associate themselves with us in the first and genuine efforts which we make to ascertain the road which we must tread in common together if we are indeed to reach that goal. I therefore do not, and I will not, assume that they will be guilty of the unwisdom of refusing to appoint such a Committee.

Now what would be the function of that Committee? It has been most irrationally assumed that they were merely to appear as witnesses before the Commission. That is not the case. They are invited in a spirit of great sincerity to co-operate as colleagues with the Commission. It is contemplated that they shall prepare—in advance of the arrival of the Commission if they find themselves able to do it this next cold weather, and, if they find themselves within that limited period unable to do it, a year later their own proposals and come before the Commission and say: "These are our suggestions." We have claimed, and they have claimed that the West cannot devise a Constitution for the East, that you cannot put Eastern wine into Western bottles. Well, if there be behind that claim, and I do not doubt it, sincerity and real feeling, we afford them an oportunity of confronting our Commission with their own proposals, which can be made public, which can be analysed, criticised, can be accepted or can be rejected, after that analysis and after that criticism. No greater opportunity was ever given

than is afforded to the Central Committee in the first place by the suggestion that they should confront the Commission with their own constructive proposals.

Now let us try to see how the Commission will develop. It is very difficult to apply one's mind with accurate precision to so many unknown and in the main unforeseeable contingencies. But I will tell your Lordships how I think of the Commission as developing in its activities. They will retain contact with the Committee of the Central Legislature as long as their deliberations extend to matters with which the Central Legislature is principally concerned, and they will temporarily lose that contact when they are making journeys into the Provinces. But even here they will not be deprived of the constant refreshment of Indian opinion. For it is proposed—I see no recognition of this fact in any of the Indian papers—that in every Province in which they journey there shall be created there a Committee of the Provincial Legislature which shall discharge the same consultative functions with the Commissioners as are discharged at the centre of Government by the Committee of the Central Legislature. At no point, therefore, will the representatives of the Indian Legislatures be deprived of the opportunity of influencing the views of the Commissioners. Let no one make the mistake of supposing that we are attempting here to interpose into the scheme any official members. Members of the Central Committee and the members of the Provincial Committees will all be elected and non-official members. I claim that no one could have done more than we have done to protect ourselves by making it certain that the Report of the Commission to Parliament should be at least illumined by a knowledge of what contemporary Indian politicians are deeply thinking.

But, observe our next stage. Not a word has been said in recognition of this. Yet let it be pointed out that an enormous opportunity of intervening at the most critical moment of all is contained in our proposals. It is well known that we intend that after the Commission has presented its Report the proposals of the Government thereon will be sent, in accordance with precedent, to a Joint Conference of both Houses of Parliament. Your Lordships, or those who were interested in Indian affairs at that time, will not have forgotten how considerable was the contribution, how unremitting the industry of the Joint Committee which reported upon the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals. It is our intention to set up a similar body. Supposing it be the fact that in spite of the constant contact in India between the Central Committee at the heart of government and the Provincial Committees of the Legislatures in each Province to which the Commission will journey, that in spite of all those opportunities of ascertaining opinion the Indians have failed to make good their view upon the independent and unbiased judgment of the Commission, they are not even then compelled to acquiesce.

They will on the whole have been given an opportunity which in my judgment has never been given in the whole history of Constitution-making to any people who are in their position. We invite the Central Government to appoint a Committee to come and sit with our Joint Committee. They can examine the Report of the Commission. They are even given a function, if they could only understand it, more important than that of the Commission itself. When once the Commission has made its Report, it has

finished. But its critics remain and its critics are most formally and specially invited to come and sit with the General Committee in Parliament and to develop any criticisms or objections that they feel to the Report which the Commission has made.

I cannot say more than that, being deeply committed, as we are deeply committed, to the view which I have attempted to justify in argument, that this Commission must be Parliamentary in character, we have neglected no resources which either our own ingenuity could suggest or our advisers could put forward to carry with us as far as we could Indian opinion at every stage. If, without the destruction of our central scheme, from which we have no intention of departing, noble Lords can suggest to me any method in which I can make it even plainer that our purpose is not to affront Indian opinion but rather to conciliate and make it friendly to us, it shall be most deeply considered. But I would add one word of caution only. We must take no step which will lead to the risk that we shall have two Reports proceeding from two Commissions. The responsibility, as I have made it plain, is and must be the responsibility of Parliament. We have conceived of every means open to our imagination to associate with the conclusions which the Commission has presented to Parliament Indian opinions and even Indian prejudice. So long as it does not destroy our scheme we shall listen with sympathy to any suggestion that is made; but we are satisfied that we have discharged in the best interests, not only of this country but of India itself, the duty which we inherited from others of composing the Statutory Commission. I beg to move.

Moved to resolve, That this House concurs in the submission to His Majesty of the names of the following persons, namely, Sir John Simon, Viscount Burnham, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, Mr. Cadogan, Mr. Walsh, Colonel Lane-Fox and Major Attlee, to act as a Commission for the purposes of Section 84A of the Government of India Act.—(*The Earl of Birkenhead.*)

THE MARQUESS OF READING: My Lords, the subject of the earlier appointment of a Statutory Commission has been discussed many times and by various Secretaries of State. I think I am right in saying that during my period of office I discussed it with four Secretaries of State, and with Secretaries of State in different Governments, and it is now a satisfaction to me to find that a conclusion has been reached to appoint the Commission at an earlier date than was provided by the Statute of 1919. I cannot but wish that the speech of the Secretary of State, to which we all listened with so much pleasure and interest, had been delivered earlier. It might have prevented much of that which has happened since. It is useless now to go back upon that period, but nevertheless it does seem to me that it was most unfortunate, and in some respects incomprehensible, that whilst we had a statement made as early as November 8, which was in consequence of the premature and incomplete disclosure from India of the names of those appointed to the Commission, we should not have had the opportunity of a debate in this House which would have helped very much, I think, to clear the atmosphere. In the speech of my noble friend the Secretary of State, and also in that of my noble friend Lord Olivier, there is material which I trust will cause Indians to ponder seriously before they proceed with the

movement which in some quarters has been definitely adopted and announced.

The difficulties of the earlier debate no doubt arose from the fact, as I understand it, that, as the Statute had not yet been passed which permitted the earlier appointment of the Commission, it would be impossible constitutionally (so I gathered) to discuss the appointment of those who were to form the Commission. It seems to me that ways might have been found to enable us to proceed with the debate, and to listen at least a fortnight earlier to the observations which the Secretary of State made to-day. But that is all past, and what we have now to do is to attempt to rid India of the notion that the Government has intended to place any stamp of inferiority upon, or to humiliate in any way, the Indian politician or the Indian Nationalist, or that there has been the slightest desire to say that the Indian is not capable of standing on an equality with the British in matters of this character. That certainly was not the idea, I am sure.

For my own part I give the most unqualified support to the proposal which has been put forward by the Government. This is in no sense a Party question. India, fortunately, is outside Party controversy. The main grounds of policy are well sifted. They have been adopted by Parliament. Several Governments have now been in existence since the Act of 1919 was passed. There has been no deviation from the policy which was declared in 1917, and carried out by the Statute of 1919, and I am confident that there will be none, because the statement that has been made, and especially the declaration by His Majesty, made on the advice of his Ministers to the Indian people, is in itself a charter which cannot be abrogated, and from which there can be no deviation. But the real points that divide the Nationalists in India and those who are not prepared to go forward as fast as those Nationalists would desire is a question of time and method and of the various steps that might be taken on the road to that self-government which is promised to India within the words of the Statute. I have myself often wondered and considered what form the Commission should take. I am emboldened, especially by the observations made by Lord Olivier when he referred to certain proposals that had been made to, and discussed with, me when I was Viceroy, to remind him that when his Government was in office, proposals of this character, relating to the earlier appointment of the Commission, were discussed between his Government and myself.

LORD OLIVIER: I said that those would appear in the noble Earl's memoirs.

THE EARL OF READING: Well, I am not going to wait until they appear. This has been a question which has been agitating the mind of every Secretary of State, and also of the Viceroy of the time—of myself and of my successor. There has been no period at which we have not been discussing it. I find some satisfaction in the thought that I always was in favour of appointing the Commission in the cold weather of 1927, and I am very glad indeed that my successor, Lord Irwin, has come to the same conclusion, and that the Government has itself arrived at that decision.

The real difficulty that we have to deal with concerns the composition of the Commission. It is said that it is an affront to India to appoint a Parliamentary Commission, and to exclude Indians. I cannot but think that there is misapprehension in the minds of those who come to that conclusion—

very serious misapprehension. It is not to be wondered at. I think we must be a little careful not to blame Indians for any views which they may have expressed, when it is remembered that they knew of the Commission and its composition before they were aware of any of the very admirable safeguards which have been introduced by the Government. If a Commission had been contemplated, composed of men who had had experience of India, who had lived part of their life in India, had perhaps held office as Governors of Provinces, and of various persons who from one reason or another had considerable knowledge of Indian affairs, I should have said without hesitation that we could not have appointed such a Commission without appointing a number of Indians; and I doubt very much whether there would have been any division of opinion on that subject. But that is not the Commission that is appointed; it is totally different one. Indeed, the selection that has been made is of gentlemen, Members, who may perhaps have Houses, who have had no special experience of India, who may perhaps have paid a visit to India, but merely as sightseers and tourists, and who have had really nothing to do with the administration of affairs in India. And that is the central point upon which all argument must rest. For it is quite impossible to find any gentleman, who has passed his life in India, who has perhaps been born and lived with his family there, who could approach this question with the same standpoint as those who have been appointed and will sail to India to inform themselves in order to inform the British Parliament.

I have wondered sometimes, when reflecting upon a Commission composed of British and Indians, how it would be possible to find Indians who have not already committed themselves to a definite view, and I think I shall be borne out by everyone who has knowledge of Indian politics if I say that there is no leading Indian politician, indeed no Indian politician who might not aspire to be a leader, who has not already committed himself again and again on the very subject which we are now discussing. It occurred to me during the debate that there was a Committee appointed in 1924. The earliest occasion on which I remember some Resolution in favour of anticipating the date of the Commission and appointing it much earlier than 1929, curiously enough arose actually in 1921, just after the Parliaments had been inaugurated and almost within a month or two of my succeeding my noble friend Lord Chelmsford. It was one of the earliest Resolutions that I encountered in India and it certainly was during 1921. That was the state of affairs which continued until 1923, when there were Resolutions and in 1924 there were definite Resolutions to that effect. Then a Committee was appointed, of which your Lordships are no doubt aware, which was called the Reforms Inquiry Committee. It is very often referred to as the Muddiman Committee because it was presided over by Sir Alexander Muddiman.

It was composed of Indians and British. Sir Alexander Muddiman, who was then the Home Member and the Leader for the Government in the Legislative Assembly, was the Chairman. Associated with him were two British members, Sir Charles Innes, who was Member of the Viceroy's Council for Commerce, and Sir Arthur Frome, who was an unofficial European representative. The other six composing the Commission were Indians. I do not desire to travel into the history of that Commission. I only refer

to it to point out that as a result there was a very full debate in the Legislative Assembly in 1925. In that debate Resolutions were formulated which represented the views of those who were in favour of an immediate advance and who stated from their point of view what they wished the Government to do. There was a very long Resolution which formulated a Constitution. It left the details to be settled by a round table conference or by a Commission. But in substance it stated definitely what they wished, and the views were that there must be both a Central Legislature and Provincial Legislatures, composed of representatives elected on a wide franchise, and that the Governor-General in Council should be responsible to the Central Legislature. Finance and various matters were dealt with and there were certain reservations with regard to the Army into which I need not go; but it was definitely shaped by the leaders of political thought in India, certainly by those who were taking a prominent part in the debate in the Legislative Assembly.

I noticed the names of those who spoke strongly in favour of these Resolutions and who, of course, were entitled to represent their views with all the force they could command. They were doing it in a perfectly constitutional manner, and although as a Government we might not agree with them and thought that they were proceeding too fast and going to far, yet no fault could be found with their manner of presenting the case or with the Resolutions which from their point of view they had advanced. But all those who made themselves responsible for that definite declaration are now taking part largely in the agitation which is proceeding in India for the purpose of boycotting the Council.

The question that I have put to myself and which I have no doubt the Secretary of State must have considered again and again is: Would it be possible to appoint a Commission in which the leaders of Nationalist opinion would take part with the knowledge that they themselves, not once but over and over again, had committed themselves to a definite view as to the policy for which they wished and from which they would not depart? It seems to me that that is really putting men on the Commission with the knowledge that the opinions they would express are the opinions they have already expressed. I am prepared to admit that they would sit on the Commission with every desire to be perfectly fair and to keep an open mind. Nevertheless they have been thinking about this subject for a very long time and, as I have indicated, have already given pledges from which it would seem very difficult for them to recede. I mention that again merely for the purpose of illustrating the difficulties there would have been had the Government set about appointing a Commission composed of those who had Indian experience. To leave those men out would at once have been a challenge to Indian political opinion and thought, and it would have been assumed that it was done purposely with the object either of humiliating them or of preventing their voices and opinions having full weight.

Confronted with all these difficulties and those referred to already by the Secretary of State, which I will not repeat, it seems to me that there was no alternative but the Parliamentary Commission to which the Government have had recourse. I cannot profess to say what was in the minds of Mr. Montagu or my noble friend Lord Chelmsford when this particular section of the Statute was drafted and when they came to the conclusion

that there should be a revision. I do not know what they had in mind, but I should be very surprised to find that they had definitely ruled out altogether a Parliamentary Commission. I should not be surprised to learn from them that what they always contemplated was a Commission of Parliamentary representatives from this country. We shall, perhaps, get more information from my noble friend if he intervenes in this debate.

I have arrived at my conclusion entirely unaided by my noble friend the Secretary of State. By that I mean that although I had had with him, during the period when I was Viceroy and since, many discussions on Indian affairs and on this subject, I was unaware of the decision of the Government to appoint a Parliamentary Commission until just a little time before the announcement was made. That enables me to say that my views are quite independent and quite free and unbiased by anything that may have been said recently, at any rate on this subject, by the Secretary of State to me, and that the conclusion to which I came is the conclusion which the Government had already reached. I cannot think there was any other course open.

Although it is a great satisfaction to find that there is no division of opinion in this House with regard to the appointment of the Commission and certainly none with regard to those who are to be appointed, I am a little troubled in mind by the suggestions made by my noble friend Lord Olivier, when he told us what was desired by his Party in order that full support might be given. I do not propose to analyse the proposals. I do not know whether the Secretary of State had them before him when he was speaking. All I will say for myself is that I should have thought that those proposals, which, I presume, as the language was read out to us, represent formally what is desired by the Party, were quite impossible of acceptance. I shall not attempt to go into them in detail. To adopt the suggestion that there should be two Reports, one a Report by an Indian Committee—that is, of gentlemen who would be in India constituting the Committee that was to be formed—and another a Report by the Commission to be appointed in this country, would really be to place the Parliamentary Commission in an impossible position. I do not think I am exaggerating when I so describe it. If one draws the picture of what would happen on such conditions one immediately arrives at the conclusion that chaos must ensue. You would have two totally different Reports, I suppose, in any event.

I do not intend to go further into those proposals. They are matters for His Majesty's Government. I am merely expressing the views which I have reached and of those who are associated with me in this House. There is much to be done. Although I could not go anything like the length suggested by my noble friend, I believe that no better plan could be devised. Certainly I am not able to think of a better one. There has been no more elaborate plan prepared to safeguard the interests of Indian politicians and of those who, although not politicians, may nevertheless desire to be heard upon this subject, than the provisions that have been made, no doubt in consultation between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. It is especially with reference to those safeguards that I should like to make a few observations. One cannot tell how much of what one says in this House may travel to India. I have been the recipient of telegrams from leading Indian politicians in India, with whom I was on terms of friendship in India,

making an appeal to me. My answer to them must be that all the safeguards that they really could desire are already provided. They will have the opportunity, as my noble friend has said, of presenting their views, not only by the Committee of the Central Legislature, but also by the Committee appointed by themselves; a non-official Committee of elected men, unofficial in every respect, for the purpose of arriving at the conclusions which they wish to put before the Commission, and there they may be quite certain they will get an excellent and dispassionate hearing. I cannot think that a better Chairman could have been found for this purpose, or one who would satisfy Indian public opinion more thoroughly, than Sir John Simon, who is going out to undertake this very responsible duty.

I am oppressed by some apprehension lest the Indian politicians may be led away into carrying out this policy of boycott, of refraining from presenting themselves, of refusing to have, in the language of one telegram to me, anything whatever to do with the Commission in any shape or form. I know that the Indian gentleman, indeed, I was going to say the Indian of every class, is very sensitive. He is perhaps none the less sensitive because he is ruled over by a Government which is not his own, and he is prone to take offence when none is meant. He is, because of these very facts, rather inclined to think that there is some desire to wound him or, if not to wound him, to place him in a position of inferiority. When he has read what the Secretary of State has had to say to us to-day, I believe that in his heart he will find that he has been mistaken. Although it is very difficult for a politician in India, as it is in England, to recede from a position which he has once publicly announced, yet I am hopeful that there will be a change and that it will be recognised that everything that could be done for them has, in fact, been done in this connection.

I would only add, in conclusion, that some of my Indian friends, if they will look back on the events of the last few years and even beyond, will find that this policy of abstaining from any intercourse with the Commission or with the Government has not always been productive of benefit to India, that it is rather a perilous instrument to use and sometimes it recoils upon those who adopt it. If the policy were persisted in I have no hesitation in saying that a grave error will have been committed. An opportunity is presented to India to put the whole of her case before a Tribunal presided over by a Chairman of the character and the capacity of Sir John Simon. The whole purpose of it is that the gentlemen forming the Commission shall inform themselves, educate themselves so to speak, when they are in India, on the views of Indians, that they shall learn everything that there is to be said on the subject, that they shall duly and faithfully report to Parliament when they return, and that they shall give their conclusions, which at least we may be assured are not the conclusions of those who reason *a priori* but will be decisions arrived at by them after carefully weighing and sifting all the evidence that is presented to them.

In regard to the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, of which we naturally have heard much in this debate, I have expressed myself before in this House and also in India as of opinion that they have proved on the whole to have been better devised even, perhaps, than those who had a leading part in them themselves thought at the time. I am not for a moment

suggesting that they are not capable of amendment, but I do believe that in them there is a foundation well laid, and that it rests with India now to show to the British public that from the experience which she has had, from the knowledge that she has acquired of Parliamentary Government, from all the various events that have taken place during these eventful years—after all, the Legislatures have only existed since the beginning of 1921—she is now able to present a case and arguments which will enable the Commission to form its own opinion and to report to Parliament, when Parliament again will have the opportunity of hearing the Indian Committee if they desire to make their representations. In those circumstances they have really the best protection that could be devised for them and it would be very unwise of them, I venture to think, if they refrained from making every possible use of the opportunities that are afforded them.

VISCOUNT CHELMSFORD: My Lords, in the course of his speech my noble friend the Secretary of State for India expressed the hope that I should make it clear what was in the minds of Mr. Montagu and myself when we made a recommendation that after a period of ten years our reforms should be subject to examination by a Commission. I am deeply committed in this matter, and I think I can give a very clear answer to my noble friend. When Mr. Montagu and I were exploring the question of reforms, now ten years ago, we were struck by this fact: that while during John Company days a periodic examination by a Parliamentary Committee took place, I think every twenty years, in connection with the renewal of the Charter, that since the assumption by the Crown of the Government of India no such Parliamentary inquiry has ever taken place. I put aside those annual debates in another place, which cannot be regarded as evincing even a Parliamentary interest in what is going on in India, and I doubt whether in another place on the occasion of the annual review—it used to be on the Estimate for the Secretary of State's salary, but now I am not sure what is the exact technical peg on which the debate hangs—there were not even fewer Members in the House perhaps than are in your Lordships' House at the present time.

We felt that this was singularly unfortunate because Parliament did not keep in that close touch with the development of India which really should have been the case when Parliament had actually taken over the Government of India. In fact we note this paradox in our Report, that Parliament ceased to exercise control at the very moment when it required it. The consequence has been, I think, that the advance that has been made in constitutional reform in India has escaped the notice of Parliament; and the inevitability of the steps which have been taken has escaped the notice both of members of this House and of the other House. If they had kept in that close touch, they would have realised the various stages of development that have taken place since the Councils Act of 1861, the later Act of 1892 and the Act of 1909. All these have been stages, and warning stages, in the history of constitutional development in India. Yet when Mr. Montagu and I came with our proposals in 1919 those proposals came as a shock to members of both Houses because they had not realised what had been gradually developing during those years. Therefore I can say quite clearly that what was in our mind was the revival of that old system of Parliamentary inquiry which took place under John Company.

We regarded our reforms as a new Charter and we felt it was desirable that from time to time, as in the case of John Company's Charter, those reforms should be examined and scrutinised. Unfortunately my colleague Mr. Montagu is not with us to-day, and I cannot express what his views might have been to-day, but I should like to point out to your Lordships that in the appointment of the Joint Committee presided over by my noble friend the Earl of Selborne, to which he was a party, he quite clearly showed what was in his mind, even though that may be as long ago as eight years. I will quote this passage from the Report:—

"But the Committee think that it is of the utmost importance, from the very inauguration of these constitutional changes that Parliament should make it quite plain that the responsibility for the successive stages of the development of self-government in India rests on itself and on itself alone, and that it cannot share this responsibility with, much less delegate it to, the newly-elected Legislatures of India."

THE EARL OF BIRKENHEAD: Where is that quoted from?

VISCOUNT CHELMSFORD: I am quoting from the Report of the Joint Committee of Lords and Commons, presided over by the Earl of Selborne, to whom was committed the examination of the Bill which resulted in the Act of 1919. Mr. Montagu was a party to that Report and I think that quotation alone would show what was in his mind—that it was definitely a Parliamentary Commission or Committee, call it which you will, which he had in his mind to examine the constitutional development in India. Therefore, as I said at the beginning, I am deeply committed to the belief that this inquiry by Commission should be through the medium of a Parliamentary Commission. Of course it has been made quite clear during this debate that the Secretary of State for India, my noble friend behind me (Lord Olivier) and my noble friend the Marquess of Reading all contemplate that Indians should be closely associated with the work of this Commission, but I do share the regret which my noble friend the Marquess of Reading expressed just now, and I think it is a pity that this debate did not take place at an earlier moment.

My old friend Sir John Simon, the Chairman of the Commission, did attempt to remedy this in a letter which he wrote—it was a curious method, but I suppose it was the only one open to him—to, I think, the Parliamentary agent in his constituency. In the last paragraph of that letter—I wish I had it here so that I could quote it—he set out in most admirable terms the view he took with regard to the association of Indians with this Commission, I think, after the course this debate has taken to-day, that it is scarcely necessary to attempt to emphasise what has been in the minds, I imagine, of His Majesty's Government, and would have been in the minds of any Government which had responsibility in this matter, that Indians should be closely associated in the most effective way with the working of this Commission. I earnestly hope that the appeal to Indians made just now by my noble friend Lord Reading will get out to them in India. There is no reflection at all upon Indians in the constitution of this Committee, and there is no idea of shutting them out from the full expression of their views.

There is one matter which has not so far been much touched upon, and yet I think it is very vital that everybody who has an interest in this matter should bear it in mind. Mr. Montagu and I were closely conditioned by the announcement of His Majesty's Government in August, 1917. That same condition applies to the Commission which is now going out. That announcement appeared in the Preamble of the Act under which the Commission is now being appointed, and I think perhaps it will bring home the meaning of this fact to your Lordships if I very briefly and concisely indicate to you the history of reform as I saw it in my time. I think it will show very clearly how this Commission will be conditioned by the terms of that announcement.

I think the ball was set rolling with regard to the policy of reform by a very remarkable utterance made by my noble friend Lord Sinha, who is not here to-night. In 1915 he addressed the Indian National Congress as their President. It is very remarkable that, with the extreme views expressed by many Indians at that time, a man of his moderation, the foremost Indian of the time, should have been chosen. The remarkable passage in Lord Sinha's address was that in which he pleaded with the British Government to declare two things: first, their policy with regard to future constitutional development, and then that, as an earnest of their sincerity in putting forward that announcement of constitutional development, they would state their readiness to take the first steps in that direction. This was at Christmas time in 1915. I came home from India in January, 1916, for six weeks before I went out again as Viceroy, and when I got home I found that there was a Committee in existence at the India Office, which was considering on what lines future constitutional development might take place. That Committee, before my return in the middle of March, gave me a pamphlet containing in broad outline the views which were held with regard to future constitutional development. When I reached India I showed this pamphlet to my Council and also to my noble friend Lord Meston, who was then Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces. It contained what is now known as the diarchic principle.

In this connection it might interest your Lordships to know how the epithet "diarchic" first arose. At one of the first councils that I held on the subject, Sir William Meyer, a man of considerable erudition and very acute mind, when he heard the principles on which this proposal developed, as it appeared in the brochure, said that it reminded him of the division of central and imperial provinces under the early Roman Empire, which Mommsen called "diarchy." From that chance remark—it could only have been a chance remark, because I am sure that Sir William Meyer, if he had waited to think a little further, would have seen on reflection that there was no resemblance between the diarchy of Mommsen and the diarchy in our scheme—the word "diarchic" has spread as an epithet of prejudice in connection with the reforms which were instituted at that time. Since people very often wonder how the word came to be used, I think it may interest your Lordships to mention that fact.

Both the Council and Lord Meston, who was then Sir James Meston, reported adversely on the proposals for constitutional development contained in that pamphlet. We proceeded to consider a Despatch on different lines,

which were rather in the nature of an extension of the old Morley-Minto Reforms, but, as the then Secretary of State pointed out, our proposals failed to fix the enlarged Councils with responsibility. Mr. Chamberlain declared that a mere increase in numbers did not train Indian in self-government and did not advance its object unless, the Councils could at the same time be fixed with some definite powers and real responsibility for their action. Surely in that criticism of Mr. Chamberlain lies the basic principle of the announcement that was made in August, 1917. It is true that Mr. Montagu was the mouthpiece of that announcement, but it is common knowledge that the announcement in its substance had been framed before Mr. Montagu assumed office.

With that announcement the situation regarding the consideration of reforms changed at once. I immediately asked my Council to work on the principles embodied in that announcement. It is interesting to note that Mr. Montagu was doing the very same thing in London, and when we met in India, in November of that year, we found that both my Council and the India Office had arrived at substantially the same conclusion—namely, that if you were to carry out the announcement as pronounced by His Majesty's Government, embodying responsibility and advance by stages, the diarchic method must be employed. But Mr. Montagu and I were not content with this, and when we went round in India we were always interviewing deputations and leading men, whether Indians or Governors, and trying to get away from what is called diarchy. But when we brought the proposals of other people to the test of the announcement which was really our terms of reference, we always found ourselves back at the fact that we had to come to the diarchic method.

After long striving we found no way out and, of course, that method is embodied, as your Lordships know, in our Report. But I am sure that no one who reads our Report—I am afraid very few people have read it—can imagine for one moment that we put forward our proposals otherwise than on the basis that having sought all the alternative methods of carrying out the announcement of His Majesty's Government, we were driven back to the question of a Constitution on the lines embodied in what is called diarchy. And I would remind your Lordships that in that same Report which I read to your Lordships just now, the Committee presided over by Lord Selborne said this:—

"In the opinion of the Committee the plan proposed by the Bill is conceived wholly in this spirit, and interprets the pronouncement of the 28th August, 1917, with scrupulous accuracy. It partitions the domain of Provincial government into two fields, one of which is made over to Ministers chosen from the elected members of the Provincial Legislature while the other remains under the administration of a Governor-in-Council. This scheme has evoked apprehensions which are not unnatural in view of its novelty. But the Committee, after the most careful consideration of all suggested alternatives, are of opinion that it is the best way of giving effect to the spirit of the declared policy of His Majesty's Governments. Its critics forget that the announcement spoke of a substantial step in the direction of the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government and not of the partial introduction of responsible government; and it is this distinction

which justifies the method by which the Bill imposes responsibility, both on Members to the Legislative Council and on the members of the Legislative Council to their constituents, for the results of that part of the administration which is transferred to their charge."

I hope I have made it clear that Mr. Montagu and I were conditioned by the terms of that announcement, and the Committee which is now going out will be equally conditioned by the terms of that announcement.

Of course when one reviews what has happened under the present reforms one has to remember two things. In the first place, that they were introduced under most unfavourable conditions—the atmosphere of the Punjab disturbances and of the non-co-operation movement, and then under the financial stringency of the Government of India, a financial stringency common to the whole world, but which prevented the Central Government from handing over to the Provincial Governments funds which would have enabled them to carry on the departments under their charge. I hope that my old friend Sir John Simon starts his Commission under happier auspices, and I only express my own delight that he was appointed. I can only hope that the Report or advice which that Commission will give when it reports will square with that announcement in the manner in which Mr. Montagu and I had to square our proposals in August, 1917. I may have been unfortunate in the attempt which I made to carry out the terms of that announcement. May Sir John Simon and his Commission be more fortunate. This is too big a matter to consider either personal or political bearings. I think the debate this afternoon clearly indicates that, and one can feel, after listening to that debate, that from all quarters goes out the hope that this Commission will be successful in their great enterprise.

THE EARL OF BIRKENHEAD: My Lords, I do not think it necessary to add more than a word to the very remarkable debate which has taken place. Seldom indeed, can a discussion have been informed by more knowledge. There have been contributory to it a former Secretary of State for India, who was in office at a very troubled period in the history of India, and two Viceroys, each of whom was charged with special and grave responsibility during the period of his office; and I am greatly encouraged by the realisation that none of these three noble Lords has quarrelled with or challenged the broad decision of His Majesty's Government. Is it too much to hope that so remarkable a unanimity—for I exclude the minor points upon which some criticism has been expressed—is it too much to hope that so remarkable a unanimity—of opinion among men of such vastly different experience and so representative of every political thought in this country, may travel to India? May it so travel, and may it have the effect of persuading men of prominence and position in India that they would be rash in prematurely and perhaps irretrievably committing themselves to a course which perhaps, hereafter, will prove to be unwise and irreconcilable with their own ultimate interests. On this point Lord Olivier addressed a word of wise caution, which I venture to adopt from him, and to repeat. I have only to add that I am deeply grateful for the spirit which has prevailed in this debate, and for the successful contribution which, I am persuaded, it has made to the difficult situation in which we find ourselves.

On Question, Motion agreed to.

House adjourned at half-past seven o'clock

APPENDIX I (*e*).

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD: I rise in the name and on behalf of my colleagues to support the Resolution (Earl Winterton's resolution in similar terms to that moved by the Earl of Birkenhead in the House of Lords) which has just been moved. At the same time, we offer most sincerely some advice, which we hope may be accepted, in order to make the procedure more acceptable to the Indian people than it would be otherwise. I do regret that there has not been more consultation between the Government and representative Indians for the purpose of clearing away difficulties. If I might echo part of the debate of yesterday, I would say that I think in this respect the Government has repeated the mistake it made before it entered into the Geneva Naval Conference. I am sure that had Indian opinion and leading Indians who make as well as voice that opinion been possessed of the sympathetic ideas which the Under-Secretary of State has just enunciated, we might have been relieved of a good deal of criticism that has been passed upon the Government scheme. What this House has to do is to recognise quite frankly the widespread suspicion that exists in India, and I hope this debate will do much to remove that suspicion or at any rate a substantial part of it. If we could remove that suspicion I am convinced that it would be for the good of India as well as for the honour of ourselves. The first point dealt with by the Noble Lord was the question of the Royal Commission, an ordinary oldfashioned Royal Commission.

I stand before the House as one who has been a member of a Royal Commission appointed to inquire into Indian affairs. I sat under the Presidency of Lord Islington for over two years. I went twice to India as a member of that Commission to inquire into the public services of India. I saw a good deal behind the scenes, and I took a somewhat active part in the negotiations that had to be undertaken in order to get the Report of that Commission anything like unanimous. The subject referred to us was a very large and important one, but nevertheless it had the great advantage of being confined and specific. It was a question of the public services of India, beginning with the Imperial Services, the Indian Civil Service and going on to that large group of provincial services, everyone of which presented a different problem but did not give rise to large fundamental and deep-seated political questions. I confess that my experience on that Commission convinced me that a Royal Commission to inquire into the Indian Constitution would not be an efficient body. If there was nothing else to be done we would have to appoint one, but I think it is the duty of the Government, as indeed it was our duty when we were a Government, to consider whether a better system of finding out what Indian opinion and Indian needs were, ought to be instituted. One of the great difficulties of a mixed commission, a Royal Commission, is the difficulty of selection. So far as the right hon. and hon. Friends who sit with me and belong to the same party as I do are concerned, we have never approached the problem relating to the constitution of a country,

we have never criticised the action of Governments of a country without keeping in our minds in the most prominent and important position the question of minorities. How minorities are dealt with, what the relations between majorities and minorities are, are fundamental and essential to the good government of any country. Therefore it would be absolutely impossible for us to support any Commission or any inquiry selected in any way conceivable, unless we had assurances that upon that Commission and that inquiry the needs of the minority were adequately secured. When we lay down that fundamental proposition, then for the purposes of discovering how it is to be satisfied we proceed to survey, not the minority, but the intricate and numerous sections of the minority in India. The Commission that would evolve from such a consideration would be so unwieldy that no Government could light-heartedly select it as its instrument for making an inquiry.

There is another consideration that follows from that. Without, of course, in any way suppressing or distorting opinion it is very desirable that when the inquiry is finished we should have a report that will really guide us. What is going to be the report we would get from a Royal Commission appointed in the same way as the Royal Commission of which I was a member some years ago? It is absolutely impossible to get a report from such a Commission. You will get reports, but then what happens is that you have your majority report and a whole series probably of minority reports. You will also have a series of reports that are signed, with various paragraphs in them asterisked, and footnotes, I should imagine amounting to a very considerable number, will be appended; and then this House, instead of getting guidance, and the Joint Parliamentary Committee that is to be set up as the second stage in this inquiry instead of having some sort of well-sifted and co-ordinated evidence and guidance, would itself have to regard the various sections of the Joint Committee as though they were so many witnesses. The reports of such a Committee or of such a Commission will not carry this House beyond the position of being a body listening to witnesses.

I would like the evidence, if it is at all possible, to be sifted in such a way that it could be co-ordinated and embodied into some sort of composite scheme that will, so far as human intelligence and human ingenuity can, meet the various points of view and present to us a common picture, a common photograph of the needs. That is not possible if this House appoints a Commission such as the one I have in my mind in making these remarks. It will give us a minimum of guidance instead of a maximum of guidance. It is perfectly true, as I think Lord Olivier said in another place yesterday, that when we were in office in 1924 this question was before us. We were never able to mature it or to produce a scheme; we were never able to say quite definitely "This is the way that we are going to approach it." But I can say this, that as a result of a variety of considerations, conversations and consultations, our minds had turned in the direction of using the Parliaments of the two countries as the inquiring body. We never went further than that, but that was the direction that we were beginning to explore as a result of a weeding out of various obvious proposals as to how the matter should be dealt with.

There is one thing I should like to say in this respect. If there is anything that representative democracy holds in high esteem it is the Parliament of its representatives. Parliaments are not exclusive bodies. They may have been, but those of us who believe in democracy, those of us who believe in an organised public opinion created for the purpose of making that opinion effective in administration and legislation, must, of necessity, hold Parliament as the highest expression of that public opinion in any country. When we support, as I do and my colleagues and party, the suggestion that the Parliament of this country as the representative and the custodian of the people of this country in all political and constitutional matters, should say to the Parliament of India, "We are going to regard you as the representative of Indian opinion. We are going to recognise you, having an authority like to our own, having a function and position like to our own in your country," and when we want to know what is going to be the constitution of India in the future, when we want to know what the opinion of political India is, even imagining India to be a political unity, when we turn to the Indian Parliament, we say to it "We appoint a Commission; you appoint a similar body, and the two Commissions working together in harmonious co-operation with each other are going to report to the House of Commons, what the line of the new constitution is to be, what the principles of the new constitution should be," then I say that, instead of insulting public opinion in India, instead of belittling the political intelligence of India, we are doing it the greatest homage that one Parliament can do to another, or one nation can ever do to another, with which it is in political relationship.

Our concern, therefore, having cleared those matters, is the relative status of the two bodies. That is what it comes down to—the relative status of the Commission which we are to send out to India, and the Committee or Commission, whatever name you like to call it by—in that respect I do not mind very much by what name you call it, because I am after substance and not baptismal certificates—the real problem that we have to solve and it is a problem which Indian public opinion rightly and properly insists that we should solve, is what is to be the relative status of the two sections of the inquiry that has to be set up. I think the Prime Minister's statement a few days ago was a little unfortunate in that respect. I think a good deal of the misunderstanding—I hope it will be misunderstanding after this Debate—that has arisen in India was owing, not to the spirit of intention of the statement, but owing to the form of the statement. I listened to that statement myself and I turned to my colleagues who sat by me and said, "That is a very unfortunate statement, if the Government mean to give any sort of recognition to a people who are very sensitive on points of self-respect." The impression which the right hon. Gentleman conveyed to me, and I am sorry to find it was the impression that Indians have taken up, as well as a great many people here, was that we were appointing a Commission to go out to India to meet a Committee appointed by the Indian Legislature and that the chief work of that Indian Committee was to prepare a report and hand it in writing to our representatives. The suggestion was that there was to be from the very beginning a marked relationship of inferiority between the two bodies.

Although nobody could resist the constitutional and historical survey of the position of the Indian Parliament which was made by the Under-Secretary, the less that aspect is emphasised the better. What should be emphasised, as one or two sentences which I was very glad to find in the Under-Secretary's statement do emphasise, is exactly the opposite, namely, that this Parliament here is sincerely determined that there should be no sense of inferiority and no relationship of inferiority imposed upon this Indian Commission, but that one Parliament is honestly and sincerely desirous of consulting another Parliament as to what is the best course to adopt. I am sorry, therefore, that this Debate did not take place earlier. I am sure if the Secretary of State had made some sort of statement earlier of a larger, more liberal, more generous character, much misunderstanding would have been removed. The Secretary of State yesterday made certain references, not to negotiations because they were not negotiations, but to consultations which he and I and some of my colleagues had over this matter. I want to say quite candidly and frankly, although we are in no way responsible for these proposals, that in the course of those conversations and those explorations as to the meaning and intention behind and below the verbal expressions that have been made the declarations made in this House and elsewhere, I found in Lord Birkenhead's mind a sincerity of desire to pursue a liberal policy, and to treat the representatives of the Indian Legislature in the openest and most friendly and most co-operative way. It is absolutely impossible to devise a formula to ensure this and make it clear to India. We have tried our hands at it and we have failed.

It is also impossible to produce a programme of operations. That also has been tried and the attempt has failed.

There are, however, one or two essential points, and I am sure if the Indians had an assurance upon them, it would remove a very large number of their objections and a very large part of their suspicion. I am glad that the first point which I have noticed as a result of those conversations has already been met by the Under-Secretary. We advised most strongly that if the wording used by the Prime Minister, in making his announcement, implied that the status between our Commission and the Indian Commission was to be the status between a Commission and the witness of a Commission, that impression ought to be removed at once. We must have no idea in our minds, and I hope the Commission when it goes out will not have a particle of an idea in its mind, that the representatives of the Indian Legislature are simply going to present a written report and temporarily wish "Good day", to our Commission, leaving our Commission to examine and discuss that report among themselves; that later our Commission will call back the Indian representatives to sit at the other side of a table and answer questions put to them for the purpose of illuminating their proposals. That is not our intention, I am perfectly certain, and it should be made clear that it is not our intention. I hope the intention is—and I am sure if this intention is not carried out, the Commission that we are going to appoint to-day will not be as successful as it could be if properly handled—to go to India, and to see at once our colleagues appointed by the Indian Legislature, to get their statements, to exchange views with them, to negotiate with them

—as a matter of fact to regard them just as honourable Members opposite sitting on a committee would regard hon. Members from this side of the House sitting on the same Committee, using their common experience and common intelligence and common ideas for the purpose of producing the very best report a committee can produce.

There is another point. In the examination of witnesses there are certain witnesses and certain evidence which our Commission must examine for themselves. Nobody who understands India would deny that that must be so, but, on the other hand, there must be a considerable number of witnesses—and I think, on the whole, the most important witnesses who will present evidence of a larger public character—regarding whom the case is different. Now in the examination of those witnesses, I would strongly urge our Commission to agree to have the Indian Commission sitting with them, the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Spen Valley (Sir J. Simon) presiding over the joint sitting and the Indian representatives having exactly the same rights and privileges and status as the members of our own section. The adoption, wherever, it is possible, of the idea of joint sessions will, I think, remove a large amount of Indian suspicion, that being done in such a way as to secure to our Commissioners the absolute right, the previously announced right, so that there can be no dispute about it, of saying in respect to this, that, and the other witness or subject, "We are going to take evidence upon these matters ourselves." As a mater of fact, on the Royal Commission to which I have referred and of which I was a member, that idea—not quite in that form, as circumstances were not precisely the same, but that idea in so far as it was applicable to our duties—was pursued, and nobody ever offered the least objection to it.

There is a third point—and I am sorry that a rather foolish observation was made about it yesterday—the question of reports. That is a question that has been raised. Some people say that the Indian Commission could not make a report itself; others say that we ought to authorise it to make a report. My own position and that of my Friends is the good, sound, constitutional position. So far as this House is concerned, we cannot give the Commission of the Indian Legislature any right to make a report, nor, on the other hand, can we withhold from it the right to report. It is not our Commission. We are not responsible for it. It is not responsible to us. Therefore, what objection is there to our letting it be known at once that, so far as the Indian Commission is concerned, it can make a report if it likes and it can refrain from making a report if it likes? Its report will be made in the proper way to the body to which it owes its origin, and that body can deal then with that report with exactly the same freedom as we ourselves will deal with our report. I think that, if that position is quite clearly understood, another large block of suspicion will be removed, but as I say, we cannot possibly by a programme of allowances or disallowances, we cannot by a formula, lay down our intentions in that respect. What we have to fall back upon is that by every word we say here to-day, by every statement we make, and more particularly by the forms in which we choose to embody our ideas, we convey to the Indian people and to

the Indian Legislature that we are sending forth our Commission of Inquiry in the spirit of good fellowship and co-operation, in order, that it may get the facts and the opinions and the reflections of the best Indians, so that it may present to us the very best and most useful report that it can produce.

There is one other subject to which I will address myself before I sit down, and I do it because I think it is a subject about which this House and any Government in this country ought to have very clear ideas. The Under-Secretary of State referred to certain claims that were made, and one which he specified was this—I paraphrase him, and perhaps I make his point a little more absolute than he himself made it—that in dealing with people for whom we have been responsible in days gone by we have now reached that point in their evolution when the time has come for us as a Parliament and a nation to say to them, what many of us have had to say to our children who have grown up, "You are going out into the world; I have done my best for you whilst you were under my wing, and whilst I was responsible for you; and now, take the responsibilities of manhood upon yourselves, and God bless you in your future career." A nation like ours, that has taken upon itself the responsibility for peoples —primitive peoples, subject peoples, people who have fallen under our custodianship and trusteeship by accident, people whom we have brought there by force of arms—a nation like ours, in these democratic days when the spirit of nationality and self-independence has become so powerful in the world, must make up its mind again and again to put itself in the position of the parent who blesses his departing child; and how are we to do it? It is said in this respect that if we were wise, if we were enlightened, if we were liberal, if we had really good fellowship and good-will, we would say to India, "Go, and go just as you like yourselves."

That is not good, that is not wise, that is not fulfilling the best service we can do to India, and, what is more, that is not guiding the destinies of a growing world aright. We must all have pursued the evolutionary line. I do not know how many Members of this House have read that very interesting book that at one time was very popular in India, that rather fantastic novel called "Anandamath," written by Bankim Chandra Chatterji, a book, I may say parenthetically, in which the "Bande Mataram" was first written. This is a book which deals with the wars of Warren Hastings and with the Hindu rebellions that rose up out of those wars. There, in the end, the hero says, "India, for its own sake, for its own good, must pass under English dominion, but a time will come when"—he is assured, as he retires from the field of activity into the monastery of contemplation—"the work of England will be finished and when once again India will step out with self-respect, holding its head in the air because it once more can govern itself."

When that time comes, the departure must be with the full cognisance and the full freedom and goodwill of this Parliament, and, therefore, at this moment when a new departure is taking place, it is not right, it is not the good moral way, it is not the way that goes furthest and leads to

the greatest good, for us simply, as it were, to throw India out of our doors. It is for us to say to India, "Come with us. You have got your Parliament, such as it is; you have got your self-government up to the point which it has reached; we are prepared now that another stage should come, and at that stage, at the threshold of that stage, you and we shall consult together, and you and we shall go out together with our full consent and the completest blessing that we can give. I therefore urge the Government, urge the Commission—that has quite rightly got a large area of freedom in handling left to it and not prescribed by the Government—I beg the Government, and I beg the Commission to go out in the spirit in which I have been trying to address the House, to go out to remove Indian suspicion and to gain a complete co-operation; and with that prayer I hope the whole House will wish the Commission Godspeed in the great work on which it is about to enter.

APPENDIX I (*f*).

THE PRIME MINISTER (MR. BALDWIN): I, as every Member of this House, must welcome the tone of the Debate to-day and the general acceptance of the proposal which has marked the proceedings of that Debate. There have been only two or three voices raised against the proposal, and we are all very pleased to see the hon. Member for North Battersea (Mr. Saklatvala) back in his place. It is quite evident that during his absence he has made no speech against the Government of the country which he was visiting comparable to the one which he has delivered to-day, or we should most regretfully have had to do without his presence. When speaking of liberty, he must have lost for the moment his keen sense of humour. I felt that never had there been an exhibition more patent to this world of the height, depth, breadth and strength of British liberty than the sight of the hon. Member delivering that speech in the British House of Commons. There is only one word more that I want to say about liberty. When I want information about liberty in Russia I shall go to Trotsky, and not to the hon. Member.

I am afraid that, to a certain extent, at this stage of the Debate, I must repeat and re-emphasise some things that have been said already, but I think they should be presented clearly to this House in the last speech made on the subject of the appointment of the Commission. What has been criticised in this House has been less the Commission itself than the form of the Commission—the form in which the Government intentions were stated. For that we have been blamed. In India, where the misunderstanding was greater, and, I think, was genuinely greater, the Viceroy's announcement gave a full statement of the policy embodied in the procedure, and if that procedure in that statement was not reduced into more close and definite terms, the very reason of that was the reason indicated by the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, which is, the necessity of leaving the Commission itself as free a hand as possible until they arrived on the spot. Therefore, we are only giving the framework, and within that framework the Commission are left free. They can pursue as many of the lines of procedure, which have been suggested to-day, as seem to them on consideration wise and practicable, only providing that such procedure is within the framework and does not prejudice the responsibility, and the ultimate responsibility, of this Parliament.

I do not know whether it is necessary to say this, but I think perhaps, after some observations which have been made in this House, it may be as well that I should say this: Let Indians dismiss from their minds any thought of inferiority. They will be approached as friends and as equals, but the responsibility of Parliament remains, and no procedure which suggests that that responsibility can be formally shared with representatives of another Parliament will really advance the inquiry. But, subject only to that proviso, we can, and do, identify ourselves with the closing words of the Leader of the Opposition. That there should have been any misunderstanding is particularly regrettable, because it has led to premature rejection of the proposals by distinguished statesmen in India

who have worked and co-operated with the Government during some very difficult years since the reforms first came into force.

We regard the scheme as the most effective means of satisfying the proper ambition of such men to take part in the settlement of the constitutional future of India, and I take this opportunity of assuring them that His Majesty's Government earnestly desire that their opinion, and the opinion of every man of goodwill, Indian or British, who has anything to contribute to the very difficult problem of India's future, shall be accessible to the Commission and shall be given the fullest weight in their conclusions. The Debate has shown the extreme difficulty of the preliminary question of deciding how best the great problem could be brought into focus for the decision of Parliament. At the risk of repetition, I desire to remind the House that procedure by investigating Commission is imposed upon us by Act of Parliament, and, so far as we are concerned, any other method is out of court. The Act imposes a great duty upon us. In order to discharge that duty we have a duty to ourselves, and we must inform ourselves of the facts before attempting to come to a decision. There must be few Members who took part in the reforms in Parliament in 1909 who fully realise all that was implied in that Act and the responsibility that would lie in later years on Parliament. On the present occasion, it is more than ever our duty to make sure that Parliament, and every party in Parliament, shall have first-hand knowledge from its representatives of the weighty matters that it is going to decide when the time comes.

I lay stress on one part of the scheme on which not very much has been said to-day. When the Commission has reported, but before Parliament is committed in any way to its recommendations or to the Government view upon them, we contemplate that the main questions for settlement shall be referred to a Joint Committee of Parliament, and that the Indian Legislature shall have an opportunity, by means of delegations, of examining the proposals and of discussing them thoroughly with this Joint Committee. The Secretary of State for India, in a speech in another place, said:

"The Indian people will in this way be given an opportunity of taking part in the framing of their Constitution which has never been given in the whole of history to any peoples in a similar position."

This in itself completely refutes the suggestion that the scheme belittles the right and the capacity of Indian statesmen to contribute to the solution of the great question at issue. The Commission has been chosen, as to part of it, from members who share in our daily work. On this point, I do not think that I can do better than read to the House the brief statement made by my right hon. and learned Friend who is going to be chairman of this body, a statement which has already appeared in the Press, but which, I think, is worth reading to the House of Commons. In a letter to his constituents, he said:—

"The British Parliament has a tremendous responsibility to the peoples of India. It is a responsibility which cannot be denied or evaded, for it is rooted in history and in the facts of the world to-day. If, therefore,

the future of India is to be one of peaceful progress—as all men of good will, both in India and in Britain, intensely desire—this can come about only by the action of the British Parliament combined with the co-operation of India itself. Both these are provided for by the scheme of investigation and consultation, of which the work of the Commission is the first stage. The Commission does not go to India, with any idea of imposing Western ideas or constitutional forms from without: we go to listen, to learn, and faithfully to report our conclusions as to actual conditions and varying proposals from within. When the Commission has reported, the scheme provides for that full and final consultation between representatives of the Legislatures of India and Britain which is the essential condition which should be fulfilled before reaching the decision on which so much depends."

I would call your attention to these last words:

"The task of the Commission calls for the highest qualities of sympathy and imagination, as well as for endless patience, strict impartiality, industry and courage. I enter upon my part in this duty intensely desiring to be of what service I can to India and to Britain, and, while I am deeply conscious of my own shortcomings, I am going to do my best."

That is the spirit in which this task is being undertaken, and perhaps it makes the best preface to the brief reply I must give to the two or three questions which have been asked. The hon. Member for West Leicester (Mr. Pethick-Lawrence) wished to know, "Is it possible under the Government scheme for persons not members of the Indian Legislature to be included in the Committee to meet the Commission, by co-optation or otherwise?" The answer to that is that we have no intention of dictating to the Indian Assembly how they should do their own business. Whatever is within their power, whatever they can do by their own Standing Orders, or, if they think fit, by altering those Standing Orders, they are at liberty to do it. Then there was the question as to whether women would be included among the expert advisers. I think I can leave that question with the words of the right hon. and learned Member for Spen Valley (Sir J. Simon) in our ears at this moment. They have complete freedom to take the best means which they consider possible to attain their ends. The first answer I have given really answers the question put to me by the hon. Member for Bow and Bromley (Mr. Lansbury) who has just spoken. I cannot say what the first proceedings of the Commission will be in India, how soon the Indian Legislature will have appointed their Committee, and whether it will be there when the Commission first arrives, nor can I say what steps they will take because they are perfectly free to make their own arrangements.

I will only say this, in conclusion. When I began I said that I thought the tone of the House realised the gravity of the matter which we had in hand. It is indeed an unprecedented path that we are walking upon. No similar path has ever been explored by any Government or any body of men before. I rely, as I am sure all of us do in all parts of the House, for success to be achieved, on that instinctive sense of justice which is planted deep in the hearts of every Briton. The Leader of the Oppo-

sition spoke quite truly of the way in which we do our work on Parliamentary Committees when we are removed from the immediate controversial arena. The Englishman, the Briton owing to his training, his character, his history has one rare gift—and I do not always praise ourselves—he has that rare gift that when he finds himself acting in a judicial capacity he can bring an unbiased mind to the discharge of his duties, and dissociate himself from all the external paraphernalia of controversy, in which we take so much delight on the Floor of this Chamber. I have faith that this Commission chosen from typical Members among ourselves will discharge its duties with that high courage and sense of responsibility which we look for when our countrymen are showing what they are capable of. It was Milton who said many years ago in very strenuous days:

"When God wants a hard thing done, he tells it to his Englishmen."

No harder thing has ever been told to Englishmen than has been told to us in this matter. But we shall do it with courage, with faith, with strength, and with hope.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved,

"That this House concerns in the submission to His Majesty of the names of the following persons, namely, Sir John Simon, Viscount Burnham, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, Mr. Cadogan, Mr. Walsh, Colonel Lane-Fox, and Major Attlee to act as a Commission for the purposes of Section 84A of the Government of India Act."

APPENDIX I (*g*).

Letter from the Chairman of the Indian Statutory Commission to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General.

INDIAN STATUTORY COMMISSION.

NEW DELHI,

6th February 1928.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

In your speech to the Central Legislature on Thursday you laid renewed emphasis on the "full discretion as to methods" which has from the beginning been left in the hands of the Indian Statutory Commission; and I myself, as Chairman, on landing in India next day, authorised the issue of a statement on behalf of the Commission, that it hoped without delay to announce the line of procedure which it would propose to follow. Evidence accumulates that throughout India there is much uncertainty as to the manner in which we may be expected to exercise our functions, and even considerable misunderstanding as to what we conceive those functions to be; while—amidst many messages of welcome and encouragement—we note that speeches are being made and resolutions passed which are based on a complete, though doubtless genuine, misconception of our intentions. It is my plain duty, therefore, as Chairman to set out forthwith the true position as we regard it, and, since on this preliminary visit there is not likely to be any formal sitting of the Commission when the statement could be made, I venture to address this letter to your Excellency.

We understand that the Government of India and the Local Governments have been engaged for some time past in preparing the material which they might put before the Commission. We have not seen these documents and do not know how far they may consist of matters of fact and how far of matters of opinion, or whether they deal with past events or with suggestions for the future. But whatever they are, instead of dealing with them by ourselves, we wish to propose that they, and the evidence given in explanation or amplification of them, should come before a "Joint Free Conference", over which I should preside, consisting of the seven British Commissioners and a corresponding body of representatives chosen by the Indian Legislatures (just as we ourselves have been chosen by the British Parliament).

We put forward the plan of a "Joint Free Conference" not only because we should welcome the assistance of colleagues from the Indian Legislatures, but because we think it is only right and fair, and in the truest interests of India and Britain alike, that opportunity should be provided for such memoranda and testimony to be scrutinized and, if necessary, elucidated from the Indian side on free and equal terms. We suggest therefore that the two Houses of the Central Legislature should in due course be invited to choose from their non-official members a Joint Committee, which might conveniently be seven in number, and that each

Local Legislative Council should be asked to constitute a similar body. The Indian side of the Conference would consist, when Central subjects were being dealt with, of those first named; in a Province, the Indian wing would primarily consist of the Provincial members, but, in order that the Central Joint Committee may not have a partial view of the material put before it, we should be glad if arrangements could be arrived at which would enable its members, or some of them, to be present as an additional element at provincial sittings.

We have no wish to dictate the composition of the Indian wing of the Conference in more detail, and we should greatly prefer that the precise scheme should be reached by agreement between the different elements in India concerned. Our main object will be met so long as the arrangement is one which secures that the Indian side of the Joint Conference includes, on appropriate occasions, those who are able to speak for the Provincial Councils just as the Joint Committee would speak for the Central Legislature, and so long as the members representing India sitting with us do not amount to an unwieldy number. We assume of course that, just as we ourselves are a body selected from all British parties and both Houses of Parliament, so our Indian counterpart would be, so far as may be, truly representative.

Two matters remain to be dealt with—the question of evidence other than that above referred to, and the question of Report. I wish to deal candidly and clearly with both.

Some of us have had considerable experience of the method of Joint Conference as applied both to industrial and political questions, and it is quite clear to us that each side of the Conference will require, from time to time, to meet by itself. We see no reason, however, why evidence from public and representative bodies, and from individuals, should not normally be given to the Conference as a whole, just as evidence presented by or on behalf of the various Governments would be. If a case arises when this general plan cannot be followed, I should make no secret of it, and should ask my colleagues in the Joint Free Conference, when, as I hope, they learn to have faith in my sense of fairness, to accept from me such account of the matter as I can give them on behalf of the Commission, with due regard to the reason why the testimony has been separately received. I imagine that the Indian side may find occasions when they would think it well to act in the same way.

As regards the Report, it is, I feel, necessary to restate the true function of the Commission and its place in the general scheme which you announced last November. The Commission is in no sense an instrument either of the Government of India or of the British Government, but enters on the duty laid upon it by the King Emperor as a completely independent and unfettered body composed of Members of Parliament who approach Indian legislators as colleagues. It is not an executive or legislating body, authorised to pronounce decisions about the future government of India. Before these decisions can be reached, the full process, of which the present investigation is a first step, must be completed, including the opportunity for the views of the Indian Legislature, amongst other bodies, being presented by delegations in London to the Joint Parliamentary Committee.

The present Commission is only authorised to report and make recommendations, and in this Report we desire to include a faithful account of the opinions and aspirations prevalent in India, and of the concrete proposals for constitutional reform so far as these are put before us. The British Commissioners, therefore, are bound to be solely responsible for the statement of the effect upon their own minds of the investigation as a whole. We shall report to the authority by which we have been constituted just as (if the Conference is set up) the Joint Committee would, we presume, be entitled to report its conclusions to the Central Legislature. It is obvious that those documents should be prepared and presented simultaneously. There are well known constitutional means by which the document emanating from the Joint Committee and presented to the Central Legislature can be forwarded to and made available for the British Parliament. But, if the Indian Joint Committee would prefer it, we would make its Report an annexe to our own document, so that both might be presented to the King Emperor, and made public, at the same moment.

Above all, I would urge that one of the merits of the method of Joint Conference is that, besides securing due recognition of equal status, it provides the opportunity for that free exchange of views and mutual influence which are best calculated to promote the largest measure of agreement that is possible.

Our present visit is preliminary and the sittings of the Joint Free Conference, if it is set up, would not begin till October. But we make public our suggestions at once, not only in order to clear the air, but in order to show ourselves available for any conference about any matters of procedure which this statement does not adequately cover.

The Commission is, of course, bound to carry through its task in any event and discharge to the full the duty cast upon it, but we are undertaking this duty only after having made it known that the method of collaboration on honourable and equal terms is open, and that we put it forward in all sincerity and good will. We will only add that in making these proposals we are confident that we are correctly interpreting the intentions of the British Parliament.

The carrying out of our proposals will require, at a later date, that the Council of State, the Legislative Assembly, and the Local Legislative Councils should be moved to elect their representatives who would take part in the Joint Conference, and the Commission will be glad if the Government of India will take such steps as seem appropriate for this purpose in due course.

I have the honour to be,

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

(Sd.) JOHN SIMON.

His Excellency

The VICEROY and GOVERNOR GENERAL.

APPENDIX II.

The National Demand.

"That for the original Resolution the following be substituted:

'This Assembly while confirming and reiterating the demand contained in the Resolution passed by it on the 18th February 1924, recommends to the Governor General in Council that he be pleased to take immediate steps to move His Majesty's Government to make a declaration in Parliament embodying the following fundamental changes in the present constitutional machinery and administration of India:

(*a*) The Revenues of India and all property vested in or arising or accruing from property or rights vested in His Majesty under the Government of India Act, 1858, or the present Act or received by the Secretary of State in Council under any of the said Acts shall hereafter vest in the Governor General in Council for the purposes of the Government of India.

(*b*) The Governor General in Council shall be responsible to the Indian Legislature and subject to such responsibility shall have the power to control the expenditure of the Revenues of India and make such grants and appropriations of any part of those Revenues or of any other property as is at present under the control or disposal of the Secretary of State for India in Council, save and except the following which shall for a fixed term of years remain under the control of the Secretary of State for India:

(*i*) Expenditure on the Military Services up to a fixed limit.

(*ii*) Expenditure classed as political and foreign.

(*iii*) The payment of all debts and liabilities hitherto lawfully contracted and incurred by the Secretary of State for India in Council on account of the Government of India.

(*c*) The Council of the Secretary of State for India shall be abolished and the position and functions of the Secretary of State for India shall be assimilated to those of the Secretary of State for the self-governing Dominions save as otherwise provided in clause (*b*).

(*d*) The Indian Army shall be nationalised within a reasonably short and definite period of time and Indians shall be admitted for service in all arms of defence and for that purpose, the Governor General and the Commander-in-Chief shall be assisted by a Minister responsible to the Assembly.

(*e*) The Central and Provincial Legislatures shall consist entirely of members elected by constituencies formed on as wide a franchise as possible.

(*f*) The principle of responsibility to the Legislature shall be introduced in all branches of the administration of the Central

Government subject to transitional reservations and residuary powers in the Governor General in respect of the control of Military and Foreign and Political affairs for a fixed term of years:

Provided that during the said fixed term the proposals of the Governor General in Council for the appropriation of any revenue or moneys for military or other expenditure classified as 'Defence' shall be submitted to the vote of the Legislature; but that the Governor General in Council shall have power, notwithstanding the vote of the Assembly, to appropriate up to a fixed maximum any sum he may consider necessary for such expenditure and in the event of a war to authorise such expenditure as may be considered necessary exceeding the maximum so fixed.

(*g*) The present system of Dyarchy in the Provinces shall be abolished and replaced by Unitary and Autonomous Responsible Governments subject to the general control and residuary powers of the Central Government in inter-provincial and all-India matters.

(*h*) The Indian Legislature shall, after the expiry of the fixed term of years referred to in clauses (*b*) and (*f*), have full powers to make much amendments in the constitution of India from time to time as may appear to it necessary or desirable.

This Assembly further recommends to the Governor General in Council that necessary steps be taken:

(*a*) to constitute in consultation with the Legislative Assembly a convention, round table conference or other suitable agency adequately representative of all Indian, European and Anglo-Indian interests to frame with due regard to the interests of minorities a detailed scheme based on the above principles, after making such inquiry as may be necessary in this behalf;

(*b*) to place the said scheme for approval before the Legislative Assembly and submit the same to the British Parliament to be embodied in a Statute.' "

APPENDIX III.

Representative Family and Singlemen's Budgets.

Representative Family and Singlemen's Budgets for :—(1)—Weavers in Cotton Mills, (2)—Spinners in Cotton Mills, (3) —Dock Labourers, (4)—Fitters in Engineering Industries, (5)—Municipal Scavengers.

(Based on enquiries made between May 1921 and April 1922 and constructed after analysis of 3,076 individual actual budgets).

	Weavers on Incomes of						Spinners on Incomes of					
	Rs. 40 and below Rs. 50.		Rs. 50 and below Rs. 60.		Rs. 60 and below Rs. 70.		Rs. 30 and below Rs. 40.		Rs. 40 and below Rs. 50.		Rs. 50 and below Rs. 60.	
	Amount.	Percentage of each item of expenditure to total expenditure.	Amount.	Percentage.	Amount.	Percentage.	Amount.	Percentage.	Amount.	Percentage.	Amount.	Percentage.
FAMILY BUDGET.												
Monthly income	Rs. a. p. 45 0 0	...	Rs. a. p. 53 0 0	...	Rs. a. p. 63 0 0	...	Rs. a. p. 35 0 0	...	Rs. a. p. 43 8 0	...	Rs. a. p. 53 0 0	...
„ expenditure on :—												
Food	24 5 6	56·6	26 0 6	54·3	20 14 3	53·0	20 14 0	59·3	24 3 0	57·3	25 6 9	55·8
Fuel and lighting	3 9 0	8·3	3 14 0	8·1	4 0 0	7·9	2 15 0	8·4	3 6 0	8·0	3 8 0	7·7
Clothing	4 6 0	10·2	4 8 0	9·4	4 14 0	9·6	3 3 0	9·1	4 0 0	9·6	4 0 0	8·8
House-rent	4 0 0	9·3	4 8 0	9·4	4 12 0	9·4	3 8 0	9·9	4 0 0	9·5	4 0 0	8·8
Conventional luxuries	4 6 0	10·7	5 8 0	11·5	5 12 0	11·3	3 6 0	9·6	4 8 0	10·6	5 4 0	11·5
Interest on debts	0 5 0	0·7	0 12 0	1·6	0 15 0	1·9	...	...	0 8 0	1·2	...	...
Other items	2 0 0	4·7	2 12 0	5·7	3 8 0	6·9	1 5 0	3·7	1 10 0	3·9	3 6 0	7·4
Total monthly expenditure	42 15 6	100·0	47 14 6	100·0	50 11 3	100·0	35 3 0	100·0	43 3 0	100·0	45 8 9	100·0
Balance of Income over Expenditure.	2 0 6	...	5 1 6	...	12 4 9	...	—0 3 0	...	1 5 0	...	7 7 3	...
SINGLE MAN'S BUDGET.												
Monthly income	42 8 0	...	52 0 0	...	...	...	32 8 0	...	43 0 0	...		...
„ expenditure on :—												
Food	15 12 0	51·7	16 8 0	50·7	...	...	15 0 0	60·6	16 0 0	52 4	...	...
Lighting	0 8 0	1·6	0 8 0	1·5	..	...	...	.	0 2 0	0·4	...	...
Clothing	2 8 0	8·2	2 9 0	7·9	...	...	1 12 0	7·1	1 14 8	6·3	...	...
House-rent	2 12 0	9·0	3 0 0	9·2	...	...	1 8 0	6·1	1 8 0	4·9	...	...
Conventional luxuries	5 8 0	18·0	7 0 0	21·5	...	...	4 8 0	18·2	7 0 0	22·9	...	...
Interest on debts	2 0 0	6·6	...	...	...	...	1 0 0	4·0	1 8 0	4·9	...	...
Other items	1 8 0	4·9	3 0 0	9·2	...	...	1 0 0	4·0	2 8 0	8·2	...	...
Total monthly expenditure	30 8 0	100·0	32 9 0	100·0	...	...	24 12 0	100·0	30 8 8	100·0	...	...
Balance of Income over Expenditure.	12 0 0	...	19 7 0	...	...	...	7 12 0	...	12 7 4	...	...	...

	Dock Labourers on Incomes of				Fitters on Incomes of				Municipal Scavengers on Incomes of	
	Rs. 30 and below Rs. 40.		Rs. 40 and below Rs. 50.		Rs. 50 and below Rs. 60.		Rs. 60 and below Rs. 70.		Rs. 40 and below Rs. 50.	
	Amount.	Percentage.	Amount.	Percentage.	Amount.	Percentage.	Amount.	Percentage.	Amount.	Percentage.
FAMILY BUDGET.	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.	
Monthly income	35 0 0	...	44 0 0		52 8 0	...	62 0 0	...	43 0 0	...
,, expenditure on :—										
Food	23 14 6	61·5	26 7 6	60·2	28 3 0	56·1	31 0 6	55·6	22 7 0	56·5
Fuel and lighting	2 7 0	6·5	3 2 0	7·1	4 0 0	8·0	4 4 0	7·5	3 1 0	7·7
Clothing	3 4 0	8·7	3 8 0	8·0	5 8 0	11·0	5 8 0	9·7	4 0 0	10·1
House-rent	2 12 0	7·4	3 12 0	6·2	4 8 0	8·9	4 8 0	7·9	0 13 0	2·1
Common luxuries	3 12 0	10·0	5 6 0	12·2	4 8 0	9·0	5 0 0	8·8	5 0 0	12·6
Interest on debts	1 0 0	2·7	1 0 0	2·3	1 8 0	3·0	2 0 0	3··	2 8 0	6·8
Other items	1 3 0	3··	1 12 0	4·0	2 0 0	4·0	4 0 0	7·0	1 14 0	4·7
Total monthly expenditure	37 4 6	100·0	43 15 6	100·0	50 2 0	100·0	56 13 6	100·0	39 11 0	100·0
Balance of Income over Expenditure.	−2 4 6	...	0 0 6	...	2 6 0	...	5 2 6	...	2 5 0	...
SINGLE MAN'S BUDGET.										
Monthly income	35 0 0	...	42 0 0	...	.....	...	62 0 0	...	(a) 23 0 0	...
,, expenditure on :—										
Food	16 8 0	62·5	17 0 0	56·7	.....	...	20 0 0	51·0	11 8 0	56·4
Lighting	.....	...	.....	...	.....	...	0 8 0	1·3	.....	...
Clothing	1 14 0	7·1	2 0 0	6·7	.....	...	2 3 4	5·6	1 12 3	8·7
House-rent	1 0 0	3·8	1 0 0	3·3	.....	...	3 0 0	7·7	0 8 0	2·4
Common luxuries	5 0 0	19·0	6 8 0	21·7	.....	...	9 0 0	22·0	5 8 0	27·0
Interest on debts	1 0 0	3·8	1 8 0	5·0	.....	...	.....	...	0 12 0	3·7
Other items	1 0 0	3·8	2 0 0	6·6	.....	...	4 8 0	11·5	0 6 0	1·8
Total monthly expenditure	26 6 0	100·0	30 0 0	100·0	.....	...	39 3 4	100·0	20 6 3	100·0
Balance of Income over Expenditure.	8 10 0	...	12 0 0	...	.....	...	22 12 8	...	2 9 0	...

(a) Income below Rs. 30.

APPENDIX IV.

INDIA'S PARLIAMENT.

ELECTION OF NOVEMBER, 1926.

Upper Chamber. (Council of State.) Five-year term.	*Lower Chamber.* (Legislative Assembly.) Three-year Term.
President: Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith (Nominated by Viceroy).	President: V. J. Patel (Swarajist).

Representation.		Parties.	Representation.
Elected	34	Swarajist	40
Nominated	26	Nationalist	20
(Officials—18, others—8.)		Muslim centre party and non-party	17
Total	60	Independents	16
Date of next elections uncertain, as in 1928 a statutory commission, headed by Sir John Simon, will reconsider Indian Constitution.		Europeans	10
		Nominated (Official—26, others—15.)	41
		Total	144

Party Programmes and Leaders.

The parties of India fall naturally into two main classes, those which support the Government and those which do not. Their important differences lie in the methods which they advocate in obstructing or in sustaining the constituted authorities.

SWARAJIST: The Swarajists are opposed to the present constitution. They question the right of Parliament to determine further stages of advance, and desire to attain Swaraj or Home Rule by obstructing to such an extent as to make the working of the present constitution impossible.

Leaders: Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, Srinivasa Iyengar.

NATIONALIST PARTY: The Nationalists regard Dyarchy as unworkable but their policy is not total support of the Government. They desire to attain Swaraj or Home Rule as early as possible but only by constitutional means.

Leaders: Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Lala Lajpat Rai.

NON-PARTY: As the name signifies these members have not formed any particular party and vote on each matter as they like—sometimes with and sometimes against the Government.

INDEPENDENTS: The Independents desire progress but they do not believe in consistent obstruction. Sometimes they support the Government, sometimes they oppose it.

Leader: M. A. Jinnah.

EUROPEANS: The Europeans believe in steady orderly progress and generally support the Government.

Leader: Sir D'Arcy Lindsay.

NOMINATED: The nominated members have no definite programme. They are nominated to secure the representation of particular interests. The officials naturally support the Government. Though the majority of the others support the Government, on certain questions some of them take up an independent line of their own and vote with one of the popular parties.

Leader: Sir Basil Blackett (Leader of the House, Finance Member of Council).

MUSLIM PARTY: The Muslim Centre Party is conservative in outlook and is pledged to national progress to Home Rule which shall include full safeguards for the existing rights and privileges of the Muslim community and reasonable opportunity for their continued development in the future.

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India Office,
3rd April, 1930.

A. HIRTZEL,
Under Secretary of State for India.

(*Presented pursuant to the Government of India Act.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons *to be Printed,*
3rd April, 1930.

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PUBLISHED BY HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE.

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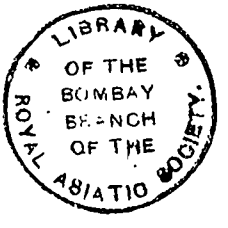
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1930.

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The task of preparing this report for presentation to Parliament has been entrusted by the Government of India to Mr. J. Coatman, and it is now presented under the authority and with the general approval of the Secretary of State for India; but it must not be understood that the approval either of the Secretary of State or of the Government of India extends to every particular expression of opinion.

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INDIA IN 1928-29.

CHAPTER I.

The Year 1928-29

Just as the chronicle of last year's events in India began with the statement that the appointment of the Indian Statutory Commission was the most important happening of the year, so the present narrative begins with the statement that the issues with which the Commission are concerned were the centre of political interest during the year now under review. During this period the Commission completed a very important part of its enquiry, namely, that part which had to be carried out in India itself. During the course of their tour Sir John Simon and his colleagues visited every province and obtained material which will enable them to study from every point of view the problems on which they have to report.

* * *

Readers of the preceding volumes of this report will remember that for a few years past the relations between the two great communities in this country, the Hindus and the Muhammadans, have been one of the unsatisfactory features in the public life of this country. Fortunately, this report was able to record last year that the six months ending with March 31st, 1928, had been almost free from violent clashes between partisan groups, and, but for the riots which broke out in Bombay on the 2nd of February and extended for about a fortnight, it would have been possible to claim for the twelve months under review a continued improvement in this respect. It is true that certain affairs in the Punjab and in Bengal showed that the old fire was dormant and not dead, but, nevertheless, until the Bombay out-break the decrease, both in the number of Hindu-Muslim riots and in the consequent

casualties, showed a welcome contrast to the experience of the years immediately preceding.

* * *

Various reasons were given in last year's report for this fortunate circumstance and these have continued to work during the period under review. As was pointed out in last year's report, the better elements on both sides have begun to revolt against the injury and the disgrace inflicted upon Indian public life by these savage and senseless outbreaks, and His Excellency Lord Irwin, by his speeches to the Central Legislature and outside the walls of the latter, has given a strong impetus to the attempts, which, as we shall see in the next chapter, have been continuously proceeding since the latter half of 1927, to find some basis for agreement between the two great communities on those questions of political importance which are at least contributory causes of the strained relations between them. Again, the issues arising out of the Statutory Commission's enquiry have, to a large extent, absorbed the energy and attention of the different communities, with the result that less importance has been attached to local causes of conflict, and more importance to the broad question of constitutional policy. Moreover, the legislation passed during the autumn session of the Indian Legislature in 1927 penalising the instigation of inter-communal hostility by the press, had some effect in improving the inter-communal position, although some vernacular newspapers, particularly in the Bombay Presidency, have not been able to resist the temptation of dwelling on communal subjects. The number of riots during the twelve months ending with March 31st, 1929, is comparatively small—it is no more than 22—but unfortunately the casualties, which were swelled heavily by the Bombay riots, are very serious, no fewer than 204 persons having been killed and nearly a thousand injured. Of these, the fortnight's rioting in Bombay accounts for 149 killed and 739 injured. It is true that these figures are better than those which His Excellency Lord Irwin gave to the members of the Central Legislature when he addressed them on August the 29th, 1927, and told them that in less than 18 months, between 250 and 300 persons had been killed in Hindu-Muslim riots, and over 2,500 injured, but, nevertheless, they are an index to the human suffering, social upheaval and economic loss, which are the natural results of these outbursts. Seven of these twenty-two riots, or roughly one-

third of them, occurred on the day of the celebration of the annual Muhammadan festival of Bakr 'Id at the end of May. The celebration of this festival is always a dangerous time in Hindu-Muslim relations, because part of the ceremony consists in animal sacrifice, and when cows are the animals chosen, the slightest tension between Hindus and Muslims is apt to produce an explosion. Of the Bakr 'Id riots only two were serious and both of them took place in the Punjab. In a village of the Ambala District ten people were killed and nine injured in a riot, whilst the other riot referred to here, that which took place in Softa village of the Gurgaon District in the Southern Punjab, attained considerable notoriety because of its sensational features and the very grave consequences which might have arisen had it not been for the prompt and courageous action of the District Police. The village of Softa is about 27 miles south of Delhi, and is inhabited by Muslims. This village is surrounded by villages occupied by Hindu cultivators who, on hearing that the Muslims of Softa intended to sacrifice a cow on 'Id Day, objected to the sacrifice of the particular cow selected on the ground that it had been accustomed to graze in fields belonging to the Hindu cultivators. The dispute over the matter assumed a threatening aspect and the Superintendent of Police of the district accordingly went with a small force of police, about 25 men in all, to try to keep peace. He took charge of the disputed cow and locked it up, but his presence did not deter the Hindu cultivators of a few neighbouring villages from collecting about a thousand people armed with pitchforks, spears and staves, and going to Softa. The Superintendent of Police and an Indian Revenue official, who were present in the village, assured the crowd that the cow, in connection with which the dispute had arisen would not be sacrificed, but this did not satisfy the mob which threatened to burn the whole village if any cow was sacrificed, and also demanded that the cow should be handed over to them. The Superintendent of Police refused to agree to this demand, whereupon the crowd became violent and began to throw stones at the police and to try to get round the latter into the village. The Superintendent of Police warned the crowd to disperse, but to no effect. He, therefore, fired one shot from his revolver as a further warning, but the crowd still continued to advance and he had to order his party of police to fire. Only one volley was fired at first, but as this did not cause the retreat of the

mob two more volleys had to be fired before the crowd slowly dispersed, driving off some cattle belonging to the village.

While the police were engaged in this affair a few Hindu cultivators got into Softa at another place and tried to set fire to the village. These were, however, driven away by the police after they had inflicted injuries on three or four men. In all 14 persons were killed and 33 injured in this affair. The Punjab Government deputed a judicial officer to enquire into this affair. His report, which was published on July the 6th, justified the action of the police in firing on the mob and recorded the opinion that there was no reason to suppose that the firing was excessive or was continued after the mob had desisted from its unlawful aggression. Had the police not opened fire, the report proceeds, their own lives would have been in immediate danger, as also would the lives of the people of Softa. Lastly, in the opinion of the officer writing the report, had Softa village been sacked there would certainly have been within 24 hours a communal conflagration of such violence in the surrounding country-side that a very large number of casualties must have been entailed.

* * *

The riots at Kharagpur, an important railway centre not far from Calcutta, also resulted in serious loss of life. Two riots took place at Kharagpur, the first on the occasion of the Muharram celebration at the end of June and the second on the 1st September, 1928, when the killing of a cow was the signal for trouble to begin. In the first riot 15 were killed and 21 injured, whilst in the second riot the casualties were 9 killed and 35 wounded. But none of these riots are to be compared with the long outbreak in Bombay from the beginning to the middle of February, when, as we have seen, 149 persons were killed and well over 700 injured.

For the origin of this outbreak we must go back to December 7th, 1928, when a strike broke out at the Oil Companies installations in Bombay. All the oil companies engaged Pathan workmen in place of the strikers, who were predominently Hindu, and this led to serious clashes between the Pathans and the oil-strikers, involving loss of life. Rumours gained currency in Bombay city that children were being kidnapped and conveyed to Baroda for sacrifice in connection with the construction of a bridge there. On the night of the 2nd February the kidnapping scare may be said to have really

begun, and the first overt act of assault took place that night when an attack was made on a Pathan Motor driver. The next day a Greek Engineer was assaulted, a Hindu carpenter was killed, and in various parts of the city, Pathans and other persons were attacked. On the 4th and 5th February the disturbances developed into a regular Pathan hunt by the millhands; during these two days 17 Pathans were killed and many were injured. Two Muslims and three Hindus also lost their lives. It would thus appear that the fights between oil strikers and the Pathans developed into murderous assaults on Pathans and others, particularly by millhands, which assaults were, in addition, connected with a kidnapping scare. These again developed into general murderous assaults by Muslims on Hindus and by Hindus on Muslims and persons outside these communities also suffered.

On the afternoon of February 5th, Deputy Inspector Priestly who was on duty with ten armed policemen near Poibavdi, in Bombay City, made an heroic effort to separate a mob of Hindu and Pathan combatants, which cost him his life. He was seriously injured and died the same evening in hospital from head wound and shock. That night the Warwickshire Regiment was called out to assist the police in checking the murderous affrays between Pathans and Hindus.

The following day the situation was worse, and between then and February 12th, when the situation returned to normal, the police and military had frequently to disperse riotous mobs and on no fewer than eleven occasions were compelled to open fire on them. The Cheshire Regiment was summoned from Poona on the 7th, and more men of the Warwickshire Regiment and extra police were drafted into the city. The issue of a Curfew Order forbidding people to loiter in the streets between sunset and sunrise had a good effect. A feature of the later phases of the rioting was the widespread looting of shops in the Princess Street area. On the 17th of February it was found possible to disembody the Auxiliary Force, to withdraw the military pickets, and to cancel the Curfew Order.

The total number of bad characters rounded up from different parts of the city during these riots was 681. The toll of human life taken by the riots was 149. This number includes 92 Hindus, 54 Muhammadans, including 25 Pathans, 1 Parsee and one European.

One hundred and fifteen rounds of ammunition were fired by the military and 53 by the Police. Between the 6th and 9th February 61 shops were looted, comprising 34 Muhammadan shops, 24 Hindu, two Parsee and one Christian. The total amount of property stolen during the riots was valued at Rs. 4,62,931. Muhammadan shops suffered damage valued at over 4 lakhs of rupees.

But inter-communal antagonism was not the only disturbing feature of the public life of India during the year under review. The growth of communist propaganda and influence, especially among the industrial classes of certain large towns, caused anxiety to the authorities. The present, however, is not a suitable opportunity for discussing this particular phase of Indian affairs, because, in March 1929, 31 persons were arrested on a charge of conspiracy to deprive His Majesty the King-Emperor of his sovereignty of India, and their trial is now proceeding. In order to combat the dangers arising from communist activities the Government of India introduced a Public Safety Bill in the Legislative Assembly and the reader is referred to the debates on that Bill for an appreciation of the situation as it presented itself to representatives of the Government and to non-officials of various shades of opinion.

The Bill was introduced in the Legislative Assembly during the Autumn Session of 1928 and was directed against persons not being Indian British Subjects, or Subjects of an Indian State, who might seek to overthrow the system of Government established in British India, by certain destructive methods, which may be summed up as the methods of communism. The remedy proposed was deportation by order of the Governor-General in Council who was to be given power to remove from India, British and foreign communist agents.

The Bill was introduced in the Assembly on the 4th September, 1928, and, after having been discussed for four days, was referred to a Select Committee. In Select Committee, important modifications by way of safeguards were introduced. The duration of the Bill was limited, in the first instance, to five years, and its scope was further reduced by excepting from its provisions British subjects ordinarily resident in British India. This safeguarded against deportation the large class of European British Subjects who, though not domiciled in British India, have their careers there.

Two classes of appeals were also provided. Of these, one, which was to lie to the High Court, was restricted to persons claiming that they came within one of the classes excepted from the operation of the Act. The second, which was to be heard by a Bench of three Sessions Judges of experience, allowed the examination by such Bench of the merits of the order or removal, and, if the Bench reported to the Governor-General-in-Council against the order, the Governor-General-in-Council was required to revoke it. On the motion that the Bill, as reported by the Select Committee, be taken into consideration the voting was equal (61 against 61), and the President gave his casting vote against the motion. The motion was consequently rejected.

Between the autumn session of the Legislature and the opening of the Delhi Session at the end of January 1929, the situation arising out of communist activities had, in the opinion of Government, seriously deteriorated, and accordingly they considered it their duty to place a revised Bill before the Legislature. The account of the proceedings in the Legislative Assembly relating to the Bill will fall more appropriately within the scope of next year's report. It is sufficient here to say that the Bill could not be proceeded with and effect was ultimately given to the principles contained in it by an Ordinance dated the 12th April, 1929, made and promulgated by the Governor-General. The Ordinance gave Government the powers which had been proposed in the revised Public Safety Bill subject to the safeguards set up therein. In addition to the provisions of the original Bill as reported by the Select Committee it made certain provisions regarding the seizure of monies.

In addition to the two unsettling factors provided by inter-communal antagonism and communist activities during the year under review, the industrial life of India was far more disturbed than during the preceding year. The total number of strikes was 203, involving no less than 506,851 people, as compared with 129 strikes in 1927-28 in which 131,655 people were involved. The total number of working days lost was 31,647,404 which is greater than the total number of working days lost in the five preceding years taken together. The general strike in the Bombay Textile Mills alone, was responsible for a loss of 22,347,620 working days.

Among the strikes which occurred during the year were those in the Tata Iron and Steel Mills at Jamshedpur, the East Indian Rail-

way, the South Indian Railway, and the Fort Gloster Jute Mills in Bengal. In nearly one-third of the strikes the workers succeeded in obtaining concessions.

A serious development in connection with industrial disputes occurred on the 28th March, 1928, when a body of strikers, estimated at between 2,000 and 4,000, dissatisfied with the reported refusal of their demands by the Agent to the East Indian Railway, proceeded to Bamangachi, where the East Indian Railway loco sheds are, a place about two miles to the north of Howrah, with the intention of putting pressure on the Loco workers there, and particularly on the engine drivers, to come out of work so as to paralyse the railway. On arrival at Bamangachi a number of the crowd rushed towards the loco shed which some of them entered. The workmen in the shed were abused and one of them was hit by stones. Some of the police on duty in the neighbourhood at once appeared followed by some men of the Frontier Rifles, a detachment of which was in camp on railway land in the neighbourhood. On seeing the police thus reinforced the strikers retired. When the Superintendent of Police of the Howrah district, Mr. Sturgis, and the Officer Commanding the detachment of Frontier Rifles, Captain Christie, arrived at the scene of disturbance shortly after this, they found the rioters collected in two crowds, one at the eastern approach to the shed and the other at the western approach. Mr. Sturgis ordered the crowd at the eastern approach to disperse, but his order was ignored. He then charged the crowd with the police available and cleared the approach. He next ordered the other crowd, consisting of about 800 men, to move from the western approach. On their refusal to do so he attempted to disperse them with the police, aided by Watch and Ward employees of the East Indian Railway Company. The crowd not only refused to disperse, but resisted the attempts of the police and started to throw stones. As a result of this Mr. Sturgis had one of his ribs fractured, the Superintendent of the East Indian Railway, Watch and Ward, had his face cut open, and several of the police were injured. The situation then became so serious that firing was essentially necessary. Accordingly, Mr. Sturgis, the senior civil officer present, ordered Captain Christie to fire one shot at the crowd, but this produced no effect, and it was not till five single shots had been fired in succession that

the crowd dispersed. Two men were killed and two others were injured in this affair.

There was a general strike in the Textile Mills of the Bombay Mill Industry, which lasted from the 26th April to the 6th October 1928, and involved the loss of three and a half crores of rupees in wages to the workers, and over two million working days to the industry. Following a number of small mill strikes and one large strike affecting the Sassoon group of mills, on the 16th April, about 100 strikers from the Kastoor Chand and the Textile Mills visited the Mahomedbhoy and Currimbhoy Mills and threw stones, causing serious damage to property. To avert further damage the management immediately closed the mills, and their decision was quickly copied by the management of nine other mills. A mass meeting of the strikers was held in the evening, at which immediate declaration of a general strike was urged. The grievances, as alleged, were the introduction of new systems of work, retrenchment in consequence thereof, increase in hours of work, and reduction in rates of wages. On the 17th April eight mills closed down and the Bombay Textile Labour Union, which had so far taken no part in the strike, held a meeting to persuade the workers against the general strike. Between the 18th and the 23rd April, as a result of the agitation carried on by the extremist section of the strikers, the situation considerably deteriorated, and 23 mills had to close down. The trouble extended to a number of other mills, and by the 26th every mill in Bombay City, except two at Colaba, was compelled to close its gates. Even Sholapur, an industrial town about 283 miles east of Bombay was affected, and on the 21st April the employees of the Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Mill, without any apparent reason, suddenly struck work. At one time during the strike in Bombay no less than 50 mills were idle and about 125,000 men were out of employment. The Bombay Mill Workers Union, the Workers' and Peasants' Party, and the President of the Girni Kamgar Mahamandal appointed a Strike Committee of 85 members, whilst the Bombay Textile Labour Unionists formed their own Strike Committee of ten. On the 27th April His Excellency the Governor came down to Bombay from Mahbleshwar and granted several interviews. As a result of the Governor's visit, the Mill Owners Association expressed their readiness to receive representatives of Registered Trade Unions with a view to opening negotiations for a settle-

ment of the dispute, and the extremists decided to join hands with the moderates in the preparation of a statement of the grievances of the men for submission to the Bombay Mill Owners Association. A Joint Strike Committee was constituted, on the 3rd May, composed of ten workers from each group. But during the first two weeks in May, though the Mill Owners were willing to open negotiations with the officials of the Bombay Textile Labour Union (a Registered Body)—they refused to have anything to do with the Joint Strike Committee, as it was then constituted. The Joint Strike Committee on the other hand, refused to allow the officials of the Bombay Textile Labour Union to carry on negotiations over their head. On the 15th May, the Hon'ble Sir Cowasji Jehangir, General Member of the Bombay Government, received a deputation from the Mill Owners and the Joint Strike Committee with a view to opening the way for a Round Table Conference, but the parties were unable to agree with regard to the members of the Conference. In August a Conference of the Mill Owners and the Joint Strike Committee was held under the presidency of Sir Cowasji Jehangir, and this also failed to come to any agreement. Several private attempts to bring about a settlement of the strike met the same fate. Finally, a Conference called by the General Member of the Bombay Government, on the 4th October, was able to arrive at a settlement on the basis of the appointment of a committee of enquiry by Government. It was agreed that work should be resumed on the 6th October, and between that day and the 11th, about 50 per cent. of the number of workmen originally affected were attending their mills. The large exodus of workers from Bombay—more than half the strikers had drifted back to their villages—made it impossible to resume normal working until well into November.

A few incidents in connection with the strike may be mentioned. In the Parel area of the City, Police were compelled to fire on a mob of six or seven hundred strikers, killing one and seriously injuring one. The activities of the Strike Committee of 85 members, which has been mentioned above, added to the prevailing tension, and turbulent scenes occurred on the 23rd April, in which a number of policemen and non-strikers were seriously injured.

Before closing the narrative of disturbing features in the public life of India during the year under review a brief account must be given of two important manifestations of agrarian agitation in

places as far apart as the west of the Bombay Presidency and the south of Burma.

* * *

The agitation in the Bardoli Taluqa of the Surat District in the Bombay Presidency arose out of the revision of the Land Revenue Assessment of the district. In all districts of British India, except those under permanent settlement, the assessment of land revenue is revised periodically, so that the survey and assessment of land for Land Revenue purposes is going on continuously in some part or other of India. At intervals of about thirty years, each district not permanently settled undergoes a sort of Doomsday Inquest, called the " Settlement " of the district. The Surat district was " re-settled " in 1926, after an interval of exactly thirty years, and the officer who conducted the settlement recommended that the Bardoli assessments should be raised by 30 per cent. His recommendation was challenged on the ground that his enquiry had been a cursory one, and his report was rejected by a higher official, the Settlement Commissioner, who proposed an enhancement of 29 per cent. which the Bombay Government further reduced to 20 per cent. Their decision, however, was not accepted as reasonable by the revenue-payers and an agitation against it was started. For some months, the agitation gathered strength and a somewhat dangerous state of tension between the authorities and the revenue-payers existed. Ultimately, a settlement was reached acceptable to both the Government and the revenue-payers of Bardoli.

Under the terms of the Settlement, a joint and open enquiry by a judicial and a revenue officer was to be held into the complaints of the landholders; in the meantime, the old assessment of land revenue was to be paid and credited to Government, the difference between the old and the new assessment was to be paid but held in deposit by the latter, and all agitation was to cease. The observance of the terms of the agreement enabled the Bombay Government firstly to release those who had been convicted or arrested during the course of the agitation, and, secondly, to restore those lands which had been forfeited but not sold. Private effort was successful in obtaining the restoration of lands which had been sold to third parties.

The report of the officers appointed to hold the enquiry was received after the end of the year now under review and so does not

strictly come within the scope of this work. It may, however, be mentioned that the report was favourable to the revenue-payers and recommended a substantial reduction in the assessment as fixed on revision. The Bombay Government have accepted this recommendation.

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About the same time as the Bardoli agitation, a No-Tax Campaign was inaugurated in certain districts in Burma, particularly the Prome, Insein and Tharrawaddy districts. Local associations were formed in each town to resist the collection of taxes, to hinder Government officials in the discharge of their duty, and to harrass non-members of the Association. There were many instances of assault, violence and murder and on several occasions the police were attacked. Reinforcements of military police were sent to the affected districts to preserve order and a large number of village associations were declared unlawful assemblies. In the Tharrawaddy District the movement assumed a revolutionary type and the Provincial Government adopted special measures to prevent it from spreading. The trouble in the Prome and Insein Districts began to wane by the end of February, and by March the situation in the Tharrawaddy district was almost normal.

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Turning now to a description, in the very broadest outlines, of climatic conditions in India during the year, it is enough to say that the monsoon of 1928 was, on the whole, fairly active except in some parts of Northern India where a marked drought was experienced. In the early part of 1929 the same areas were seriously affected by the exceptionally cold wave which prevailed over a great part of the world. Extensive damage was done to crops but accurate figures relating to these are not available at the time of writing. But, however scanty the rainfall may have been in places in the interior of the Peninsula, those parts of India which are drained by rivers rising in the Himalayas are always exposed to danger from flood and the year under review unfortunately witnessed a considerable amount of damage from this cause. As so often happens, Bengal was the worst sufferer.

During the third week in June many villages were inundated in the Midnapur District, and in the following month, Serajgunj, a

prosperous East Bengal jute town, was practically submerged through the over-flow of the River Jamuna. The rivers Kamla, Bagmati, and Gandabi also rose to an abnormal height and caused serious havoc in the districts of Muzaffarpur, Motihari and Darbhanga, rendering thousands of people homeless. In Upper Burma heavy rain during the summer caused railway lines to be breached and many villages to be submerged for days together. Kashmir suffered severely during the first week of September owing to the sharp rise of the River Jhelum, and at one time the capital (Srinagar), was in danger of being submerged. For over a week no mails were delivered, and the telephone and telegraph services were disorganised, thus completely cutting off the Kashmir Valley from the rest of the country. In the west and centre of the Punjab severe damage was caused by the overflow of the three rivers, Jhelum, Chenab, and Ravi, no less than 850 villages being inundated, 7,000 head of cattle swept away, and 16,000 houses damaged beyond repair or destroyed. Twenty-five thousand acres of crops were damaged, though, fortunately, the loss of human life was limited to under fifty souls. In Madras heavy rains and floods in October caused a complete dislocation of railway traffic, many miles of lines and several bridges being swept away. Cocanada, on the East coast was submerged, at one time the danger zone extending for a radius of 85 miles. The East Godaveri District of Madras also suffered seriously about the same time.

The Western side of India was comparatively free from floods during the year under review, but a rise in the River Indus in June did some damage to the Lloyd Barrage Works at Sukkur, and retarded progress for several weeks.

* * *

On the whole, therefore, India was favoured with a good monsoon, though as stated above, floods and drought were responsible for loss and distress in some areas. Not only were the crops satisfactory, but India's foreign trade, both export and import, showed a marked improvement. The exports of merchandise advanced by Rs. 20 crores (or six per cent.) to Rs. 329 crores, while the year's imports rose by Rs. 19 crores (or eight per cent.) to Rs. 280 crores. The Exchange remained stable throughout the year and with the exception of cotton there was a steady demand for all stable articles

of Indian produce—that of jute actually surpassing all previous records.

The amount of goods traffic borne by India's railways during the year 1927-28 showed a substantial increase, the actual receipts from commercial lines amounting to nearly Rs. 102·63 crores, about half a crore more than the revised estimate. It is true that the working expenses of the railways were increased by about three quarters of a crore, but even allowing for that and certain other adjustments, there was a net gain from commercial lines of 12,54 lakhs, which is unanswerable evidence of continued prosperity.

But India's vast size makes homogeneity of climatic conditions impossible, and it usually happens that while some areas are favoured with a good rainfall, others are stricken with either floods or drought. Every year, in some part or other of India, measures have to be taken by the Government in relief of scarcity and distress. These words are used in the Indian Government service in a technical sense. Distress is a milder word than scarcity, and is applied to the conditions of a particular locality consequent on the failure or the undue abundance of the rainfall there. In such circumstances the local officers may or may not find it necessary to take exceptional measures to relieve the distress. Should the distress be widespread, however, then a state of scarcity is declared, which normally involves some Government action in relief of the sufferers. This action generally takes the form of generous advances of *taccavi*, that is, Government loans to agriculturists on generous terms both as regards interest and repayment. During the period under review, relief measures had to be undertaken in Bengal, the United Provinces and the Central Provinces. In the first named province relief measures included arrangements with District Boards to concentrate their work on roads, tanks, etc., in the areas affected. The irrigation and railway departments also undertook various works in the same areas.

In order to enable the reader to picture the action taken by the Provincial Governments to relieve distress or scarcity, a somewhat full account of the action taken during the year under review by the Government of the United Provinces is given.

Here the monsoon arrived punctually and in its earlier stages was plentiful. During August, however, it weakened, and although

rain fell from time to time, by the end of September it appeared likely that the province would have to face a serious calamity. The 1927 *Kharif* (autumn) crop had not been good and the following *rabi* (spring) crop, which at one time promised to be a bumper crop, was reduced to considerably below the normal by excessive winter rains. The damage to the *rabi* crop was particularly severe in Bundelkhand, where the Local Government distributed about 20,000 maunds of improved wheat valued at 1½ lakhs of rupees, during the early part of October. The revenue due on the *rabi* instalment was also remitted, mainly in Bundelkhand, to the amount of Rs. 4,44,000, and suspended to the amount of Rs. 27,000. The *Kharif* crop of 1928, following these two indifferent harvests, suffered damage which varied in severity but was generally more severe in the west than in the east of the province. The rice suffered most, but cotton, which thrives on a light rainfall, was satisfactory, and sugar-cane did not sustain any serious damage. Fodder was scarce in a number of districts. In order to reduce as much as possible the inevitable damage to the *kharif* crops the Local Government took all the steps open to them. The canals were kept running for a full supply of water throughout the period when they generally remain closed. As an emergency measure, the Sarda canal, though it was incomplete, was opened six months earlier than was intended, and it was thus possible to irrigate some 80,000 acres of rice and sugar-cane, which must otherwise have suffered the full effect of the drought. Though the expenditure sanctioned for Agricultural Loans up to September was only Rs. 48 lakhs, the Local Government subsequently distributed as *taccavi* (loans) over and above that sum no less than Rs. 62 lakhs, making the total *taccavi* allotments in round figures, one crore and four lakhs.

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Among the more important committees and enquiries instituted during the year under review may be mentioned the Auxiliary Committee to the Simon Commission and the Age of Consent Committee. The former was appointed under the Chairmanship of Sir Philip Hartog, Kt., C.I.E., to make enquiries into the growth of education in British India and to prepare a " Review of the Growth of Education " with particular reference to its organisation in British

India and its relation to political and constitutional conditions and potentialities of progress. The Age of Consent Committee was appointed under the Chairmanship of Sir Moropant Vishwanath Joshi, B.A., L.O.B., Kt., K.C.I.E., late Home Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of the Central Provinces. Its duty was to examine the state of the law relating to the Age of Consent, as contained in the sections of the Penal Code relating to this subject, to enquire into the effect of amendments made by an Amendment Act to the Penal Code in 1925, and to report whether further amendment of the law was necessary. Both these committees conducted their enquiries during the year under review and their reports, which were published after the close of the year, will be discussed in the next issue of this report.

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In last year's report reference was made to the appointment of the Indian Cinematograph Committee in October 1927. The Committee published their report in August, and their main proposal was the creation of a Cinema Department to form part of the Commerce Department of the Government of India, and to consist of an Advisory Committee with a Cinema Bureau as its executive branch. It was recommended that the Advisory Committee should consist of not more than 14 members of whom 8 (including the chairman) should be non-official; the Central Bureau should consist of a body of technical experts, comprising a Director of Film Production, a camera man, a printing and developing expert and an electrician. Both the Bureau and the Advisory Committee were to be located at Bombay, which is the main seat of production and the chief importing centre for the Indian Film industry. The function of the Bureau would be to give expert advice and assistance, while that of the Advisory Committee would be to tender advice regarding finance and company promotion. The scheme provides for a Deputy Censor at Calcutta, the appointment of a Control Board for purposes of censorship at Bombay with a censor as its chief executive officer, and the establishment of provincial Censorship Boards. The Committee recommended the raising of the censorship fees from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 per thousand feet, but they were not in favour of any increase of duty on imported films as a protective measure. The Committee were against any preferential treatment

for the admission of British films into India, but they emphasised the desirability of exchanges of educational films between various parts of the British Empire. On the question of granting financial aid to the Indian cinema industry and the introduction of the "quota system", the Committee divided itself equally. The majority recommended the grant of loans by Government on favourable terms to producers on the security of produced films, and also to companies or individuals who proposed to build cinema houses. The minority argued that financial aid at the expense of public funds was unnecessary, especially as the cinema industry was not a key industry but a luxury industry. The majority recommended the quota system, with the twofold object of providing an outlet for suitable Indian films and gaining admission for them to theatres from which they are at present excluded. They proposed to compel every exhibitor to show at least 50 per cent. Indian films. The minority considered this proposal more drastic than the British quota system, and expressed the view that it would be definitely injurious to the Indian film industry. It was, however, unanimously agreed that if the danger of foreign domination ever became imminent, legislative action should be immediately taken to check it. The general conclusions of the Committee were that the cinema industry in India should receive liberal treatment from the Government because it contributes its share to the general revenues of the country and is of great national importance. The report is under the consideration of the Government.

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The Church of England in India has, during the year under review, taken action under the powers conferred upon it by the Indian Church Act, and Corporations Sole, who will be dissolved on the date of the Legal Separation, have transferred the property they hold to Diocesan Trust Associations registered under the Company's Act of 1913. Applications for the incorporation under Royal Charter of the Indian Church Trustees has been made. The 4th Draft of "the Constitution, Canon, and Rules of the India Church" as amended at the session of the General Council held in February, 1928, has been issued to all Diocesan Councils for final consideration, and they have been requested to send their representatives to the next meeting of the General Council summoned for January the

28th, 1930, duly authorised to accept "The Constitution, Canons and Rules" with or without amendment. This being done the General Council will be asked to pass a resolution requesting the Governor-General-in-Council to fix the date for the legal separation. The Statutory rules, framed under the Indian Church Act to secure to congregations worshipping in maintained Churches services in accordance with the rites of the Church of England, have received the sanction of the Secretary of State and have been published for general information in the *Gazette of India* of the 29th June 1929.

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India's relations with South Africa tend to become more and more important with the passing of years. In May 1927, the Government of India appointed the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., as their first Agent in the Union of South Africa, to ensure the smooth working of the agreement on the Indian question which was reached between the two Governments at Cape Town in January, 1927, and to consolidate the good relations which the Conference had helped to establish. Mr. Sastri, when accepting the appointment informed Government that he might not be able to stay in South Africa for more than one year, but he was happily able to remain there for more than eighteen months. By his services to his compatriots in South Africa and the promotion of friendly relations between India and the Union, Mr. Sastri has secured a high place for himself in the history of the two countries as a successful Ambassador of India and has laid India under a great debt of gratitude. He has left a high standard of statesmanship for his successor to maintain.

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The most notable departure from India during the year was that of Sir Basil Blackett who left India early in April, after having rendered a little over five years' service as Finance Member of His Excellency the Viceroy's Executive Council. On his first arrival the finances of India were in a far from satisfactory position, and Sir Basil Blackett was responsible for the initiation and also for the successful accomplishment of an ordered financial policy which undoubtedly brought great benefits to the Indian Empire. In all, Sir Basil framed six annual budgets; and the most conspicuous

features of this cycle of administration were the retrenchment of avoidable public expenditure, reduced taxation, reduction in the burden of deadweight debt, financial encouragement to industrial enterprise in India, stabilisation of exchange, the emancipation of Railway finance, and, lastly, remission of the provincial contributions, giving through the agency of the Provincial Governments increased scope for expenditure on nation-building services. Sir Basil himself would be the first to admit that in carrying out this programme he had the inestimable help of a succession of favourable monsoons. Of the various financial reforms which he succeeded in introducing, perhaps the most important was his scheme for the Reduction and Avoidance of Debt, a measure which was undoubtedly of very great assistance to the loan operations of the Government of India during Sir Basil's tenure of office.

Death took a heavy toll of distinguished statesman and politicians in India during the year under review. On June 17th, 1928, Sir Alexander Muddiman, Governor of the United Provinces, died at Naini Tal from heart failure, thus terminating a brilliant career in India extending over thirty years. He took a prominent part in establishing and working the constitution which followed the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. He was the first president of the Council of State, over the deliberations of which he presided with marked success. As Home Member to the Government of India, a post which he filled with conspicuous success, he was also leader of the Legislative Assembly, with whose members, both official and non-official, he enjoyed the highest degree of popularity. Short as was the period of Sir Alexander's tenure of the Governorship of the United Provinces before his lamented death, he had given ample proof that he possessed the rare qualities necessary for success in his high office. The merited tributes paid to his memory by public men and by the newspapers of this country afford some measure of the extent of the loss which India and the Empire suffered by his death.

On November 17th, the death of Lala Lajpat Rai, a prominent Swarajist politician, occurred from heart failure at Lahore. He played a leading part in the political life of his country, and, in the words of His Excellency the Viceroy, there were qualities in him which led many who dissented most sharply from his political opinions to forget their dissent in a genuine appreciation of a very

human personality. Unfortunately he had been injured slightly during a collision between the Police and some members of a crowd which had demonstrated against the Simon Commission on its arrival in Lahore 18 days before his death. This incident was made the basis of a charge against the Punjab Police, and through them the Government, of having caused Lala Lajpat Rai's death. It was, however, the case that between the incident of October 30th and his death he followed his regular mode of life, and it was evident that this occurrence had no direct relation with the cause of his death. The Punjab Government instituted an enquiry into the incidents at the railway station which showed that the police had acted with restrain. Lala Lajpat Rai's death formed the subject of debates in both the Legislative Assembly and the Punjab Legislative Council.

The death of Lord Sinha, which occurred on March 5th, 1928, at Berhampore (Bengal) from heart failure, was a great loss to India and the Empire. The first Indian to rise to be Advocate General of Bengal, Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, Under Secretary of State for India, a British Peer, and Governor of a Province (Bihar and Orissa), he was a lawyer of the highest distinction, and his eminence was recognised not only by his being made a King's Counsel, but also by his elevation to the Privy Council. He represented India at the Peace Conference and on the Imperial War Cabinet. His was a career which marked an epoch in the history of India. He successfully combined a real appreciation of what he had learnt in the West, and a real understanding of Great Britain, with the retention of his character and outlook as an Indian. He was, therefore, able to render marked service in interpreting India to Britain. Of his work in politics, it need only be mentioned that as President of the Indian National Congress he was the first to ask for an authoritative definition of the British goal of policy in India, which was later on laid down on behalf of His Majesty's Government in the House of Commons in the declaration which Mr. Montagu made on the 20th of August 1917. In Lord Sinha India lost one of her greatest sons.

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With the death of the Honourable Mr. S. R. Das, Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, on October 26th, 1928, from an

affection of the lungs, India lost another eminent and loyal son. The late Mr. Das was Advocate General of Bengal before his elevation to the Governor-General's Council, and his work to found a school for Indian boys, modelled on the lines of an English Public School, occupied all his leisure hours. A distinguished lawyer and public man, who was liked both by the friends and the opponents of the Government which is served, he was an outstanding figure in that group of Indian patriots who have been able to combine in their work service to both Britain and India.

The Raja of Panagal, Leader of the Non-Brahmin Party and formerly Chief Minister of the Madras Government, died on the 15th December, 1928, from influenza. He was the second minister in the first Non-Brahmin Ministry of the Reformed Council. As leader of the Non-Brahmin Party he proved himself a clever tactician and successful politician.

CHAPTER II.

Politics during the Year.

Earlier numbers of this Report have not failed to draw attention to the many different sides which Indian politics present to those who study them, for the politics of India are very far from being wholly comprised within the doings of her Central Legislature and Central Government. Every province in the country has its own politics and its own political life, more or less vigorous, its own peculiar political problems, and its own solutions for them, and the view of the Central Legislature on any given matter of policy is far from being, as a matter of course, the same as that of all, or even any one, of the provinces.

We shall see in this chapter that every Provincial Legislative Council in India, except one, had decided by the Autumn of 1928 to appoint a committee elected from among its own members to co-operate with the Statutory Commission, whereas the Legislative Assembly decided against co-operation in February, 1928, and subsequently furnished no reason for leading the Government of India to suppose that it would change its opinion if the question were submitted to it a second time.

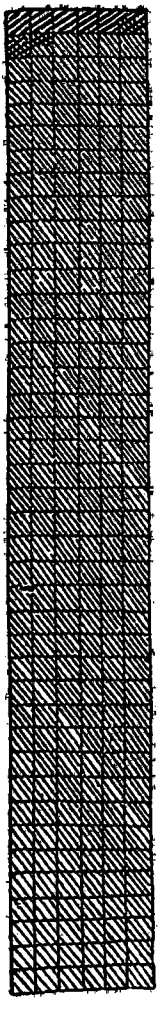
Apart from the Legislature, an important element in the general political life in this country is furnished by certain political, religious, communal and other organisations, which exert an influence—at times a very powerful influence—on the general course of politics. In the United Kingdom and other Western countries, people are familiar enough with party organisations, but bodies like the All-India National Congress, the All-India National Liberal Federation, the All-India Muslim League and the All-India Hindu Mahasabha are different from, and something more than, ordinary party organisations. At times their claims for the allegiance of the people differ from those of the Provincial and Central Legislatures of the people; at other times political leaders seek to shape policy and direct the broad course of political events through their influence in these bodies rather than through their doings, and those of their parties, in the Legislatures. In fact, part of the proceedings in the different Legisla-

DIAGRAM.

The Voters of British India.

7·4 Millions

Enfranchised
(Shaded deep)



239·6 Millions

Unenfranchised
(Shaded light)

N.B.—Each square represents 1,000,000 of population.

latures represent an attempt to bring into operation mandates received from one or other of the bodies mentioned above. This remark is particularly true of the All-India National Congress. Altogether, India is so large, and political activities in this country are so wide and varied that it is not easy for an observer to keep himself closely in touch with all the provincial policies or the proceedings of the numerous organisations mentioned above, and for this reason the doings of the Central Legislature and the political parties which compose its two Houses are generally taken as the sum of the political life of the country. Limitations of space make it necessary to follow in this chapter the well beaten track of what may be conveniently called All-India Politics. Nevertheless, references will be found here and there to events of a political kind in the Provinces, as also, some description of the proceedings of organisations and bodies unconnected with the various legislatures which may, perhaps, open out vistas in the wide and varied political landscape lying outside the walls of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly.

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A broad survey of the political scene in India during the twelve months which are now being passed in review reveals two prominent features standing above and overshadowing all else. The first of these two features is formed by the doings of the Statutory Commission and the reactions to them throughout India, and the second by Hindu-Muslim relations. Forming a connecting link between the two is the Nehru-Sapru Report, which will receive further discussion later in this chapter. The report, as we shall see, is both a part of the reaction to the appointment of the Statutory Commission, and also the most important attempt made since the Lucknow Pact of 1916 to devise a settlement of the political differences between Hindus and Muslims which should receive the maximum amount of agreement on both sides. As it is now always referred to in the Indian press and on public platforms as the Nehru Report, this is the title which will be given to it throughout this chapter. Thus, to continue our analogy, we shall most easily map out the country through which we have to pass in the succeeding pages if we work from the vantage ground provided by these two outstanding points, and our discussion of the broad political relations between the two communities will be

found to resolve itself into an account of the progress of the Nehru Report.

Although few individual events of dramatic interest have occurred during this period, the story of the year's politics is of unusual interest, for it includes developments and changes in the grouping of opinion in this country, the effects of which will, in all probability, be of more than merely temporary interest and importance. The Statutory Commission, helped by its Indian Wing composed of members of the two houses of the Indian Central Legislature, and by the Committees elected by the Legislative Councils of every province in the country, with the solitary exception of the Central Provinces, has carried out its programme of enquiry thoroughly and completely, in spite of hostile receptions in some of the places which it visited. The Muslims have achieved an impressive measure of unity in respect of their communal claims, a notable attempt has been made to erect the frame-work of a constitution for India which, it was hoped by its authors, would be found acceptable to all communities and interests, Mr. Gandhi has returned to the political arena, and a dangerous and re-actionary resolution has been taken by an important political body, namely the All-India National Congress. The Nehru Report and the Congress Resolution again have both resulted from, and contributed to, the changes and reactions above mentioned, and it will be our task in this chapter to study these and other phenomena in as great detail as the limits of our space will allow.

In our study, in the preceding Chapter, of one particular aspect of Hindu-Muslim relations during the year we saw how the prospects of a long truce in the inter-communal rioting, which has so vexed the life of this country for several years past, lies at the end of the year under the shadow of the Bombay riots. Throughout the year the importance of finding a solution acceptable to both sides of the questions in dispute between the two great communities has been kept by circumstances well in the forefront of men's minds. Very much of the evidence given before the Statutory Commission is a commentary on the importance of finding such a solution, and of all the many considerations which the authors of the Nehru Report had to bear in mind this was the most prominent.

Later in this chapter we shall find more than one statement of the Indian Muslims' position with regard to safeguards for their interests under any future constitutional changes. Practically, their claims amount to a demand for the retention of the existing system of separate communal electorates; for the reservation of seats in the Legislative Councils of Provinces, even where Muslims are in a majority; for the allocation of one-third of the seats in the Central Legislature to their community, and, finally, for the separation of Sind from the Bombay Presidency and the extension of Reforms, similar to those enjoyed by other provinces, to the North-West Frontier Province. It will be noticed that the situation has changed somewhat since March, 1927, when a representative gathering of Muslims in Delhi agreed to the abolition of separate electorates on certain conditions, and also since the Madras Session of the All-India National Congress in December, 1927, when what is known as the "Unity Resolution" was accepted by the Congress. This resolution provided for Joint electorates in the various legislative bodies, with reservation of seats on the basis of population, provided that each community made reciprocal concessions in favour of minorities so as to give them representation in excess of the proportion to which they would be entitled on a population basis. The task of the All-Parties Conference was largely the reconciling of these claims with the counter-claims of the majority of Hindu politicians, one of whose main objects is the abolition of communal electorates.

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Readers of last year's report will remember that the account of Hindu-Muslim relations during the year 1927-28 ended with the adjournment of the All-Parties Conference towards the middle of March, 1928, still unsuccessful in its search for some path leading to unity between the two great communities. But, before adjourning, the Conference appointed sub-committees to enquire into and report on two of the most important factors in the Hindu-Muslim political problem, namely, the form and constitution of the electorate—that is, whether constituencies should remain as at present, organised primarily on the communal basis, or whether Hindu, Muslim and other electors should vote in joint constituencies—and the question of the separation of Sind from the Bombay Presidency. The Conference adjourned only until May, and on the 19th of that month its delegates duly met in Bombay. Sir

Mohammad Shafi and Sir Abdul Karim Ghaznavi and the whole of the Shafi Wing of the Muslim League, together with the leaders of the very large and important Justice or Non-Brahmin party of the South of India, held aloof from the May Conference, and some important political leaders such as Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Gandhi were unable to be present. In consequence, the Congress element predominated, but the Conference represented many of the schools of political opinion in this country. Dr. Ansari, *ex* President of the All-India National Congress, presided over the Conference, and informed the delegates at the outset that no agreement had been reached on the subject of the electorate, and that the report of the sub-committee which had been formed to consider the question of the separation of Sind from Bombay was not yet ready for submission to the Conference. After much discussion the Conference came to the decision to appoint a small but influential sub-committee to determine the principles of a constitution for India and draft a Report thereon. It was further agreed that the committee should complete the drafting of the Report before July 1st, giving the fullest consideration to the resolutions which had been passed from time to time by the various important communal, political, and other organisations in India. Finally, it was agreed that the All-Parties' Conference should meet again in August to consider the sub-committee's report. The report was published in August and bore eight signatures, including those of Pandit Motilal Nehru, leader of the Congress Party, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, leader of the Liberals, and Sir Ali Imam, at one time a member of the Governor General's Executive Council.

The production of the Nehru Report may fairly be regarded as the most important of all the reactions of those who have held aloof from the work of the Statutory Commission to the political situation created by the appointment of the latter in November, 1928. At the time of the announcement of the appointment of the Commission, the Earl of Birkenhead, who was then Secretary of State for India, said that in the three years during which he had been Secretary of State he had twice invited critics in India to put forward their own suggestions for a constitution, and that this offer was still open. These words were regarded by many Indian public men as, and, indeed, were openly stated to be, a

challenge from Lord Birkenhead to political India to produce a constitution which might gain the assent of all interests in this country, and the Nehru Report has been freely stated in the press and on the platform to be the answer to the alleged challenge. However this may be, the Report does represent a constructive effort to build a political platform broad enough and spacious enough to accommodate the many and very varied interests whose assent to the Report would have to be secured before it could be truly said to embody the desire of United India, and in the narrative of its fate will be found the kernel of the interest and importance of the year's politics. But before we turn to this subject we will consider briefly the chronological course of events from the beginning of April, 1928, because by doing so we shall be able to form a clearer mental picture of the year's politics and to appreciate the more fully the circumstances in which the Nehru Report came to birth.

Those who studied the course of Indian political affairs during the twelve months ending on April 1st, 1928, as described in the last volume of this annual chronicle, will remember that the narrative closed with the remark that outside the Legislative Assembly opinion was, on the whole, veering in the direction of co-operation with the Statutory Commission. It should be explained that this remark was based on the slowly but perceptibly growing belief among Muhammadan parties that it would be to their benefit to take advantage of the Statutory enquiry which had been set on foot, on the rise of a similar belief among the leaders and members of the non-Brahmin, or Justice, party of southern India, and last, but by no means least, in the signs, already visible, that by the time Sir John Simon and his colleagues returned to India in October the Provincial Councils would have decided to participate in the work of the Commission by the appointment of committees to work with it. And, in fact, by the end of September all but one of the nine Legislative Councils of the major Provinces had decided to appoint their committees to work with the Commission. Two councils, those of Burma and the Punjab, had made known their decision by the end of March, 1928, and they were closely followed by Assam on April 3rd. The Bengal Council's decision, by the very respectable majority of twenty two, to co-operate with the Commission was taken on July 9th, and was an event of more than usual significance, for, in many

respects, the position of Bengal in Indian politics is unique. Until the Durbar of 1911 the capital of India was at Calcutta, and the Province has always been in the very forefront of political warfare and political change in this country. Thus it came about that the decision of the Bengal Council was viewed with more than ordinary interest, both in India and in England. When it was shortly afterwards followed by the similar decision of the Bombay Council, which arrived at its decision by a still greater majority, the question of the co-operation of the Provincial Legislatures with the Commission might be said to have been settled as far as all but one of the Provinces was concerned. Within a fortnight, Bihar and Orissa followed Bombay in co-operation, but did so by a slender majority. The United Provinces and Madras both annulled their previous decisions not to co-operate with the Commission, and both did so without taking the question to a division. Thus, by the time the Commission returned to India in October every Provincial Council in India, with the exception of that of the Central Provinces, had pledged itself to appoint a committee to co-operate with Sir John Simon and his colleagues in their task of enquiry. Neither the Legislative Assembly nor the Legislative Council of the Central Provinces was asked to reconsider its verdict on the subject of co-operation with the Commission. The second House of the Indian Central Legislature, the Council of State, had chosen by a very substantial majority to co-operate with the Commission, and during the Autumn session of 1928 it elected three of its members—the Honourable Sir Sankaran Nair, the Honourable Sir Arthur Froom and the Honourable Raja Nawab Ali Khan—to form a part of the Central Legislative Committee which, it will be remembered, was to form the Indian Wing of the Joint Free Conference described by Sir John Simon in his letter of February 6th, 1928, to His Excellency Lord Irwin. A fourth member of the Council of State, Sardar Shivdeo Singh Uberoi, was nominated to the Committee by the Governor-General to represent the Sikh Community. The Central Committee was completed by the nomination of five members of the Legislative Assembly—Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Leader of the Muslim Centre Party and a member of the ruling family of Malerkotla State in the Punjab, Sir Hari Singh Gour, an eminent lawyer, Dr. Abdulla Suhrawardy, one of the foremost orientalists in India, Mr. Kikabhai Premchand, one of the most promi-

nent men in Bombay financial circles, and Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah, President of the All-India Depressed Classes Association.

Thus, throughout the summer of 1928, developments of great importance, as far as the boycott position was concerned, were taking place in the Provincial Legislative bodies, but it is not possible to point to any such open changes in the country at large, and, generally speaking, throughout the whole of the period under review the important political organisations, such as the All-India National Congress, the All-India Liberal Federation, and Mr. Jinnah's section of the All-India Muslim League, maintained the attitude which they had adopted in their annual meetings in December, 1928, which was one of complete boycott of the Commission. The same may also be said of the important organisation the Hindu Mahasabha, which held its annual session at Jubbulpore in the second week in April, that is, at the beginning of the period which we are now passing under review. The All-India Hindu Mahasabha, as is well known, is a body of delegates representing local Hindu organisations all over India. Its attitude towards any political problem is, therefore of considerable importance. The President at the 1928 session was Mr. N. C. Kelkar, a member of the Legislative Assembly, and a politician of reputation, particularly in that part of India known as Maharashtra, that is, the home of the Maharatta people. His presidential address did not touch the question of the Commission, but confined itself to an analysis of the political situation, particularly to that part of it which is formed by Hindu-Muslim antagonism. Yet, although the Mahasabha did not specifically endorse or reaffirm the boycott of the Statutory Commission, it did not dissociate itself therefrom, and since the outstanding Mahasabha Leaders such as Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Dr. Moonje, and Mr. N. C. Kelkar had identified themselves whole-heartedly with the boycott it was understood that the Mahasabha would do so also. Thus, during the summer months of 1928, whilst one Provincial Legislative Council after another was coming in on the side of the Commission, and choosing its committee to take part in the great Statutory Enquiry which the formation of the Commission had set on foot, the Opposition in the Legislative Assembly, and most of the important political or *quasi*-political bodies and organisations steadily refused to move from the position which they had first taken up with regard to the Commission,

and, on the contrary, devoted their efforts, through certain leaders and representatives, to the production of the Nehru Report.

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During the summer of 1928, while the Nehru Report was in process of gestation, no particular developments in the broad political situation took place, but these months witnessed certain incidents and the progress of certain movements of some significance. Throughout this time, the Bardoli agitation was focussing a good deal of public attention, labour unrest, far from subsiding showed signs of spreading, and these, together with attempts to popularise the Youth Movement, formed a dark patch in a political scene which, on the whole, was tranquil though dull.

However, the attitude of the supporters of Independence for India was not, either practically or in the eyes of the framers of the Report, the most important element in the reception accorded to the All Parties Conference Report. Far and away the most important question was how it would be received by the minority communities, of whom the most important are, of course, the Muslims. The original intention of the All Parties Conference had been to circulate the Report among the different bodies and associations which had joined in the Conference, but as this would have been a very lengthy process, the heads of the All Parties Conference decided to submit it to a special meeting of the Conference to open at Lucknow on August the 28th, at which all interests concerned would have an opportunity of stating their views. Between the publication of the Report and the Lucknow meeting, a certain amount of dissent on the part of Muhammadans, and of some sections of the Sikhs, became apparent, and before August the 28th it was clear that what we have called the communal sections of the Report were going to form the subject of important criticism.

It will be remembered that one of the instructions given to the Committee which drew up the Report was that its basis should be full responsible government for India, and the part of the report which dealt with this was accepted unanimously by the Lucknow Conference, although the resolution by which this is done was couched in somewhat ambiguous terms. This resolution which claimed for India a form of Government not lower in status than that of any of the self-governing dominions was moved by a veteran

nationalist politician, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who is now the leader of the Nationalist Party in the Legislative Assembly. His resolution was, however, opposed by a younger politician, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, son of Pandit Motilal Nehru, who argued that India's goal should be complete Independence and not Dominion Status. As a result of the younger Pandit's very able opposition it was found necessary to draft the final form of the resolution in wide terms, and as passed by the Conference it read as follows:—

"Without restricting the liberty of action of those political parties whose goal is complete independence, this Conference declares—

(1) that the form of government to be established in India should be responsible, that is to say, a government in which the executive should be responsible to a popularly elected legislature possessing full and plenary powers,

(2) that such form of government shall in no event be lower than that of any self-governing Dominion."

A significant commentary on the importance of the communal element in Indian politics at present is to be found on the fact that the discussion on the subject of the separation of Sind from the Bombay Presidency occupied as large, and was as animated, a part of the proceedings of the Conference as the fundamentally important resolution moved by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. The resolution, as put to the Conference, was in the following terms—

"Simultaneously with the establishment of government in accordance with the Nehru Committee Report, Sind shall be separated from Bombay and constituted a separate province provided that—

(1) after enquiry it is found (*a*) that Sind is financially self-supporting, (*b*) in the event of its being found that it is not financially self-supporting, on the scheme of separation being laid before the people of Sind in its financial and administrative aspects, that the majority of inhabitants favoured the scheme and expressed their readiness to bear the financial responsibility of the new arrangement.

(2) that the form of government in Sind shall be the same as in other provinces under the Nehru constitution, and

(3) that the non-Moslem minority in Sind shall be given the same privileges in the matter of representation in the Provincial and Central legislatures as Moslem minorities are given under the Nehru Committee report in areas where they are in the minority."

This resolution was unanimously accepted, as also were other resolutions agreeing to the extension of Reforms to the North-West Frontier and Baluchistan, to the adoption of a system of general electorates based on adult suffrage and without any reservation of seats for any community in the Punjab, and to the reconsideration of the question of communal electorates after a period of ten years. Immediately after the dispersal of the Conference, however, such well known figures in Muslim politics as Mr. Shaukat Ali, the elder of the two Ali Brothers, and Maulvi Mohammad Yakoob, Deputy President of the Legislative Assembly, strongly criticised the way in which Muslim claims had been ignored at the Conference. In fact, as we shall see, Muslim opposition to the Report was to grow steadily stronger up to the very end of the period covered in this Report. Mr. Shaukat Ali's point of disagreement at first glance does not seem a very important one. In one of its recommendations the Nehru Report had diverged from the agreement made at the Madras session of the All-India National Congress in 1927, which arranged for reservation of seats for Muslims even in the two provinces, Bengal and the Punjab, in which they were in the majority, and Mr. Shaukat Ali wanted the Report to be amended so as to bring it back into line with the Madras Resolution. As other sections of the Muslims came into the fray, however, the gap between their opinions and the settlement of the communal problems propounded by the Nehru Report gradually widened until, as we shall see, the end of the year leaves it, to all appearances, as broad as it was before the All Parties Conference began to work. Naturally, Muslim claims evoked counter-claims from the Hindu side, notably from the Hindu Mahasabha, through its chief spokesman, Dr. Moonje, a well known Mahratta political leader who had been President of the Jubbulpore session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha in April, 1928. From opinions expressed, both by

individuals and at representative gatherings of Sind Hindus, there seems to be no reason to doubt that the majority of the latter are opposed to the separation of Sind from Bombay, and Dr. Moonje took an early opportunity of pointing out that a very important principle was contained in such an operation as the separation of Sind from Bombay and the extension of political reforms to the two predominatingly Muslim areas of the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan. This principle was the creation of communal provinces in addition to communal electorates—a principle which, Dr. Moonje believed, struck at the very heart of Indian national unity.

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The Autumn session of the Central Legislature opened in Simla immediately after the conclusion of the Lucknow Conference. Normally, the Legislature would have been given an opportunity by the supporters of the Report to express an opinion on it. Pandit Motilal Nehru himself is a member of the Legislative Assembly and he could have brought the matter up in the form of a resolution in the Assembly asking the latter, in the usual form, to recommend to the Governor General in Council the steps to be taken to put the recommendations of the Report into force as soon as possible. In view, however, of the differences of opinion which have been revealed, circumstances were obviously unfavourable for such a resolution. Indeed, the session had hardly begun when a manifesto was issued, signed by about thirty Muslim members of the Legislative Assembly and various Provincial Legislative Councils, complaining that the Report failed to realise the problems of the minorities in India and omitted to provide safeguards for the protection of their interests. The signatories said that they wanted to make it quite clear that no constitution could be acceptable to Muslims unless it provided effective and adequate safeguards for their interests. The signatures included those of men belonging to all parties in the Assembly, including the Congress Party, and the manifesto made it quite certain that no resolution on the subject of the Nehru Report could get much Muslim support in the Assembly and would be more likely, on the other hand, to give rise to controversy which would still further embitter the existing divisions of opinion.

Between the middle of September, when the Autumn session of the Legislature came to an end, and December, which is the

month when all the great political or *quasi*-political bodies and organisations in India, with the exception of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, hold their annual meetings, no very definite developments took place either in Hindu-Muslim relations generally, or in the attitude of the public towards the Nehru Report. Broadly speaking, Muslim opinion steadily hardened against it, whilst individuals and bodies associated with the All-India National Congress and the All-India Liberal Federation became more active and enthusiastic in its support. The attitude of the leaders of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, however, was one of somewhat suspicious watchfulness. There seems to be no reason to doubt that they were prepared to accept the report as it stood, but they were not prepared to accept any modifications in the direction demanded by Muslim opinion, a strong section of which was by this time challenging not merely such details as the reservation of seats for Muslims in provinces, even where they were in a majority, but also the very basis of the settlement of Hindu-Muslim differences propounded by the Report. A representative Muslim meeting held at Delhi in March, 1927, had resolved to accept joint electorates on certain terms, but now the opponents of joint electorates on any terms were once more making themselves heard, and the questions of the separation of Sind from Bombay and the extension of Reforms, at any rate to the North-West Frontier Province, occupied a leading place in the discussions which proceeded in the press and on public platforms. In these circumstances the big annual meetings took place—those of the All-India National Congress, the All-Parties Conference, Mr. Jinnah's wing of the All-India Muslim League in Calcutta, and the meeting of the All-India Liberal Federation in Allahabad. The meeting of the All-Parties Conference preceded all the others, its primary objective being the establishment of inter-communal unity, on which depends ultimately all safe political progress in this country. This being so, it need hardly be said that the adoption or rejection of the Nehru Report was the main business before the Conference. Between the Lucknow meeting and December the 22nd, when the Calcutta session of the All-Parties Conference opened, Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar and his supporters in the demand for complete Independence had decided not to press their views before the Conference, but to reserve themselves for the All-India National Congress. Therefore the only opposition to

the Nehru Report, which was likely to be made in the Convention, was that of the Muslims, who chose a number of representatives to attend and press their claims. But it was not until the proceedings of the Conference had almost come to an end that the Muslim delegates, headed by Mr. Jinnah, attended a meeting. On that day Mr. Jinnah powerfully put forward the Muslim claims in the form of a series of amendments to the main resolution which approved of the Nehru Report, and in these amendments he claimed one-third of the elected seats in both Houses of the Legislature, the reservation of seats in Bengal and the Punjab in the event of adult suffrage being established, the vesting of residuary powers with the provinces and not with the Central Government, and the separation of Sind which should not be dependent upon the establishment of the Commonwealth. The Conference, however, after listening to an impassioned appeal from Mr. Jayakar, the Deputy Leader of the Nationalist Party in the Legislative Assembly, rejected Mr. Jinnah's amendments. Mr. Jayakar's main objection was that Mr. Jinnah's proposals ran counter to the basic principles on which the communal settlement had been erected at Lucknow. A great part of the strength of the opposition to the Muslim proposals came from the Hindu Mahasabha leaders, who claimed that if any change were made in the communal settlement proposed by the Nehru Report they would entirely withdraw their support from that document. The Sikhs also tried to press their demands for more favourable consideration than the Nehru Report allowed to the claims of their community, but with no success, and on behalf of the Central Sikh League, one of the Sikh Leaders read out a long statement in the Convention announcing the League's determination to withhold its support from the Nehru Report and to take no further part in the proceedings of the Convention. Thus, serious opposition developed to the solution of the communal problem offered by the Nehru Report, and there is no doubt that the opposition on the part of the Muslims was both stronger and more widespread than it had been at the time of the Lucknow Conference. Mr. Jinnah's failure to get any of his amendments to the Report accepted by the Convention made it impossible for him to continue the session of his wing of the Muslim League, which accordingly adjourned.

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Between the Autumn session of the Legislative Assembly and the end of 1928, preparations were made for holding in Delhi a meeting of representatives of all Muslim organisations and schools of thought under the Presidentship of His Highness the Aga Khan. The primemovers in this were Sir Mohammad Shafi, the well-known Punjab Muslim leader, Mr. Fazl Rahimtullah, a prominent member of the Independent Party in the Legislative Assembly, Sir A. K. Ghaznavi, one of the principal leaders of the Bengal Muslims, Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, a member of the United Provinces Legislative Council, and certain other well-known Muslims, and it was attended by a large number of distinguished Muslims from all over India. The meeting duly took place on the 31st December, 1928, and the 1st January, 1929, and resulted in a remarkable display of unanimity on the subject of the Nehru Report in general and Muslim claims in particular. In opening the proceedings of the Muslim All-Parties Conference, as the meeting was called, His Highness the Aga Khan urged closer contact between the leaders of the Muslim community and the masses, so that the opinions of the latter might be better understood and be given more respect than they had received in the past. He then pointed out that it would be impossible for Muslims to live happily in India if the prevailing friction between them and the Hindus were to continue. But, he added, "India could never be a prosperous and self-governing country if such a large and important community as the Muslims were allowed to feel any doubt about the safety of their economic and moral interest." Lastly, His Highness showed that as long as India relied for protection against aggression from outside on the power of Great Britain, the latter would naturally claim a predominant share in the Government of India.

After His Highness's speech, the main interest in the subsequent proceedings of the All-Parties Muslim Conference centred in the difference between the conservative and constitutional school of Muslim thought, represented by such leaders as Sir Mohammad Shafi, Sir A. K. Ghaznavi and others, and the extreme school of thought led by Mr. Mohammad Ali, which stands for Complete Independence for India. In the end, however, a compromise was reached, and the Conference adopted unanimously a compendious resolution in which the Muslim position and Muslim claims were fully and authoritatively defined. The resolution, whilst con-

ceding to Mr. Mohammad Ali on the question of form, reproduced substantially the point of view of Sir Mohammad Shafi and his school of thought. Thus, it omitted the mention of either Dominion Status or Complete Independence as the goal of India's political ambition and simply urged a federal constitution with complete provincial autonomy and residuary powers vested in the constituent provinces. No Bill, resolution or motion regarding inter-communal matters may be passed by any legislature if three-fourths of the Hindu or Muslim members affected thereby oppose it. Similarly it omitted the mention of the Simon Commission and of the Nehru Report, and urged that Muslim demands must be met in any future constitution for India, no matter who its framers may be. The continuance of the existing system of separate electorates is demanded as long as existing conditions remain, and one-third of the seats in the Central Legislature, together with a fair share of places for Muslims in the provincial and central cabinets are claimed. The resolution also lays down that the Muslim majority, in the provinces where they are in a majority, shall not be detrimentally affected by any franchise scheme to be devised in future, and the Central Legislature shall not be allowed to change the constitution except with the concurrence of all the provinces constituting the Indian Federation. Sind shall be made into a separate province and, since the grant of excessive representation to the Hindu minority in Sind is contemplated, a similar grant should be made to Muslims in provinces where they form a minority. Constitutional reforms shall be made in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan so as to bring them on the same level as other provinces, and their Hindu minorities shall be given the same representation as is given to Muslim minorities elsewhere. Provision should be made in the Constitution for ensuring to Muslims their fair share in all the services of the State, and in all statutory self-governing bodies, due regard being had to efficiency, and, lastly, statutory safeguards should be erected for Muslim culture and the promotion of Muslim education, language, literature and personal law. The resolution concludes by declaring emphatically that no constitution will be regarded as satisfactory to Muslims unless it conforms with the principles now enunciated.

When it is remembered that the delegates to this Muslim Conference represented a cross-section of the whole of Indian

Muslim political opinion from the most extreme to the most moderate, and that among the delegates were included prominent members of all the political parties in the Legislature, it will be realised that this resolution is the most authoritative pronouncement hitherto made on the subject of the position of the Muslim Community under any political constitution which might be devised, and, as we shall see, by the end of our period it could claim the allegiance of the great majority of the Muslim Community of this country, no matter what their particular shade of political opinion might be. This was shown on the first occasion after the All Muslim Parties Conference at which an opportunity was afforded to representative Muslims to give their views on the Nehru Report. The occasion was the annual constitutional debate which takes place during the budget discussions in the Legislative Assembly. Usually, the leader of the Congress Party moves that the grant for the votable portion of the expenses to be incurred during the forthcoming year in respect of the Executive Council of the Governor General be reduced by a substantial amount, usually by an amount representating a virtual rejection of the whole grant. This year the debate was initiated on March the 11th by Pandit Motilal Nehru, who based his condemnation of the policy of the Indian Government on the latter's failure to take satisfactory steps to meet what is generally known as the "National Demand", that is the demand formulated by Pandit Motilal Nehru in his amendment to the resolution moved in September, 1925, by Sir Alexander Muddiman, Home Member of the Government of India, recommending the acceptance of the principle underlying the majority report of the Committee which had been set up in 1924 to examine the working of the machinery of the Indian Government since the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. The gist of the National Demand was that certain political reforms, practically amounting to the grant of immediate Dominion Status, should be conceded by Parliament, and that a Round Table Conference between representatives of the British Government and representatives of political India should meet to discuss the ways and means of implementing these reforms. Speaking on March the 11th, 1929, the Pandit said that the latest form of National Demand was contained in the Nehru Report, whose basic principle, namely the Dominion form of responsible government for India, was accepted by Indians of

every shade of political opinion. Even that wing of the Congress which stood for Independence would accept Dominion Status provided it were immediately conceded. Several times during his speech Pandit Motilal Nehru appealed to the Muslim Members of the House not to treat this matter in a narrow sectarian spirit and not to regard his present motion as a motion in any way concerned with an expression of opinion on the Nehru Report. He declared that the Congress Party would have nothing to do with the Report of the Statutory Commission when it appeared, or with anything that might be done on the basis of that report. Replying to this speech, the Hon'ble Mr. J. Crerar, Home Member of the Government of India, refused to be drawn into a controversy over the Statutory Commission and said that the Government of India stood now—and must continue to stand—on the Parliamentary Declaration of 1917 and the consequences which flow from that declaration. Parliament had appointed a special tribunal to enquire into the grave matter referred to by Pandit Motilal Nehru and, therefore, the Government of India could do no more than say that they loyally adhered to the pronouncement of Parliament and would always endeavour to carry it out in the spirit as well as in the letter.

The communal element in the debate was raised by Mian Mohammed Shahnawaz, a leading Punjabi Member of the Muslim Centre Party in the Legislative Assembly. All Indians, he said, wanted Dominion Status, but that did not mean that they wanted the constitution contained in the Nehru Report. Pandit Motilal Nehru, he said, had asked that his report should not be discussed, but it had come before the Assembly and before the Statutory Commission, and the Pandit had said that it had been accepted by a large proportion of the people of India. Mr. Shahnawaz, however, pointed out very emphatically that it had been rejected by an overwhelming proportion of Muslims. No form of Dominion Status, he affirmed, would be agreeable to Muslims which did not safeguard their rights. He concluded by asking the House why they did not want to wait for the Report of the Statutory Commission, on receipt of which there would be full opportunity for discussing what sort of Dominion Status would really suit India. The next speaker to reaffirm the Muslim point of view was Maulvi Mohammad Yakoob, Deputy President of the Legislative Assembly and a leadng member of the In-

dependent Party, who said that it was not true that the Nehru Report had been accepted by an overwhelming majority of the people of India, for even its basic recommendation for Dominion Status was challenged by those who stood for Independence. Muslims certainly wanted full responsible government but with proper safeguards for minorities, and he referred to the proceedings of the All Muslim Parties Conference in Delhi as convincing proof that the Nehru Report had not been accepted by an overwhelming majority of Indians.

An important contribution to the debate was then made by Mr. Jinnah, leader of the Independent Party. Whilst agreeing with Pandit Motilal Nehru that the Government of India had not made an adequate response to the National Demand and that the unanimous desire of All Indians was for Dominion Status, Mr. Jinnah stated quite definitely that the Nehru Report had not been accepted by the Muslim Community. He received support from inside the Congress Party when Maulvi Mohammad Shafi Daudi, a front bencher of the Congress Party, confirmed the statements which had been previously made to the effect that Muslims did not support the Nehru Report. Only one Muslim in the House, Mr. Sherwani, a member of the Congress Party, spoke in its favour. He thought that Muslim opinion supported the Nehru Report, and he advised his hearers to wait until this opinion throughout the country had expressed itself. In favour of the Nehru Report the most effective speeches were made by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, leader of the Nationalist Party, and its Deputy leader, Mr. M. R. Jayakar. Pandit Malaviya wanted a Round Table Conference to be called to discuss the Nehru Report, and said that any such conference would find ample material with which to make an agreed constitution. Mr. Jayakar thought that it might have been better not to have started constitution-making at all, but said that he could produce a Hindu-Muslim settlement within twenty-four hours if it were known that its terms would really be accepted by the British Government. Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, Deputy leader of the Congress Party, and a leader of that school of opinion which demands complete independence for India, made a very earnest appeal to Muslim members of the Assembly to vote for the motion before the House and asked why Indians should air their differences in the manner

in which they had been aired that day. He said nothing either for or against the Nehru Report. Colonel Crawford, speaking on behalf of the group of non-official Europeans in the Assembly, referred to the importance of European interests in this country and complained that the All-Parties Conference, out of whose work the Nehru Report had proceeded, had taken no steps of any sort to bring into their discussions representatives of those interests which had real differences of opinion with the interests represented at the Confernce. Towards the end of the debate a very effective contribution was made by the Member for Commerce and Railways, Sir George Rainy, who said that the debate had shown that the difficulties which all who are concerned with the future political constitution of India have got to face were greater than anybody had thought and that there were important questions which called for impartial and independent investigation.

* * *

Hitherto we have been tracing in some detail the course of the attempts made during the period under review to bring to a such cessful conclusion the long drawn series of negotiations between Hindu and Muslim representatives undertaken in the hope of settling finally the points of political difference between the two communities. From the meeting of the All-Parties Conference in Lucknow in August, 1928, when the Nehru Report first came up for discussion, we begin to trace another and hardly less important attempt at unity, namely, the unity of the Muslim Community itself. For some years past the community has been divided among a number of political allegiances, but the appointment of the Statutory Commission, of which, as we have seen, the Nehru Report is one of the reactions, has acted as a powerful centripetal influence in Muslim politics. In last year's report, when we described the response made by Indian political opinion to the announcement of the formation of the Statutory Commission, we showed how, even then, the majority of Muslim opinion, after some hesitation, began to move in the direction of co-operation with the Commission. That movement has continued and has undoubtedly grown stronger through the latter half of 1928 and the opening months of 1929, and, although most of the Muslim leaders who declared for the boycott in November, 1927, have never

since gone back on their declaration, the attitude and the evidence of those of their co-religionists who co-operated with the Commission, and the appearance of the Nehru Report, have profoundly influenced the opinion of the whole community. As far as can be judged from the proceedings of the various meetings and the public utterances of leading Muslims which have been passed in review in this chapter, it seems that Muslims generally are convinced that now is the time to formulate their demands and to stand by them and, secondly, that such differences as exist between different sections of Muslims in the matter of party politics must be left aside for the moment.

The most notable event in Muslim politics which we had to chronicle in our last report was the division of the All-India Muslim League into two rival sections, one led by Sir Mohammad Shafi and the other by Mr. Jinnah. But the events of 1928, and particularly the events of the last few weeks of that year, were clearly bringing these two important leaders closer to each other, and at the beginning of March, 1929, it was announced that they had met in Delhi and had agreed to join forces and reunite the All-India Muslim League. For this purpose they arranged that their two wings should meet simultaneously in Delhi at the end of March, and that each should pass identical resolutions in favour of a joint sitting with the other wing. By March the 28th the delegates to the meetings of the two wings had assembled in Delhi, but Sir Mohammad Shafi was unable to be present on account of illness. Mr. Jinnah issued a statement to the Council of the All-India Muslim League in which he summed up the recent history of the Hindu-Muslim controversy and showed that the League had withdrawn its support from the All-Parties Conference because the latter had changed the basis of the agreement reached between the All-India National Congress and his section of the Muslim League in December, 1927. The statement also said that other political organisations refused to accept the Nehru Report and that the proposals contained in the latter should be regarded as nothing more than the Hindu counter-proposals to Muslim demands. He therefore called upon the All-India Muslim League to state the safeguards which its members wished to see incorporated in the future constitution of India. These safeguards are contained in

the text of a resolution which Mr. Jinnah had intended to move in the open meeting of the League, and are as follows:—

1. The form of the future Constitution should be federal with residuary powers vested in the province.
2. A uniform measure of autonomy should be granted to all provinces.
3. All legislatures in the country and other elected bodies should be reconstituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority of any province to a minority or even equality.
4. In the Central Legislature Muslim representation should not be less than one-third.
5. The representation of communal groups should continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present, provided that it should be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorate in favour of joint electorates.
6. Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary should not in any way affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal, and North-West Frontier Province.
7. Full religious liberty, that is, liberty of belief, worship, observances, propaganda, association and education should be guaranteed to all communities.
8. No Bill or resolution, or any part thereof, should be passed in any legislature or any other elected body if three-fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such a Bill or resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community or, in the alternative, such other method is devised as may be found feasible and practicable to deal with such cases.
9. Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency.
10. Reforms should be introduced in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces.

11. Provision should be made in the Constitution giving the Muslim an adequate share along with other Indians in all the Services of the State and in self-governing bodies, having due regard to the requirements of efficiency.

12. The Constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim religion, culture and personal law, and the promotion of Muslim education, language, religion, personal laws, Muslim charitable institutions, and for their due share in grants-in-aid given by the State and by self-governing bodies.

13. No cabinet, either Central or Provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of Muslim Ministers of at least one-third.

14. No change to be made in the Constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the States constituting the Indian Federation.

15. That in the present circumstances the representation of Musalmans in the different legislatures of the country and of the other elected bodies through separate electorates is inevitable, and, further, Government being pledged not to deprive the Musalmans of this right, it cannot be taken away without their consent, and so long as the Musalmans are not satisfied that their rights and interests are safeguarded in the manner specified above (or herein) they would in no way consent to the establishment of joint electorates with or without conditions.

NOTE.—The question of excess representation of Musalmans over and above their population in the provinces where they are in the minority to be considered hereafter.

Of the above safeguards the most important, as they are certainly the most comprehensive, are those which reiterate the demand contained in the long resolution adopted by the All Muslim Parties Conference at the beginning of January, that the future constitution of India shall be a federal constitution with autonomous provinces vested with all residual powers. The adoption of this condition would ensure Muslim control in those provinces where they are in a majority, namely the Punjab, Bengal,

and the North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, and Sind, if or when these three latter are made into provinces on the model of existing Governors' Provinces.

The proceedings of this meeting of the All-India Muslim League, however, did not go according to plan. In the first place the delegates from Sir Mohammad Shafi's wing of the League declared themselves unable to join in the open meeting, as they alleged that certain conditions under which they had agreed to join had not been fulfilled. Again, some members of Mr. Jinnah's section of the League announced their intention of standing by the Nehru Report. With the delegates from Sir Mohammad Shafi's wing abstaining and with this split in his own ranks, Mr. Jinnah found himself unable to complete his programme, and as certain rowdy elements had given proof that they intended to turn the affair into a fiasco, he dissolved the meeting.

Such is the story of Hindu-Muslim relations during the year in the broad field of politics, and a short account of the proceedings of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, held at Surat at the end of March, forms an epilogue to the tale. It was only to be expected that the formulation of Muslim counter-proposals to the Nehru Report should evoke some feeling among their Hindu compatriots, and from time to time this feeling has found open expression. It was voiced in unmistakable terms by Mr. Jayakar at the meeting of the All-Parties Convention in Calcutta in December, and Mahasabha leaders, particularly Dr. Moonje, one of the foremost of Mahratta politicians and an outstanding figure in the Mahasabha, have, from time to time, given public expression to their opposition to the attitude and claims of the Muslims. At the latest Hindu Mahasabha meeting, which opened on March the 30th, 1929, the Hindu position was stated in no uncertain terms, and of the three resolutions passed, the most important was that which re-defined the position of the Sabha in regard to the Nehru Report. Since Muslim leaders, the resolution declared, had refused to accept the report, the Mahasabha had now gone back to its original position in which it was opposed to special treatment in any matter to any community. Before he left Surat, Dr. Moonje issued a press statement explaining that the Hindu Mahasabha had not yet seriously considered the Nehru Report because it had been already unceremoniously rejected by the Muslims. He declared that had the Muslims accepted the Report

as a compromise, then the Hindu Mahasabha would also have accepted it. He was certain that if Muslims receded from what he regarded as their narrow communal attitude, and accepted the report the Mahasabha would respond suitably.

* * *

It was said earlier in this chapter that the interest and importance of this year's Indian politics is comprised in the work of the Statutory Commission and in the reaction thereto on the part of the different political schools and leaders. We have now traced the history of what is by far the most important reaction to the Commission, and we may very briefly glance at the work of Sir John Simon and his colleagues, and at those events of a political kind which have hitherto lain outside our narrative. The work of the Commission in India is now completed. Its members have visited every province in the country and have undertaken the additional labour of visiting places away from provincial headquarters so as to acquaint themselves, as fully as the time at their disposal allowed, with the conditions of life of the great majority of India's people who live on the land. An immense number of memoranda, some of them bulky volumes, were received from individuals and bodies representing almost every section of the varied peoples and interests of India, and a large number of witnesses were orally examined. In every province, except the Central Provinces, the Commission and their colleagues of the Indian Central Committee had the advantage of the co-operation of Committees elected by the provincial legislatures. The difficulty was not to get evidence but to choose which evidence to hear and how to find time to hear it. In short, the Commission and the Central Committee collected abundant material on which to base their conclusions. After the Commission had completed its tour of India, Sir John Simon invited the members of all the provincial committees which had worked with him to meet himself and his colleagues of the Commission and Central Committee in Delhi.

The meetings took place on the 2nd, 3rd and 4th April, Sir A. K. Ghaznavi presiding over the meetings of the Joint Provincial Committees. The first day was occupied by the statement of Sir Philip Hartog setting out the conclusions reached by the auxiliary committee which had been set up to review the growth of education in India. On the 3rd April, Mr. Layton, Financial

Assessor to the Commission, gave his conception of the considerations affecting the broad financial problems confronting the Commission. On the 4th April Sir John Simon himself addressed the Conference.

On the 13th April, Sir John Simon and his colleagues left Bombay, and prior to his departure he sent the following message to His Excellency the Viceroy:—

"My colleagues and I leave India with the warmest feelings of gratitude for the countless kindnesses we have received from many quarters. We have accomplished the first stage of our task and enter upon the next stage with an ever increasing desire to contribute what we can to a happy future of good relations between Britain and India."

Those who did not read last year's Report will find an account of the procedure to be followed after the Commission has presented its Report in Appendix II, which is an extract from the statement in which His Excellency Lord Irwin announced the formation of the Commission in November, 1927.

* * *

The 1928 session of the All-India National Congress, was, in some respects, the most important session held for some years, and witnessed the re-entry of Mr. Gandhi into politics. We have seen that the Nehru Report is based on the attainment of Dominion Status for India, and we have also seen that one section of Congress adherents reject Dominion Status and demand Complete Independence. At this point it may be as well to give a brief account of the rise and progress of the Independence movement in order to enable readers to estimate the significance of the proceedings of the 1928 session of the All-India National Congress. Readers of last year's report will remember that the Madras session of Congress in 1927 adopted a resolution which claimed complete national independence for India. This resolution was passed only after considerable opposition in the Congress itself, and Mr. Gandhi considered that it "was hastily conceived and thoughtlessly passed". Lala Lajpat Rai refused to attach any great importance to it, and in his opinion it was passed because "many people believed that Dominion Status also meant complete national independence, and that therefore they were not making any radical change in the creed of the Congress". For

more than twenty years, the attainment of Dominion Status, that is, a form of Government as free and autonomous as that of Australia or Canada, has been the avowed political goal of the All-India National Congress. After the split in the Congress at Surat in 1907 a new creed for that body was adopted in which it was stated that the objects of the Indian National Congress " were the demand by the people of India for a system of Government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire, and of participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members ". And although in his Presidential address at the Ahmedabad Congress in 1921 Mr. C. R. Das had said " whether within the Empire or outside it, India must have freedom so that she may realise her individuality and evolve her destiny without help or hindrance from the British people ", in 1923, as leader of the Swaraj Party, he definitely gave up the idea of complete independence for India in the sense of breaking off all connection with the British Commonwealth of Nations. In his speech at Faridpur he said that the " Government should guarantee to us the fullest recognition of our right to the establishment of Swaraj within the Commonwealth in the near future, and, in the meantime, until Swaraj comes, a sure and sufficient foundation of such Swaraj should be laid at once ". It was not, therefore, surprising that the demand for complete independence, as formulated at Madras, was considered by some as irresponsible, and by others as inconsistent with the political creed of the Congress, and as calculated to keep a large section out of the Congress fold. But the demand for independence was endorsed at the Punjab Provincial Conference at Amritsar in April, 1928, where all ambiguity was sought to be cleared by a demand for " complete independence outside the Empire " and sanction was given to the employment of " all possible means for the achievement of the aim ". Pandit Motilal Nehru, however, continued to put his faith in Dominion Status and, as we have seen, it was on this basis that the Nehru Report was written. At the Lucknow All-Parties Conference in August, 1928, Pandit Motilal Nehru's son, Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, led the attack on the Dominion ideal, and on August 30th he and his friends formed an " Independence for India League ". At this point Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, who had hitherto been leading the movement for Independence, was suc-

ceeded by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, but he did not relinquish the ideal of independence. The " All-India Youth Congress ", shortly after the Calcutta session of the All-India National Congress, adopted a resolution which declared that complete independence should be the immediate objective of India, and called upon the youths of the country to attain it by all possible means. There is thus a certain division in political opinion in India on the question of Dominion Status and Independence, but it should be noted that generally speaking the older political leaders favour the continuance of the British connection, whilst the younger men make the demand for independence.

* * *

Returning now to our main theme, it is necessary to mention that for some months past differences of opinion have existed between Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar which, it was anticipated, would affect the deliberations at the Indian National Congress, especially over the controversy between Dominion Status and Independence. The death of Lala Lajpat Rai, a few weeks before the session of the Congress, also had an unfortunate effect on the situation. It removed from active politics one of the most enthusiastic and influential of all the supporters of the Nehru Report. In this atmosphere the chances of the acceptance by the Congress of the Nehru Report, with its fundamental condition of Dominion Status, became more doubtful than they had previously been. In any case, an open clash between the two schools of thought in the Congress threatened a serious split in its ranks. The endeavour to find some way to avert this split was, perhaps, the most important of the considerations which brought Mr. Gandhi back, after some years of retirement, to take an active part in the Congress politics.

Mr. Gandhi's task was a hard one, because the differences between Pandit Motilal Nehru and the Independence Party were acute and the latter, led by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, came to the Congress determined to defeat the older leaders and secure the rejection of Dominion Status as the basis of the Indian constitution of the future. The first clash between Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Motilal Nehru on the one side, and the votaries of Independence on the other, took place at the All-Parties Convention in Calcutta, which preceded the Congress meetings. A number of informal

conferences took place between the older leaders and the younger men at the head of the Independence Party, but the attitude of the latter did not allow Mr. Gandhi to effect a satisfactory compromise. However, a carefully worded resolution was drawn up by Mr. Gandhi and presented to the Convention for its acceptance. The gist of the resolution was contained in the opening clause, which read:

> "This Congress, having considered the Constitution recommended by the All-Parties Committee Report, welcomes it as a great contribution towards the solution of India's political and communal problems, and congratulates the Committee on the virtual unanimity of its recommendations, and, whilst adhering to the resolution relating to complete independence passed at the Madras Congress, adopts the Constitution drawn up by the Committee as a great step in political advance, especially as it represents the largest measure of agreement attained among the important parties in the country; provided, however, that the Congress shall not be bound by the Constitution if it is not accepted on or before December 31st, 1930, and provided further that, in the event of non-acceptance by the British Parliament of the Constitution by that date, the Congress will revive non-violent Non-co-operation by advising the country to refuse taxation and every other aid to the Government."
>
> "The President is hereby authorised to send the text of this resolution, together with a copy of the said Report to His Excellency the Viceroy for such action as he may be pleased to take."
>
> "Nothing in this resolution shall interfere with the propaganda for familiarising people with the goal of independence in so far as it does not conflict with the prosecution of the campaign for the adoption of the said Report."

This resolution was supported by a number of politicians who had figured in past years prominently in extremist politics, but Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar joined the younger men in refusing to accept it saying, however, that he would not oppose it at the All-

Parties Convention, but would reserve his opposition for the Congress itself. It was quite clear, however, from the debate on this resolution that some of the speakers who supported the Dominion Status ideal most eloquently regarded it not as an end in itself but as merely a stepping stone to complete independence.

* * *

The scene next shifts to the Subjects Committee of the Congress, which held its sitting shortly before the open meeting of the Congress. Here Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar and his companions declared that they would stand or fall by complete independence. In spite, therefore, of Mr. Gandhi's resolution, a split in the Congress ranks appeared inevitable, but after a long conference among the leaders, Mr. Gandhi effected a compromise by agreeing to alter the wording of the resolution so as to give Parliament a time limit of twelve months instead of two years in which to accept the constitution as recommended by the Nehru Report. The clause in the original resolution, relating to the despatch of a copy of the resolution together with the Report to His Excellency the Viceroy was deleted. The clause regarding independence propaganda was also amended so as to permit the advocates of independence to carry on their compaign in the name of the Congress. This resolution was carried in the Congress Subjects Committee. It is worthy of note, however, that some of the more prominent political leaders present, including Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mrs. Besant, warned the Committee that if they passed this resolution they would now alienate a large body of opinion which was supporting the Congress.

The proceedings in the open Congress need not detain us long. Pandit Motilal Nehru, the President, in referring to the question of Complete Independence *versus* Dominion Status, declared "I am for Complete Independence, as complete as it can be, but I am not against full Dominion Status as full as any Dominion possesses it to-day provided I get it before it loses all attraction". Later in his speech he said "there is no reason why we should seek complete severance of the British connection if we are placed on terms of perfect equality with the Dominions. It must be understood that Dominion Status has to be offered and accepted with all its implications, its rights and obligations which both parties will be in honour bound to accept and uphold". Lastly he pleaded for the acceptance of the All-Parties Conference Report

which, as we have seen, is now generally known as the Nehru Report, claiming that its recommendations were based on the principle of the highest common agreement.

As in the Subjects Committee, the main business of the open session of the Congress was the discussion of the resolution regarding Dominion Status *versus* Independence. After a prolonged and heated debate an amendment repudiating Dominion Status and claiming Independence as India's goal was lost by 973 against 1,350 votes, and the resolution was finally passed as amended in the Subjects Committee. A perusal of the proceedings of the Calcutta Conference leaves the reader with the impression that the movement in favour of Complete Independence for India has gained strength since the resolution in favour of independence was accepted by the Madras Congress a year earlier, but it is clear that the movement has not found favour except among the most extreme sections of the left wing of Indian politics, and particularly among the younger element of that wing. Every organisation or body in India with any claims to be called representative has from time to time declared in favour of Dominion Status, and among such bodies are the All-Parties Conference, the All-India Muslim League, the All-India Liberal Federation, the All Muslim Parties Conference and the majority of the All-India National Congress.

* * *

The All-India Liberal Federation assembled in Allahabad for their annual meeting on December 30th. The President of the Federation this year was Sir Chamanlal Sitalvad, one of the most trusted leaders of the Liberal Party. At the very outset of his Presidential address he contrasted the principles and methods of the Liberal Party with those of the Congress, and said that Liberals worked for constitutional advance by constitutional methods and stood staunchly by those methods and principles even when the Congress strayed away from them, and he concluded his speech by a reference to the Public Safety Bill, in which he regretted the action of the Assembly in rejecting it, because, in his opinion, sufficient safeguards against abuse had been inserted by the Select Committee and these could have been further improved at the second reading. Sir Chamanlal declared, however, that the policy of the Government in the past had been particularly responsible for the growth of extremism

in Indian politics, and he re-affirmed very strongly the adherence of the Liberal Party to the boycott of the Simon Commission.

Another well known politician Mr. Chintamani, Chairman of the Reception Committee, expressed similar views on the dangers of unconstitutional methods of agitation when he said: " Staunch in our loyalty to our ideal of Dominion self-government and firm in our conviction that constitutional agitation is the right political method in the circumstances of our country we have refused to deviate from our chosen path, and are determined as ever to serve the motherland in our own humble way, indifferent to the frowns of an authority and the displeasures of a section of our own countrymen ".

Yet another speaker in the first rank of Liberal politicians, Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, lately Law Member to the Government of Madras, stressed the same point of view. " The Liberal Federation " he said " from the beginning, through good weather and through bad, has stood for one or two fundamental principles, firstly for constitutional work and constitutional action as differentiated from direct action, and, secondly, for the attainment of Dominion Status ".

From the above pronouncements it is clear that Indian Liberals are going to refuse in 1930, as they refused in 1920, to be drawn into the dangerous ways of non-co-operation, and their views are shared by other eminent Indian politicians who do not belong to the left wing of Indian politics. The National Liberal Federation, before concluding its session, passed a number of comprehensive resolutions regarding the boycotting of the Simon Commission, asking that Dominion Status be immediately established, and according general support to the Nehru Report and the resolutions of the Lucknow All-Parties Conference. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, moving his resolution for the immediate establishment of Dominion Status, traced the history of the Reforms from the beginning to the present time, describing the development of political feelings and sentiment in this country. He maintained that the spirit which actuated Mr. Montagu in introducing the Reforms was a short-lived one. He repudiated the idea that Dominion Status did not arouse any enthusiasm and meant still continuing under the heels of England, and he pointed out the dangers of the situation and warned the Indian Government of the

dangers ahead. Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, seconding the resolution, said that Dominion Status was an entirely real and practical proposition for India. Finally, the Federation appointed a Committee of Sir Chamanlal Sitalvad, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer and Mr. J. N. Basu (Secretary) to co-operate with representatives of other organisations for the settlement of communal questions.

* * *

During the two sessions of the Legislative Assembly included in the period under review the Public Safety Bill occupied the main interest of the House and raised the strong and uncompromising opposition of the Congress and National Parties. In the previous chapter we have described the history of the Bill, the modifications that its provisions underwent and the issue of an Ordinance by the Governor General.

Another Bill of much importance introduced in this session was Mr. S. N. Haji's Reservation of the Coastal Traffic of India Bill. In moving that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee Mr. Haji belittled the objection that the Bill threatened the sacred rights of property and enquired if the Government did not owe a greater duty to the people of this country. It had been recognised that it was perfectly legitimate that India should have a mercantile marine of her own, and Mr. Haji failed to see how anyone could shut the door against an examination of one of the measures by which this desire was to be met. Dealing with the objection that the Bill was confiscatory in character, and that it sought the expropriation of existing interests and the exploitation of their property Mr. Haji pointed out that this question had not been raised before the Mercantile Marine Committee, and the objection was not borne out by the meanings which the dictionary gave to expropriation and property, nor could the gradual withdrawal of foreign ships from participating in the coastal trade of India be regarded as an act of confiscation. Moreover, according to Mr. Haji, the position of the foreigners, or Britishers, engaged in the coastal trade of India was that of usurpers who had prevented Indians from getting any foothold in the shipping business. The coastal trade of the country was controlled by a monopoly which had inflicted great economic injury on India, and Mr. Haji was anxious to end that monopoly without substituting for it an Indian monopoly.

Sir James Simpson opposed the Bill because he was convinced that it was neither in the interests of India nor of any of her peoples. He maintained that India's rights and British interests were inter-dependent, and he asked the House to realise to what height among the great trading nations of the world India had been raised by British and Indian co-operation. He further felt that the Bill would take away from the British the right they had always thought they possessed, and that the Bill itself was impracticable and unworkable. The Bill did not mean expropriation of the ships, but it certainly meant expropriation of the good-will and the earning power in the coastal trade of the large British interests who had, through good years and bad years and by immense pioneer work, built up the coastal trade and had at all times met the peculiar requirements of that trade. The principle of the Bill, acording to Sir James, was " confiscation of the deepest dye ". " The country is to provide " said Sir James " such Indian capitalists as the Bill is designed to benefit with the support of the British Army and Navy, while they confiscate British shipping ".

Pandit Motilal Nehru, supporting the Bill, said that if Sir James Simpson and " his constituency would accept now and here the Dominion Status which we claim, I shall be the first to accept his invitation " to go into the lobby with him. Pandit Motilal denied that the Bill was discriminatory in character, because discrimination in legislation implied discrimination " between ourselves and individuals ", and did not mean regulation of the trade of a country, or that the legislature was incompetent to remove anomalies. Mr. G. D. Birla remarked that if the organised killing of the Indian trade meant to the Britishers a proprietary right, that right should be immediately taken away from them. He argued that the history of the past few years showed that the Government of India had made no attempt to protect the Indian industries with the result that nearly 10 crores had been lost by private enterprise.

Sir George Rainy, dealing with the operative clause of the Bill, enquired if the mover was sure that any of the ships employed in the monopoly, which he had attacked, were in fact common cariers. The point had to be carefully considered because it would put the House in a somewhat ludicrous position if, after the legislation had been passed, it should totally

fail to carry out its professed purpose. The Bill was supposed to extend to the whole of the coastal traffic of British India and of the continent of India. Sir George thought that it ought to be cleared up as to whether Ceylon would come under the operation of the Bill. As regards the foreign settlements in India, Goa and Pondicherry, though it was within the power of the Indian Legislature to pass a law restricting the trade between those two points and British Indian ports to Indian ships, if such a law were passed it would involve a contravention of some of the international obligations, and in particular of the Maritime Convention under which the ships of all signatories were entitled to ply. " We should have to denounce that particular Convention " said Sir George Rainy " and I think also our commercial treaties with Portugal and France ". Sir George asked the House to realise that under the Bill it was provided that it would be illegal for any subject of an Indian State to take part in trade between a port of his State and a port of British India. The matter, therefore, was not one in which the Legislature should fairly assume the final authority, but ought only to proceed in agreement with the authorities responsible for their administration. It seemed to Sir George that there were loopholes all along the line, and that it would not be difficult for any great shipping corporation to evade the restriction. If that happened, the inevitable effect would be the transfer of a great deal of trade from British Indian ports to the other ports. The Government of India had carefully considered the Bill and they had come to the definite conclusion that it would be ineffective, and that there were too many loopholes in it, and that therefore the Bill, if it was passed, would not accomplish its object. Sir George also complained that for 2½ years the economic objections raised by Sir Charles Innes had remained unanswered. He particularly referred to Sir Charles Innes's apprehension that as more than half the coastal trade in India was between India and Burma, the reservation of the coastal trade would mean a more expensive service and higher fares, which would lead to an irresistible demand from Burma that they should be left out of the scheme. Moreover, legislation in this country was likely to interfere with the efforts of the Government of India in the interests of the Indians who were settled in British colonies and dominions, because they would not hereafter be able to claim that the Indians who went to these territories were entitled to

equal treatment with other British subjects, and that there should be no discrimination on racial grounds. Sir George repudiated the charge that those who opposed the Bill were definitely opposed to the development of an Indian Mercantile Marine, but he opposed the reference of the Bill to a Select Committee because the Government believed that in doing so they were acting in the true interests of the country and that it was impossible in any useful way to develop an Indian Mercantile Marine by the reservation of the coastal trade.

Mr. Shanmukhan Chetty, in supporting Mr. Haji's motion, pointed out that the British India Steam Navigation Company had been held by the Madras High Court to be common carriers. He maintained that if the Bill was passed, Indian companies would be started and Indian capital would be forthcoming to support them. Mr. J. A. Stewart warned the House that the Bill, if passed, would accentuate the demand for the separation of Burma from India, because it would be felt that in a vision of advantages and disadvantages between India and Burma the latter took all the kicks and the rest of India got " all the ha'pence ". Mr. U. Tok Kyi mentioned that the Burma Chambers of Commerce had supported the Bill, and he thought that the Bill was based on the principle of self-preservation of the most modern type. Sir Victor Sassoon wished to be satisfied that there would be no acquisition of assets, whether tangible or intangible, without proper compensation, that there would not be so many loopholes as to render the scheme impracticable or unworkable; that the desired end would be achieved without raising freights unreasonably; and that there would be sufficient tonnage at all stages for the needs of merchants. Lala Lalpat Rai did not regard the difficulties as insurmountable, and supported the motion for reference to a Select Committee.

Mr. G. S. Bajpai pointed out that under a resolution passed at the Imperial Conference in 1918 the Dominion Government had taken power—and the Government of India had acquiesed in it—to regulate the composition of their own population. In the Bill before the House, however, there was no provision to safeguard European capital or the capital of the nationals of other dominions. Therefore, while the resolution aimed at protecting existing rights, Mr. Haji's Bill was silent on that point. He also felt that the principle underlying the measure would weaken the

struggle which the Government of India were carrying on to secure equal status for Indians who had settled beyond the seas. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, at the Imperial Conference of 1923, and the Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri in 1921 had pleaded for political and economic equality for Indians. They had based their pleas on the ground of common allegiance. If the House passed any measure involving an infringement of that principle of common allegiance, involving complete equality of rights, it would be weakening the arms of those who were trying to secure equality for Indians settled in other parts of the British Empire.

Sir George Rainy, in winding up the debate, maintained that the Bill involved both expropriation and racial discrimination and would have most unfortunate repercussions in South Africa and in other British Dominions. The motion was carried by 71 votes against 46.

* * *

Before leaving what we might call the regular work of the Legislative session, we might glance briefly at the course of an interesting debate which took place on a resolution by the Rev. J. C. Chatterjee on the education of girls and women in the territories administered by the Central Government.

Mr. J. C. Chatterjee asked for a substantial grant, capital as well as recurring, for the furtherance of girls' education, for the esablishment, as a first step towards it, of a well-staffed and up-to-date college for the training of women teachers, and for the appointment of a competent committee, including prominent women, to go into the subject and make a report. He contended that for every ten schools for boys there was not even one for girls, and criticised the disparity between the expenditure on the education of boys and that on the education of girls. Compared with 1916, when only ·9 per cent. of women were literate, in 1926 the proportion had risen only to 1·3. Mr. Mukhtar Singh desired to enlarge the terms of the resolution so as to provide free and compulsory primary education for girls between the ages of six and eleven, and as a first step to that end to establish at once a sufficient number of women teachers' training schools in the centrally administered area. A lengthy debate followed in which *inter alia* Maulvi Mohammad Yakoob, Sardar Gulab Singh, Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda, the late Lala Lajpat Rai, Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh,

Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava and Mr. D. V. Belvi took part, and Mr. Chatterjee's resolution received a great deal of support.

Replying on behalf of the Government Mr. G. S. Bajpai admitted that progress in the sphere of the education of women had lagged behind the aspirations of the people and of the Government of India. The debate had revealed much diversity of opinion as to the best methods for tackling the problem, and the Government felt it desirable to confine themselves to the proposal for the appointment of a committee of enquiry. Ever since the debate on the resolution regarding the education of the depressed classes Government had been giving their very careful consideration to the whole question of primary education in the areas directly under their administration, and they had decided to appoint a committee to enquire into—

(*a*) the existing facilities for primary education for boys and girls;

(*b*) the possibility of expansion whether on a voluntary or compulsory basis, with special regard to the attitude and aptitude of the local population; and

(*c*) the necessity for providing special facilities for the community generally known as untouchables, and to make recommendations.

The Government had also decided to include in this committee educational experts and representatives of the Assembly, and it was their intention that this committee should have the benefit of the services and the experience of a lady interested in and conversant with the problem of the education of women. As regards the proposal to found a first grade women's college, which the late Lala Lajpat Rai had advocated, Government proposed immediately to consult the minor administrations, because it was no use establishing a college in Delhi or in any other central area unless they were sure it would attract a sufficient number of students. The proposal to found a Normal college or a training college had already been put to the heads of minor administrations, and the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, the Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province and the Chief Commissioner of Ajmer-Merwara had informed the Government that at the present moment they did not feel the want

of a central college of this kind. Moreover, the Committee the Government proposed to set up would undoubtedly go into the question of the adequacy or otherwise of the existing facilities for the provision of teachers, and if they considered it desirable to have a central training college or to multiply the Normal training schools, the Government of India would undoubtedly bestow upon the recommendation exactly the same attention as they would upon the other recommendations of the Committee. Mr. J. C. Chatterjee wished to withdraw his resolution, but the House passed it as amended by Mr. Mukhtar Singh's amendment.

* * *

During the Autumn session considerable feeling was aroused in regard to newspaper and other comments reflecting on the dignity and partiality of the Chair. The effect, however, was speedily removed, and the President in concluding the incident appealed to every member of the House to forget the incidents which had been responsible for the atmosphere of distrust and suspicion calculated to lower the dignity and prestige of the House which, as the President observed, was the primary concern of every member.

The interval between the Autumn session of the legislature and the Winter session, which opened in Delhi on January the 28th, was fully occupied by the many and varied political activities narrated earlier in this chapter. Normally, the chief interest of the Delhi session is provided by the Railway and General Budgets and the discussions on them, but the excitement engendered by the discussion connected with the Public Safety Bill in the Autumn session in Simla, coupled with the knowledge that when the Bill came again before the Assembly the opposition meant to make it a first class trial of strength between themselves and the Government, gave to it a greater share of the interest of the session than that claimed by even the General Budget. Also, a Bill to regulate the course of trade disputes in India was due to come up in the Delhi session, and this proved to be second only to the Public Safety Bill as a focus of interest and as a ground for another trial of strength between the Government and the opposition. The General Budget was not expected to contain anything very spectacular, and, therefore, these two bills, namely the Public Safety Bill and the Trades Disputes Bill, were regarded as the crux of the busi-

ness of the session. An account of the proceedings connected with these bills will, however, have to be deferred till next year as they came up before the Legislature after the expiry of the period with which this report deals.

* * *

The Delhi session opened on January the 28th with an address by His Excellency the Viceroy, which, on account of the great importance of its contents, and its serious reflections on the broad issues of politics in this country, attracted considerable attention both in India and outside.

After referring to His Majesty the King Emperor's illness, the upheaval in Afghanistan and the Hilton Young Report on East Africa, His Excellency announced the Government of India's decision to establish a Central Council of Agricultural Research, which would comprise a governing body, presided over by a Member for Agriculture, and consisting of seventeen of the members, of whom two would be chosen from the Assembly, one from the Council of State, nine nominated by the Governments of the nine major provinces in India and an Advisory Council of 39 members to give expert advice to the governing body and submit for its approval programmes of research enquiry. His Excellency next touched on internal politics and announced that His Majesty's Government had decided to appoint a Royal Commission to undertake an enquiry into India's labour problems with due regard to the economic position of the industries in India and to explore all aspects of the problems affecting the conditions under which industrial labourers work. Mr. Whiteley, formerly Speaker of the House of Commons, had been selected as Chairman, and the personnel of the Commission would be announced later. Referring to the broader features of the Indian political situation Lord Irwin said that it was as much unprofitable to deny Parliament the right to form a free and deliberate judgment as it would be short-sighted of Parliament to underrate the importance of trying to reach a solution which might carry the willing assent of political India. " And it is at this stage ", His Excellency continued, " while we can still have no means of knowing how these matters may emerge from the Parliamentary discussions, that it is proposed to destroy all hope of peaceful and orderly progress towards agreement, unless, by a fixed date in time, Parliament should have accorded its approval to a particular solu-

tion, the result, no doubt, of earnest effect to grapple with an exceedingly complex problem, and as such entitled to serious consideration, but one which important sections of opinion in India have not accepted, and which was reached through deliberations in which Parliament had no part or voice. Such procedure savours rather of intolerance and impatience than of the methods of responsible statesmanship, and would reduce Parliament to being a mere registrar of the decisions of other persons. That position, of course, is one that in justice to its own obligations Parliament could never accept. * * * * In a situation that must call essentially for qualities of confidence on both sides, and for free exchange of opinion on terms honourable to all, I see very clearly that nothing but harm can flow from a threat that, unless a particular condition is fulfilled, which I believe to be mechanically impossible of fulfilment from the outset, an attempt will be made to plunge the country into all the possible chaos of civil disobedience. * * * * In conditions more favourable to cool judgment, I suppose that most persons would admit that British India, as we find it to-day, is a British creation, and that it is the British power which has, during the last century, held together its constituent parts. If this centripetal influence is immediately or too suddenly withdrawn is it wholly unreasonable to fear that some at any rate of the parts might fly asunder, and the dream of a strong united India would vanish and be destroyed?" Concluding, His Excellency the Viceroy addressed a special message to those who doubted the British pledge given by the late Mr. Montagu, and said "I tell this Assembly again, and through them India, that the declaration of 1917 stands and will stand for all time as the solemn pledge of the British people to do all that can be done by one people to assist another to attain full national political stature, and that the pledge so given will never be dishonoured. And, as actions are commonly held more powerful than words, I will add that I should not be standing before you here to-day as Governor General if I believed that the British people had withdrawn their hand from that solemn covenant. Those, therefore, who preach that a new generation has arisen in England which seeks to explain away the significance of the 1917 declaration, are, consciously or unconsciously, but not the less really, misrepresenting the purpose of Great Britain, and poisoning the wells by which the common life of India and Great Britain

is supported and sustained. If there are Indians who are thus tempted to mistrust Great Britain, there are, no doubt, many in Great Britain, resentful of what they well know to be an unfounded and ungenerous accusation, who may mistrust some of those who speak for India. But if we are thus tempted in the 20th century, I know that both India and Great Britain will be judged in the 21st by the degree to which they have refused to lose faith in one another."

Before the Legislative Assembly turned to the formal business of the session, leaders of every part in the House gave expression to the general regret at the deaths, since the last session of two of its distinguished members, the late Lala Lajpat Rai, and the later Mr. S. R. Das, Law Member of the Government of India.

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In last year's report we gave a somewhat full account of a Child-Marriage Bill introduced in the Legislative Assembly by a Hindu member of the Nationalist Party, Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda, and it may interest readers to have further news of this bill. As originally presented to the Assembly it contained certain features which the Government regarded as unworkable and by agreement between them and Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda, some alterations were made and the Bill came up again in Delhi on January 29th. But, since the last discussion on the bill had taken place, the Age of Consent Committee, to which reference was made in the preceding chapter, had been formed to examine and report on a question which will be at once recognised as very intimately connected with the subject of child-marriage. The Government, therefore, strongly held the view that it would be unwise to proceed with the Child-Marriage Bill until they and the Assembly were in possession of the report of the Age of Consent Committee. The Report is expected in the summer of 1929, and the Home Member gave an undertaking that full time for the discussion of the Bill would be allotted during the session of the Assembly in Simla, in the autumn of 1929, and therefore he felt compelled to vote against the motion that the Bill be referred to a select committee forthwith. The proposal for reference to a select committee was, therefore, rejected.

On February the 4th the fight over the Public Safety Bill opened again in Delhi, and, as before, an unusually long debate

ensued, which, like its predecessor in Simla, extended over four days.

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Between this debate on the Public Safety Bill and the presentation of the Railway Budget on February the 19th, only one item of the business of the Assembly calls for notice, and that is a debate on a resolution moved by a member of the Congress Party concerning the circumstances of Lala Lajpat Rai's death. The original resolution expressed resentment at the reply given by Earl Winterton on the 26th November, 1928, to questions from certain members of the Labour Party regarding the circumstances of Lala Lajpat Rai's death, recorded the belief of the Assembly that the Lala's death was accelerated by the injury he received from the police, and condemned the official enquiry held by the Punjab Government into the affair. To this, Munshi Iswar Saran, a member of the Nationalist Party, moved an amendment saying that in place of the original resolution the Governor-General-in-Council be pleased to appoint a committee consisting of official and non-official members of the Legislative Assembly to enquire into the allegations which had been made in connection with the death of Lala Lajpat Rai. Munshi Iswar Saran moved his amendment in a moderate and well-reasoned speech. He recorded the facts of the case, stated that no proper enquiry had ever been held into the question whether the police assaults had accelerated Lala Lajpat Rai's death, since the Punjab Government's enquiry had been held before that event, and declaring his belief in the sincerity of the expressions of regret made by Government spokesmen at various times since Lala Lajpat Rai's death, asked what reason there was for refusing the enquiry he demanded. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, leader of the Nationalist Party, and Raizada Hansraj, a member of the Congress Party, gave the Assembly an account of their own personal experiences of the events on the day when Lala Lajpat Rai had been injured. The Home Member maintained that the Punjab Government's impartial enquiry had established the fact that the police acted within their instructions, and said that both the Punjab Government and the Punjab Legislative Council, who were primarily concerned, had satisfied themselves on this point. He stated that no *primâ facie* case had been made out by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lala Hansraj, whose impressions of the incident were, no doubt,

honestly formed, but were incorrect. He refused to be a party to the political victimisation of officers and men who had performed a difficult and delicate duty. Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Jayakar and Pandit Motilal Nehru attacked the Home Member's speech strongly, particularly that part of it in which he said that no *primâ facie* case had been made out when certain serious allegations had been made by two responsible members of the Legislative Assembly who were actually eye-witnesses of the whole affair. The amendment was first put to the vote and was declared carried by 57 against 45.

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The major portion of the winter session of the Legislative Assembly is occupied by the presentation and discussion of the Railway and General Budgets. The contents of these two budgets will be fully discussed in the chapter dealing with the finance of India, and may, therefore, be ignored for the present. The general debate on the budgets, and the debates on motions for particular grants in connection with them, provide opportunities for a comprehensive survey or criticism by the members of the Legislature of the work of the Railway Board and of the doings of the Government in the general administration of the country, an opportunity of which the members seldom fail to make the fullest use.

The Railway Budget was presented to the Legislative Assembly on February 19th, and the general discussion of it began on the 21st. Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, representing the Indian Merchants' Chamber, opened the debate with a critical speech which dealt with a variety of questions, including the education of the children of the railway staff, the appointment of an Indian to the Railway Board, the Railway Advisory Committees, and the cheapening of rates and fares. He opined that the time was ripe for the establishment of a Railway Rates Tribunal in India, and that company-managed lines should fall into line with State-managed ones. Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, a leading Swarajist, followed and pleaded for a revision of the maximum and minimum railway rates because in his opinion too much latitude was allowed to the railway administration. After several other speakers had given their views, Sir George Rainy, in replying to the debate, said that he appreciated the importance of the questions, but that relating to the appointment of a Rates Tri-

bunal was one for consideration by the Separation Committee. With regard to reductions in rates and fares he showed by facts that reductions had not been confined to State-managed railways by any means. Answering Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Sir George Rainy promised to issue a pamphlet to the Assembly Members giving a summary of the proceedings of the various Local Advisory Committees. He also announced the Government of India's intention to appoint Mr. A. M. Hayman, Controller of Railway Accounts, as the fifth member of the Railway Board if the Assembly agreed to the creation of the appointment.

The second stage of the discussion of the Railway Budget—the list of demands—opened on February 23rd with a motion by Sir George Rainy for the grant of Rs. 12,61,000 in respect of Railway Board charges. Mr. Jamnadas N. Mehta moved an amendment for a reduction of Rs. 64,000, being the expenditure on account of an additional member on the Railway Board and his establishment. Thereafter, eleven motions for cuts of sums ranging from Rs. 14,000 to Rs. 100 were moved, but all were either negatived or withdrawn, the original amount of Rs. 12,61,000 being passed on February 27th after four days' debate.

As during all the four days allotted for the voting on demands the discussion centred round the demand in respect of the Railway Board charges, the other demands—fourteen in all—for the grant of various sums to defray the charges which would come in course of payment during the year ending 31st March, 1930, were put by the President and passed by the Assembly without discussion.

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The General Budget was presented to the Legislative Assembly on February 28th by Sir George Schuster, the Finance Member. The general discussion began on March 4th and that on the demands for grants on March 7th. The subject of India's finances is referred to at length in chapter VII, so that beyond a few remarks on the Army grant there is no necessity to say anything further at this stage on the General Budget.

March 14th was absorbed with the discussion of the demand relating to the Army Department, which Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer moved should be reduced to one rupee. There was little or no interest in the debate, and after Mr. Ranga Iyer's lengthy speech the Army Secretary replied, and the motion was negatived without

a division. Certain other motions were then moved, two of which were carried against Government. One of these was for Rs. 100 at the instance of Colonel Gidney, who dealt with the grievances of temporary I.M.S. officers, and the other was by Mr. Munshi, who complained of the exclusion of Burmans from the Indian Army. The President then put to the House the motion that a reduced sum of Rs. 5,35,800 be granted in respect of the Army Department. The debate was concluded on March 15th after the Government's military expenditure and policy, and particularly the Indianisation of the Army and the opportunities available for enabling Indians to obtain military training, had been strongly criticised by various party leaders and adherents. The motion for the grant of Rs. 5,35,800 to the Army Department was rejected by 61 votes to 44.

Another debate of considerable interest began when the demand relating to the North-West Frontier Province was taken up and Mian Shah Nawaz moved a cut of Rs. 100 on the question of the introduction of reforms in the province on the lines of other provinces. He was particularly anxious to know whether the Government had recommended the grant of " moth-eaten Morley-Minto Reforms ". Sir Denys Bray, the Foreign Secretary, pointed out that the delay on the part of Government in dealing with the Frontier Committee's Report was a triumph of statesmanship over communalism, and was in accordance with Pandit Malaviya's advice in a previous debate. The motion was eventually carried against Government, and the balance of the grant was sanctioned without a division. All the remaining grants were voted without a division under the guillotine procedure.

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The outbreak of industrial unrest on a large scale after the War led the Government of India to explore the possibility of providing some machinery for the settlement of industrial disputes. The question was taken up in 1919, but after consultation with the local Governments the Government of India came to the conclusion that at that time any legislation of the kind was likely to be ineffective. The succeeding years saw a distinct change in the position by reason of the growth of organisations of industrial workers and of the increasing influence exercised by public opinion on the course of disputes. Consequently the Government of India took up the matter again in 1924. As a result of extensive enquiries made in

1924-25 and the experience which became available since that period it became apparent that legislation for the prevention and settlement of trade disputes was likely to prove of considerable value. The Trade Disputes Bill was accordingly introduced in the Assembly on September 4th, 1928, and circulated for the purpose of eliciting public opinion thereon. On the 11th February, 1929, Sir Bhupendranath Mitra moved that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee, emphasising that the recent Bombay mill strike had involved the loss of over 21 million working days and 3½ crores of rupees in wages alone. The Bill proposed to set up two types of machinery, namely, Courts of Inquiry and Boards of Conciliation. The former was intended to investigate and report on such questions connected with the dispute as might be referred to them, and the latter to secure, if possible, a settlement of the dispute; but the object of both was to mobilise public opinion in order to prevent or to shorten industrial disputes. The Bill also penalised lightning strikes in public utility services. This provision was based on the principle that persons whose work is vital to the welfare of the community generally should not be entitled to enter into a strike before sufficient time has been given to examine the merits of their grievances and to explore the possibilities of arriving at a peaceful settlement. Finally, the Bill declared illegal strikes and lockouts which had other objects than the mere furtherance of a trade dispute within the industry to which the strikers or employers belong and which were also designed to coerce Government either directly or by inflicting hardship on the community. The Bill emerged from the Select Committee with some modifications, but with its principles unaltered. The notable changes made by the Select Committee were that it restricted the duration of the measure to a period of five years and inserted a provision penalising a lockout in a public utility service if declared without giving previous notice to the employees. As the Bill was not taken into consideration in the Assembly until April 3rd, 1929, its discussion will more appropriately fall within the purview of next year's report.

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On the afternoon of the 28th March, 1929, Sir B. L. Mitter, Law Member to the Government of India, in the absence through illness of the Home Member, moved that the Public Safety Bill, as reported by the select committee, be taken into consideration

His speech was a formal one, and after he had been followed by Mr. Jayakar, Deputy Leader of the Nationalist Party, who asked for postponement of further consideration of the Bill, the President announced that if the Government were not prepared to accept Mr. Jayakar's suggestion he would call upon Mr. Jogiah to move his adjournment motion. The Assembly then adjourned for the Easter Holidays, and did not re-assemble until after the close of the period under review.

CHAPTER III.

State and People, Country and Town.

Although the economic conditions under which large sections of the population, rural and urban, of this country have to live are bad, the following pages will clearly demonstrate that ameliorating processes are at work throughout the land, and that the standard of living is slowly rising, though it may be said to be almost imperceptible. Students of Indian affairs too often forget that the task which faced the British Government in India when the period of expansion came to an end was, to quote Macaulay, " the stupendous process of the re-construction of a decomposed society." For thirteen hundred years after the White Huns laid Taxila in the North-West in ruins, India's political fabric was repeatedly smashed, and the life of her different kingdoms and peoples stunted and crippled until the rise of the British power. When Lord Lake came to Delhi, over a century ago, to protect the Moghul Emperor against the Maharattas he found the social life of districts within sight of the Delhi walls still disintegrated after the horrors of Nadir Shah's invasion fifty years earlier. Over immense tracts of India similar conditions prevailed before the coming of the Pax Britannica. From that point some hint of the vastness of the scope and complexity of the early British task in India begins to emerge. Not only had some framework of government to be devised and erected, not only had some administrative departments to be created and their subordinate personnel educated and trained, but over vast areas the conditions under which civilisation could live had to be restored. In this and the succeeding chapters the mere recital of the works of the different departments and agencies of the Government of India and the provincial governments will show how vastly different is the environment in which they function to-day from that in which the earlier British Administrators lived their lives and did their work.

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India is a country of continental contrasts. Bounded on the North by the stupendous mass of the Himalayas and on the North-West and North-East by lesser but still gigantic mountain ranges, with the rest of her perimeter washed by the sea, India can show

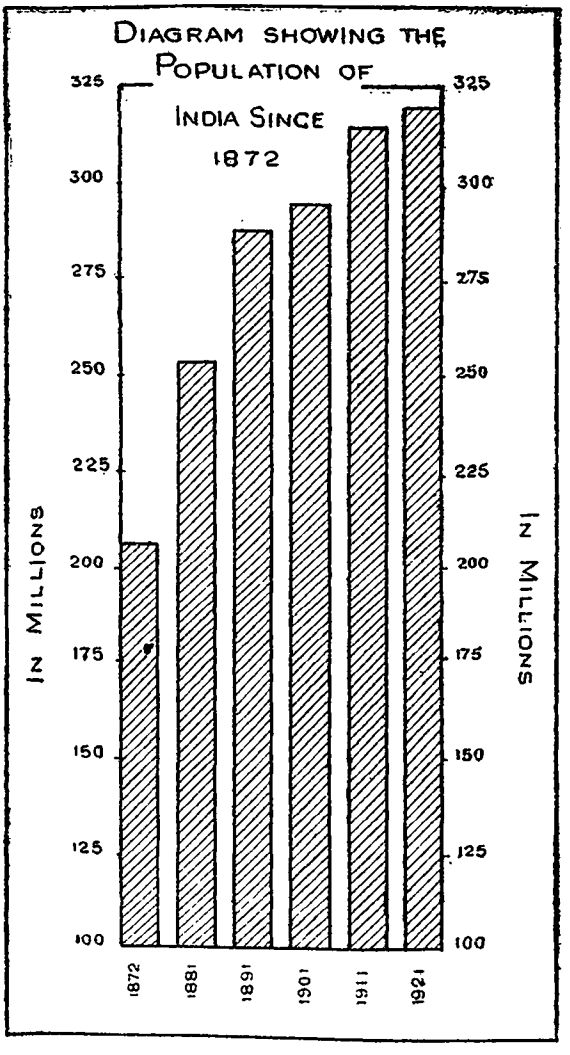
the greatest extremes of fertility and barrenness, rainfall and drought, of highly developed and up-to-date industries, and agricultural methods and implements, some of which are as primitive now as they were when Alexander came into the Punjab. Extraordinary contrasts in natural and agricultural conditions can be encountered within a few miles of each other, and there are many places from which a day's ride will transport the traveller from among the people of one physical type, speaking one language, to surroundings where people of quite a different stock speak another language, entirely unintelligible to their neighbours a few miles away. Crops of the temperate zone are cultivated and form the staple food of the people of one part of India, whilst in another part the crops of tropical countries are grown and consumed. There is a world of difference between the stony starveling plots, terraced with infinite labour among the barren rocks of the Western Punjab Hills, and the fat rice and jute fields of Bengal, and there are just as great differences between the people who till them, whilst between these extremes lie numerous gradations of climate and soil with cultivation dependent on canal, well, or tank irrigation, or on rainfall more or less abundant. In short, it needs the colossal gazetteer of the Indian Empire to give a full account of the innumerable conditions and circumstances of our great subcontinent. But, in spite of all this, it is possible to make one or two generalisations which are true of all India, and the first is this: India is primarily a land of small villages and tiny hamlets; towns are few, and of great cities there are but rare specimens. There are fully half a million villages in India, and of these, immense numbers are diminutive clusters of mud-huts, microscopic in scale when compared with the immensity of plain or mountain in which they are set. Only a very small proportion of these villages are touched by the railway or by metalled roads. The vast majority of them are approached by unmetalled roads or winding paths between the fields, the former usually impassable, or almost impassable, by wheeled traffic after rain, whilst the latter cannot afford passage to a wheeled vehicle at any time. In the next chapter will be found certain figures relating to the mileage of roads of different kinds in India, and from them the reader will be able to form some sort of a mental picture of the paucity of first class roads in this country. The Government of India, through their Railway Board, are steadily extending the number and mileage of their branch lines, but the size of India ensures that it will be long before her

surface is covered with a network of lines anything like as close and complete as the railway systems of the West of Europe. For long years to come the villages in many parts of India must continue remote from railway or roads.

Estimates of the percentage of the total population of India which is engaged in agricultural and pastoral pursuits vary slightly, but it cannot be very different from the 73·9 per cent. at which it stood when the census of 1921 was taken. There are some reasons for supposing that the percentage of urban residents in India has risen during the seven years which have elapsed since the census was taken, but we shall be safe in assuming that it is roughly 11 per cent. of the whole. A moment's consideration of these figures will show that the portion of India's agricultural produce which is consumed in the towns is small as compared with the total production. Generally speaking, therefore, the villagers produce for their own consumption, and historic, economic, and social conditions which have persisted through long ages have developed the self-sufficing type of agriculture which we find in India to-day. In other ways, too, the Indian village is as a rule self-contained. Land-owners, whether cultivating all or a portion of their lands, or letting them out to tenants; tenants—some with permanent rights in the land, others with only yearly rights; agricultural labourers who are often members of different castes from their masters; artisans with their simple traditional skill, and village menials and shopkeepers, all form an ordered hierarchy and make up the self-contained and primitive, yet interesting and often surprisingly intricate economic system of the typical Indian village.

But although agriculture is far and away the greatest and the most important industry in India, and although the people engaged therein compose the vast majority of her population, it must not be forgotten that industries in a more technical sense, the industries of the factory, the iron works, and the vast transport systems, are becoming increasingly important factors in the economic life of this country, and the workmen employed in them are growing continually in number. The census of 1931 will give us some information on this subject of the increasing industrialisation and urbanisation of India. At present all that we can do is to draw attention to it as one of the many elements of Indian economics.

A few statistics will show how preponderantly rural is the Indian scene. The total population of India, including all the Indian states and Burma was, according to the 1921 census,



REASONS FOR INCREASE OF POPULATION

PERIOD	INCREASE DUE TO		REAL INCREASE OF POPULATION	TOTAL	RATE PER CENT OF REAL INCREASE
	INCLUSION OF NEW AREAS	IMPROVEMENT OF METHOD			
	MILLIONS	MILLIONS	MILLIONS	MILLIONS	
1872 - 1881	33·0	12·0	3·0	48·0	1·5
1881 - 1891	5·7	3·5	24·3	33·5	9·6
1891 - 1901	2·7	·2	4·1	7·0	1·4
1901 - 1911	1·8	-	18·7	20·5	6·4
1911 - 1921	·1	-	3·7	3·8	1·2
TOTAL	43·3	15·7	53·8	112·8	20·1

318, 942,480. Of this number, less than 8¼ millions lived in towns with a population of 100,000 and upwards, of which there were 35. Roughly 3½ millions lived in 54 towns, whose population numbered between 50,000 and 100,000. Apart from these, less than 21 million people lived in places which can be called towns, even if we include in the latter category what are really villages with populations of less than 5,000. A writer, therefore, who sets out to give an account, however unsubstantial it may be, of the general economic condition of the Indian people will be pardoned if he visualises his task as being primarily concerned with the condition of the agricultural population consisting largely of an immense number of small holders.

A little while ago we referred to the still primitive condition of agricultural implements and methods and to the continued existence of traditional conditions of life in the Indian villages. But, although the lives of the villagers in so many of these villages are lived remote from the modern world of industry and highly organised communications, it is impossible that they should be entirely unaffected by the immense changes and developments which have taken place in the world during the past few decades. The spread of railways and roads in India has done much to break down the ancient isolation of her villages and a majority of her people must at any rate have seen motor cars, whilst millions of them have actually ridden in them at some time or other. Travel, that great medium of education, is becoming yearly cheaper, and more accessible, whilst thousands of Indians, even from the remotest hills and thickest forest, travelled overseas and saw something of the world during the Great War. In a word, new ideas are at work in the Indian villages and, there can be no doubt, with continually increasing effectiveness. The paucity of urban areas in India, the foci and disseminators of civilization and liberalizing ideas, is of course a drawback, and slows down the pace of progress. But even this is not an unmixed evil, for the too violent or unrestrained impact of new ideas on a social and economic system so conservative and firmly rooted in tradition as that of the Indian village, would certainly produce many undesirable effects. In the Indian village system, largely self-sufficing and self-contained as we have seen it to be, there is much that ought to be preserved, and it should never be forgotten that the Indian village is also largely self-governed. The village headman, and in these modern days the village panchayats of the new local self-govern-

ment model, responsible to and partly controlled by outside authorities though they are, must of necessity be responsive to village opinion.

The influences which are at present working to bring the Indian village system more closely into touch with modern conditions and the great world outside are of different kinds. As time and space dwindle under the assaults of mechanical inventions, and the progress and development of communications of all sorts, the phenomena of the modern world are brought nearer to the vision of the Indian villagers. Industrial products which their fathers never knew are being used by them, and some of these have already become necessities of life, transforming habits and improving standards of living. And when wireless broadcasting becomes a welcome and familiar feature of the villagers' day, as it will do if it is fostered by the Provincial Governments, nothing short of a revolution will quickly be worked in his ideas and his outlook on life. Progress moves more quickly in these days than ever before, and its pace is all the time accelerating. In the future changes, even in India, will be traced not over centuries or generations, but over decades.

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Another strong force working to change the conditions of life in the Indian village and to enlarge the villagers' ideas are the changes which have taken place in late years in the administrative system of British India. Post-Reform developments in local self-government in this country have given the villages a new status and their residents new interests and functions. Village Panchayats, Union Boards and other small administrative units give the people on the soil the opportunity to perform a number of useful or indispensable duties for themselves. These include the supply of water for domestic use, the cleansing of public roads, drains, tanks and wells, and other public places or works in the village. They also include the carrying out of certain minor works such as the construction of local roads, drains and bridges. Sanitation, conservancy and certain functions in respect of the preservation and improvement of the public health also come within their scope. The various village committees also control grazing lands and the lighting of the village and, in addition, are empowered to try certain trivial offences. Thus, the importance of the village in the administrative scheme is now being emphasised, and it is being brought into

closer touch with the administrative authorities of the districts and provinces. All this sort of work is educative experience of much value and tends to develop interests in things beyond the village boundaries and to broaden ideas and experience generally. The great progress in education, particularly primary education, which has taken place of recent years, is also working in the same direction. The mere ability to read inevitably puts within the villagers' reach the means, and very often the incentive, to know something of what goes on outside his immediate neighbourhood.

But of all the influences now at work to modify the conditions of Indian rural life, perhaps, none are stronger than certain economic influences, both internal and external, now at work in all parts of this country. Of the internal economic influences, something has already been said, for they both show themselves in, and work through, the various kinds of communications which are yearly creeping over India's surface. Roads and railways mean markets, and markets mean the stimulation not only of agriculture, but of industries also. And so it is not surprising to find small industries now springing up all over the countryside or to notice a marked tendency for the primary manufacturing processes of agricultural products to extend to the small towns and even to the larger villages. As the traveller drives about the country now, he will hear frequently from many of the villages which he passes the sound of a little engine working, a sugar-cane crusher, an oil presser, a little rice hulling mill, and so on. This development has far-reaching effects, for it is providing an outlet for the surplus money of the local money-lender, it gives employment to cultivators and labourers, particularly during the periods when agricultural operations are at a stand-still, it provides markets for local agricultural and dairy products, and it is yet another influence at work broadening the ideas and the experiences of the villagers.

External economic influences are also working powerfully to change the conditions of village life. Surplus harvests can now be marketed, and the Indian " money crops "—tobacco, oilseeds, jute, cotton, tea—are assuming ever-increasing importance in the world supplies of these commodities. This, in turn, means that the standard of quality of India's supplies must be equal to that of similar supplies from other countries, which in turn means that Indian agricultural methods must constantly improve in order to keep abreast of improving world standards. Agents for improved agricultural appliances, fertilisers, and other commodities of use

in agriculture are constantly extending their scope and establishing themselves in places which they would hardly have thought of visiting some years ago. It would be easy enough to exaggerate the influence exercised by this connection between Indian agriculture and the world market, but we must guard against doing so. At present, a very small percentage of Indian villages are affected directly by this connection, but their number will grow steadily and perhaps rapidly as time goes on.

There are, therefore, many signs of change and progress in the Indian villages, even though it may be possible to point to hundreds or thousands of villages in which no perceptible change of any sort has taken place within the memory of living men. Economic, administrative, educational, and other developments are, in spite of all denials, slowly permeating the whole of the Indian rural economy, altering the conditions of the villagers life, little though he may realise or appreciate it, widening his interests and broadening his mental outlook, and, it may on the whole truthfully be said, improving his material prospects.

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No one whose direct acquaintance with India extends over a period of twenty or thirty years will have any hesitation in saying that India has prospered during that period, and if evidence were asked for, a number of unmistakable signs can be pointed out. In 1913 India ranked sixth among the trading countries of the world, and by 1925 she had attained to the fifth place—a fact which is not generally recognised to-day. Year by year her exports and imports have steadily climbed almost without a pause, except during the War, for well over half a century. Fifty years ago India's exports of merchandise were valued at approximately sixty millions of rupees, but in 1925 they almost reached four thousand millions. Precisely the same story can be told regarding India's imports, which rose from forty million rupees in 1874-79 to nearly three thousand millions in 1925-26. These are convincing figures, and the fact that they continue to rise is a reasonable ground for predicting a still more important place for India in the future. Let us go a step further. In the year 1926-27 India exported cotton manufactures, including twist and yarn, to the value of 107½ millions of rupees, whilst her exports of manufactured jute were assessed at nearly 532 millions. Additional evidence of India's prosperity can be had from the railway statistics, which show that

even the poorest classes of the people can afford to travel much more than in the past. India's masses, too, are now enjoying vast quantities of cigarettes, mineral waters and other simple luxuries, all pointing to the fact that the standard of living among the Indian masses is slowly but surely rising. The membership of co-operative societies is continually increasing, as also are the Savings Bank deposits, showing that more and more of the people are able to save money and thus prepare for those hard times which are inevitable at irregular periods in a country like India. Broadly speaking, India exports raw materials and food-stuffs and imports manufactured goods, and a very large part of her trade balance is always liquidated by imports of bullion, and this—when it is not hoarded—is available for circulation and for the stimulation of trade and industry. It is eminently satisfactory to find that there is an increasing power of resistance to famine or scarcity among the masses in India. So far as the agriculturist is concerned one reason for this can be found in the greatly increased value of land, which is far greater than the rise in the price of grain which has taken place during the last few decades. Registration of rates in land, internal security, the extension of irrigation and communications of all kinds have contributed to make land a much more valuable possession than was the case many decades ago. The rise in the value of land as a basis of credit, however, would be of little use were not sufficient liquid capital available to provide credit, and it is here that we see one of the most valuable and beneficial results of the development of markets both in India and abroad. The development of markets, both internal and external, for Indian products is intimately bound up with the development of communications of all kinds—land, oceanic and aerial. Other results of the highest importance follow from all this. The increased outlet for Indian agricultural products provided by the growth of markets encourages the Indian agriculturists to extend in some places the area of their cultivation and to put something back in the way of fertilizers into their land and to improve their equipment and methods in a way which was not possible in the past. The spread of communications, the growth of markets, and the sale of crops has already done a great deal to transform the economic conditions of the Indian agriculturist, and so to-day we find that he possesses a greatly increased capacity to resist famine or scarcity. Famine in India to-day can never cause the appalling havoc which it did before the growth of railways and

roads since food-stuffs can be rapidly conveyed to any part of the country by rail, road or air almost immediately. The chief hardship which famine would cause in India to-day would be lack of employment, and therefore of purchasing power, since the petty cultivator and agricultural labourer would be deprived of their livilihood for such time as famine conditions last.

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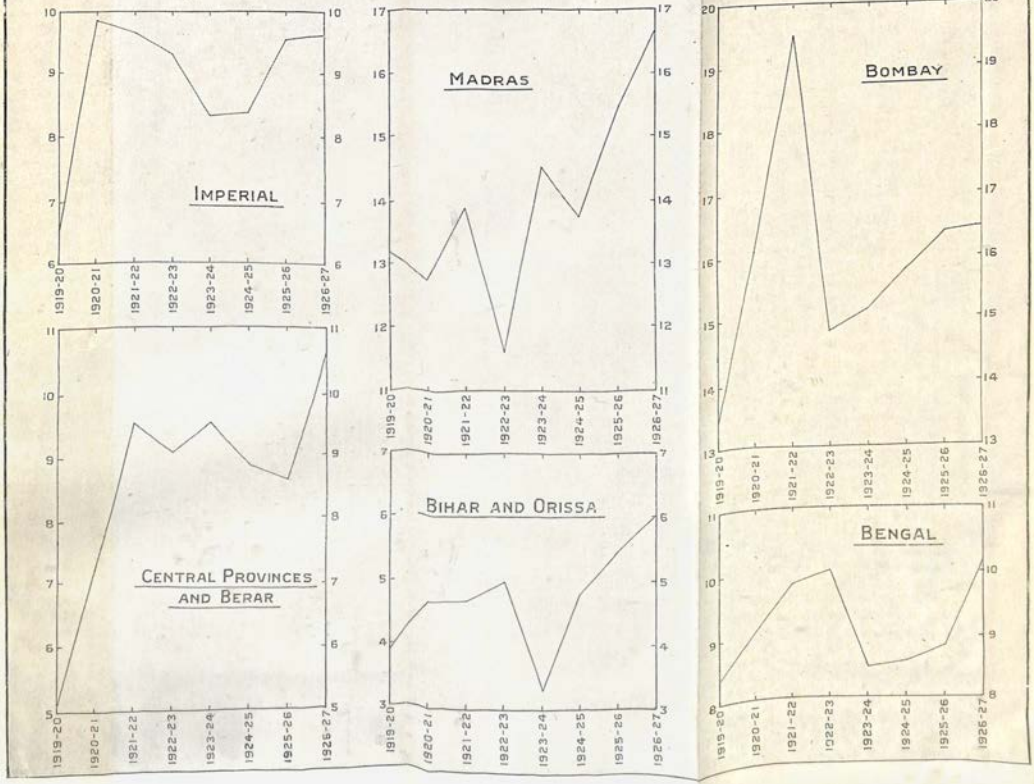
Although an appreciable improvement has taken place in the standard of living of the Indian agricultural masses during the past quarter of a century this only represents the genesis of what has yet to be accomplished. There is a vast amount of what can only be termed dangerous poverty in the Indian villages—poverty that is of such a kind that those subject to it live on the very margin of subsistence. This may be taken to be the normal state of the millions of agricultural labourers who own land themselves, and whose income consists mostly of customary wages paid in kind. When these people live in the neighbourhood of towns they can often help themselves during the slack periods in agricultural operations by labouring for wages in the town, but it will be realised, after reading what has been said above, that this resource is not open to more than a small percentage of Indian agriculturists. The land-owners, even the owners of small fragmented holdings, are in a better position than the agricultural labourers, because they, at least, have something on which they can raise credit. But this power to raise credit is all too often their undoing, for they get into the hands of the money-lender. In innumerable instances a man inherits the debt of his father, which keeps him tied to the money-lender and rivets the fetters still more closely. However prudent and thrifty the Indian small-holder may be, it is very difficult for him to keep out of debt. The Indian agriculturist has, as a rule, no resources, on which to fall back in bad times. Even at the best of times he has to wait for six months for the return for his labour and expenditure. Of late years much has been done to release the Indian agriculturist from his state of constant indebtedness, but the process is one of immense complexity and difficulty, and cannot be expected to show results very quickly. The best and the most effective way to tackle the problem of rural indebtedness is to multiply and extend the operations of sound co-operative societies. The Co-operative Societies Act of 1912 has facilitated the introduction of Village Credit Societies on the

EXPENDITURE OF THE IMPERIAL AND PROVINCIAL DEPARTMENTS OF AGRICULTURE (IN LAKHS OF RUPEES)



Raiffeisen model to replace the money-lender as a source of credit. Recent additions or amendments to the law relating to money-lending have been made by the Government of India and several of the Provincial Governments. The Usurious Loans Act of 1918 allows courts wide powers of interference whenever they consider that the terms of a loan are usurious. The Agriculturists' Loan Act, the Land Improvement Act, and the Land Alienation Act in the Punjab are all specimens of legislation designed either to keep the agriculturist out of debt or to save him from the worst rigours of his position. It must be confessed, however, that these legislative measures have not done much to achieve their object, and this fact increases the importance of the work which the Co-operative Societies are now doing in this country.

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In addition to these economic distresses the Indian villager normally finds himself bound in a chain of circumstances adverse to his welfare and prosperity. In the first place, innumerable villages all over India are foci of preventible disease which causes immense economic wastage. No survey of the conditions under which the Indian agriculturist lives and works can ignore this vitally important factor. The following quotation from a resolution passed at the All-India Conferences of Medical Research Workers held in 1926 will enable the reader to understand what the ravages of disease mean to India in terms of economic loss:—

> "This Conference believes that the average number of deaths resulting every year from preventible disease is about five to six millions, that the average number of days lost to labour by each person in India, from preventible disease, is not less than a fortnight to three weeks in each year, that the percentage loss of efficiency of the average person in India who reaches a wage-earning age is about 50, whereas it is quite possible to raise this percentage to 80 or 90. The Conference believes that these estimates are understatements rather than exaggerations, but, allowing for the greatest possible margin of error, it is absolutely certain that the wastage of life and efficiency which result from preventible disease costs India several hundreds of crores of rupees each year. Added to this is the great suffering which affects many millions of people every year.

The Conference believes that the greatest cause of poverty and financial stringency in India is loss of efficiency resulting from preventible disease and, therefore, considers that lack of funds, far from being a reason for postponing the enquiry, is a strong reason for immediate investigation of the questions".

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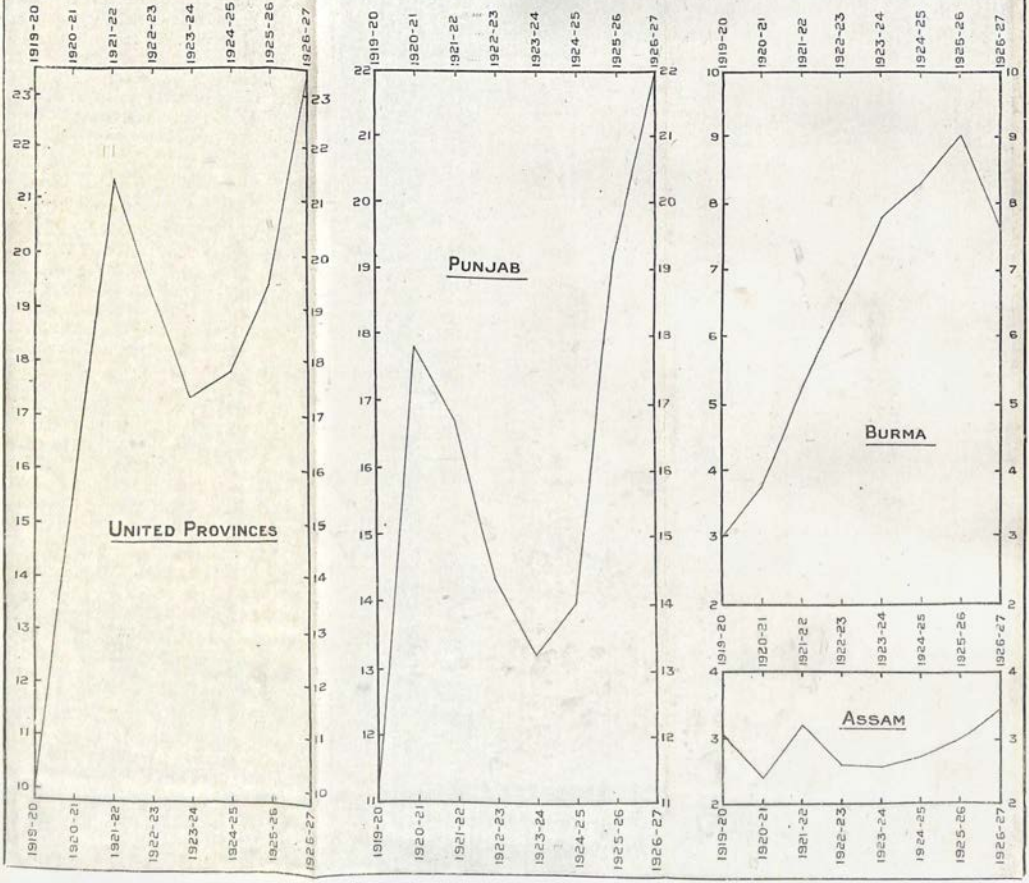
Another evil which hampers the development of agriculture in India is the fragmentation of holdings which is almost general in this country. In the south and east of India the average holding is about 5 acres, and elsewhere not more than half the holdings exceed even this small limit. Innumerable are the cultivators whose holdings are one acre or less in extent, and even this tiny area is all too often spilt up into a number of disconnected fragments scattered over the village. Sometimes some of the component parts are so small that the owner cannot cultivate them without trespassing on his neighbour's land. In the Ratnagiri District of the Bombay Presidency individual plots are sometimes as small as the 1/160th part of an acre. Such fragmentation of holdings inflicts immense economic harm on Indian agriculture and attempts are now being made to grapple with the evil. In the Punjab, the Co-operative Societies have for some years been carrying out consolidation of holdings by voluntary methods, and have already achieved some most gratifying results. During the first five years of this work in the Punjab, 39,757 acres were consolidated. In 1925 alone, over 20,000 acres were consolidated, whilst in 1926 no less than 38,000 acres were rescued from fragmentation. In the Central Provinces an officer has been placed on special duty to carry out the work of consolidation, and the Provincial Legislative Council has this year passed the Consolidation of Holdings Act to be applied to one division of the province only, which gives power to not less than half of the permanent right-holders holding not less than two-thirds of the occupied area in a village to combine in a scheme of consolidation which, when confirmed, becomes binding on all permanent right-holders in the village and their successors. The Bombay Government have also framed a bill to deal with the consolidation of land holdings, but it has not yet passed into law mainly because of the opposition of the zamindars in Sind.

Social and religious customs and observances are directly responsible not only for the poverty of innumerable individuals, but also the perpetuation of many of the conditions which give rise to

EXPENDITURE OF THE PROVINCIAL DEPARTMENTS OF AGRICULTURE



poverty in general. Reckless and wasteful expenditure on funerals, weddings and other similar ceremonies account for much of the existing poverty in India to-day. The immense number of religious mendicants of all sorts and the preservation of very large numbers of useless cows are a very heavy drain on the resources of the country. The custom of child marriage again involves a continuous drain on the vitality—and consequently on the economic power—of the Hindu community in particular. Among many classes of the people social tradition prevents the employment of female labour on anything like an adequate scale, and so an economic factor of great importance in all advanced countries is immobilised in India.

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It has already been explained that agricultural and veterinary subjects are now "transferred" subjects, and therefore the Government of India are now divested, except to a very small extent, of all powers of direction and control over the development of agriculture in the provinces. But as no province can at present afford to carry out research on anything like an adequate scale into the many problems presented by their agriculture and animal husbandry, this duty falls to the Agricultural Department of the Government of India. Constituted in its present form in 1906 the Indian Agricultural Service has already left its mark broad and deep on Indian agriculture, and the record of its achievement is one which will not easily be surpassed anywhere in the world. Recruitment to the service having ceased, the provinces are now free to create their own agricultural services, but so far Burma is the only province which has yet framed its rules for recruitment to this service.

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Throughout the year under review Dr. D. Clouston, C.I.E., held charge of the office of the Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India and Director, Agricultural Research Institute, Pusa. He also performed the duties of Liaison Officer between the Royal Commission on Agriculture and the Government of India and the Local Governments up to the 14th April, 1928, in addition to his own duties. The post of Joint Director, Agricultural Research Institute, Pusa, was held by Dr. W. H. Harrison throughout the year.

The Royal Commission on Agriculture in India completed their labours in April, 1928, and their report was published about two

months later. It was clear from the wide ground covered by the recommendations, as well as from their nature, that the first step necessary was to determine the relative urgency of the main recommendations and the authority, Central or Provincial, or both Provincial and Central acting in concert, by which the individual recommendations were to be carried out. The Government of India felt that, if this task was to be completed expeditiously, they must convene a conference representative of all Governments, at which these important matters could be discussed. A Conference was accordingly held at Simla in the first week of October, 1928. It was opened by His Excellency the Viceroy and presided over by the Honourable Sir Muhammad Habibullah (Member for Education, Health and Lands). The main recommendations made by the Commission in regard to research, agricultural education, agricultural improvement, the distribution of agricultural implements, seed and produce, animal husbandry, horticulture, the improvement of statistics and the reorganization of the Agricultural and Veterinary Services were discussed. Provincial representatives explained the action already taken by their respective Local Governments in regard to one or more of these recommendations, and their probable attitude towards those proposals which were still under consideration. While emphasis was laid on the variety, number and financial implications of the Commission's proposals which made the immediate or simultaneous adoption of them impossible, there was unanimity among those assembled as to the desirability of accepting the Commission's report as a basis for rural reconstruction and agricultural advance, and for the progressive application of the main recommendations as the circumstances of each province might permit. As regards the Commission's proposals for re-organising the services engaged in the agricultural and veterinary fields, the general view was that the discretion of the provinces should be left unfettered in respect both of the recruitment and of regulation of the terms of service. The Conference also approved of the principle of promoting and guiding agricultural (including veterinary) research throughout India on a footing of voluntary co-operation between the Government of India and Local Governments through an agency representative of All-India as well as provincial interests, to be set up and financed by the Government of India. His Excellency the Viceroy has since announced the acceptance by the Government of India, though in a modified form, of the recommendation for setting up an

Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. Its duties will be to promote, guide and co-ordinate agricultural and veterinary research throughout India, to train research workers by means of scholarships, and to collate and make available information on research and on agricultural and veterinary matters generally.

The Government of India have decided that the Council should consist of two component parts, a Governing Body and an Advisory Board. The Governing Body, which will be the executive organ of the Council, is to consist of eighteen members and is to be presided over by the Member of the Governor General's Council in charge of the portfolio of agriculture. The other seventeen members will be the Principal Administrative Officer, who will be Vice-Chairman of the Council, nine representatives of the provinces, who will probably be the Provincial Ministers of Agriculture, one representative of the Council of State, two representatives of the Legislative Assembly, representatives of the European and Indian business communities, and two members elected by the Advisory Board. The Advisory Board, whose principal function will be to give expert advice to the Governing Body and to submit for its approval programmes of research enquiry, will consist of 39 members and will be constituted much on the lines proposed by the Royal Commission. As, however, under the scheme, as modified by the Government of India, the representatives of the Council of State, the Legislative Assembly and the European and Indian business communities will be members of the Governing Body, the scientific and university representation on the Advisory Board will be increased.

The Royal Commission recommended that the Council of Agricultural Research should be financed by a lump grant of Rs. 50 lakhs from central revenues, to which additions should be made from time to time as financial conditions permit. The Government of India have decided that for this lump grant should be substituted a lump grant of Rs. 25 lakhs to be paid in instalments supplemented by annual recurring grants of Rs. 7¼ lakhs, of which Rs. 5 lakhs would be devoted to the promotion of research and Rs. 2¼ lakhs to expenditure on establishment, etc. Provision for a lump grant of Rs. 15 lakhs and of a grant of Rs. 1·40 lakhs for the cost of establishment has since been made in the Budget of 1929-30.

It has been decided that the Council of Agricultural Research should not be brought into being as a statutory body, as recom-

mended by the Royal Commission, but should be registered under the Registration of Societies Act of 1860.

The remaining recommendations of the Royal Commission which primarily concern the Government of India, the most important of which are those regarding the expansion of the Pusa Research Institute as an educational institution, the reorganisation of the Imperial Institute of Veterinary Research, the provision of facilities in India for higher veterinary training, the organisation of a Central Agricultural Research Service, the formation of a Central Jute Committee on the lines of the Indian Central Cotton Committee, the future policy of the Government of India in regard to the development of cinchona cultivation, the manufacture of quinine, and the establishment of an Institute of Animal Nutrition were still under the consideration of the Government of India at the close of the year under review. Local Governments are dealing with those recommendations of the Royal Commission with which they are concerned.

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Agricultural education forms an integral part of the activities of Agricultural Departments in India. The objective of the agricultural colleges is to equip students who pass out from them either for posts in Government service or for farming their own land or that of others. No distinction between these classes of students is, however, made in the courses which are provided, and the colleges are in the main regarded as avenues to employment in the agricultural departments. Of the six colleges now working at Poona, Coimbatore, Lyallpur, Nagpur, Cawnpore, and Mandalay, the first four are affiliated to universities. One hundred and forty trained students passed out from these institutions during the year under report after getting either a degree, a diploma or a certificate.

The Agricultural Research Institute at Pusa and the Imperial Institute of Animal Husbandry and Dairying at Bangalore provide facilities for post-graduate courses qualifying for the highest appointments in the agricultural service. During 1927-28, ten students completed their post-graduate training, five each at Pusa and Bangalore. At the close of the year the same number remained in residence at both institutions. Of the 31 students who appeared for the Dairy Diploma examination of the Bangalore Institute, 26 passed.

The scope and character of the agricultural education which should be given in secondary schools have been subjects of acute controversy in India. Divergences of opinion have led to the evolution of two entirely different types of school—the vocational school sponsored in Bombay and the " bias " school, in the adoption of which the Punjab led the way. The first type of school purports to fashion a youth of a cultivating or a land-holding class into a farmer in two years, while the Punjab type mainly aims at giving the boys a " bias " towards agriculture as a vocation. In the words of a circular issued by the Punjab Government in 1923: " The aim is to enrich the middle school course in rural areas by the inclusion of agricultural training, thus to bring it more in keeping with the environment of pupils; and the object is to use agriculture as a means of mental discipline and training and as an important accessory to the general subjects taught in these schools ". The vocational schools have not as yet appealed to the people for whom they are intended. Even in Bombay, which pioneered the experiment, two of the schools opened had to be closed. In Madras, the Central Provinces, and Bengal the results have been even more disappointing. On the other hand, the " bias " schools of the Punjab, where they number about 120, have been so successful that Bombay and the United Provinces have followed their lead by establishing similar schools. The Royal Commission on Agriculture have given it as their opinion that schools of the Punjab type are preferable to those of the Bombay types, and have recommended that no more schools of the latter type should be opened, and that all existing schools in their present form should be closed.

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The Agricultural Departments in India have, during the past 23 years, devoted particular attention to the provision of improved varieties of the principal staple crops of the country. Most of them have been obtained by the usual methods of selection from the mixtures previously grown. While the use of mixed seed consisting of different varieties which varied with respect to quality and yield had resulted both in low yields and lack of uniformity in the produce, the pure lines isolated permit larger crops of superior quality to be raised under the same treatment, and yield a higher economic return more especially when their use is accompanied by manuring and improved cultural methods. When difficulty in

raising suitable selected types has been experienced, either acclimatization or hybridization has been resorted to. The improvement effected was one which appealed to the cultivators, and it is estimated that there are now ten million acres on which improved varieties are cultivated.'" The area has almost doubled since 1923-24. As remarked by the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, considerable as have been the achievements of the Agricultural Departments in introducing improved varieties of crops, there is still a vast field for further work in this direction.

Among all the crops grown, rice stands an easy first in importance. On an average it occupies 35 per cent. of the total cultivated area, and is the staple food of most of the people of the country. With nearly 19 million acres, or 71 per cent. of the total provincial cropped area, Bengal is the most important rice-growing province. In Indrasail and Dudshar the department has transplanted *amans* (winter rices), which are suited for the heavy and light soils, respectively, of Northern and Eastern Bengal. The broadcast *Aus* (autumn rice) group is represented by Mataktara, which yields heavy crops on fertile land, and by a very fine rice called Charnak, which is recommended for lighter soils. During 1927-28, these varieties were estimated to have been grown on an area of 133,000 acres. The superiority of Sabour Dahia when grown on poor soil remains unchallenged in Bihar and Orissa. Originally selected for South Bhagalpur, it has proved generally suitable for other parts of the province. It combines a heavy yield with earliness, and has established a good reputation as a table rice. The three selections representing medium early, medium late, and late rices made at Cuttack have become popular in parts of Orissa on account of their high yield. The eight types of rice distributed from Coimbatore and seven from Aduturai were grown in Madras last year over an area of 104,000 acres. Although Burma carried only 14 per cent. of the total acreage under rice, 50 per cent. of the rice she produced is available for export. She contributes in fact 86 per cent. of all the rice exported in India.

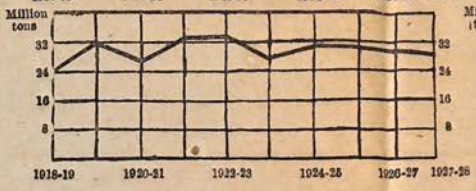
* * *

The Agricultural Department has succeeded in selecting ten types of uniform white grains. These types yield in the mill a higher percentage of whole quality rice than the local varieties commonly grown. The millers pay a premium of Rs. 5 to Rs. 20 per hundred baskets (4,600 lbs.) for these improved grains, and the cultivators

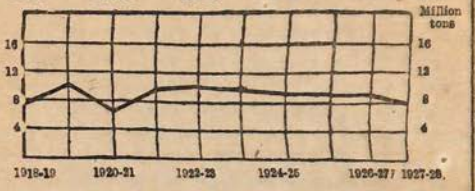
Yield of Certain Principal Crops from 1918-19 to 1927-28.

FOOD CROPS

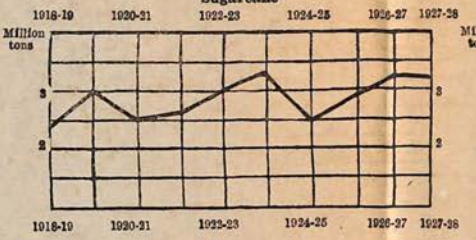
Rice



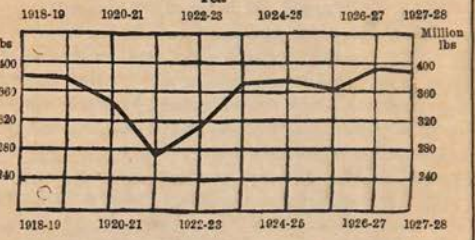
Wheat



Sugarcane

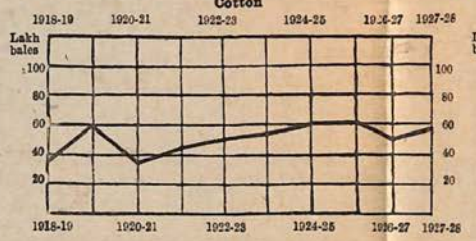


Tea

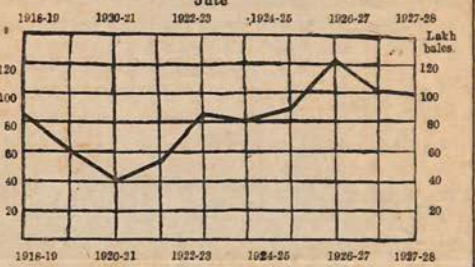


FIBRES

Cotton

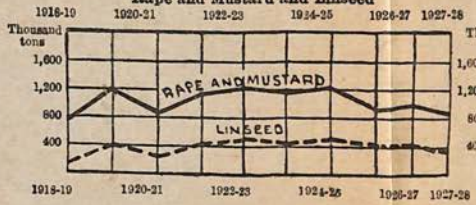


Jute

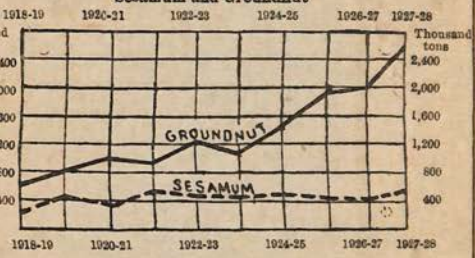


OILSEEDS

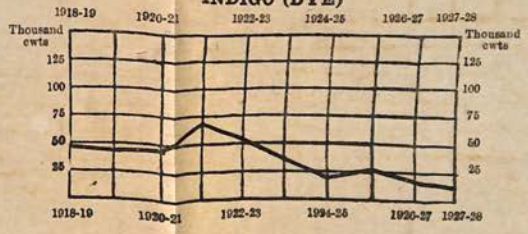
Rape and Mustard and Linseed



Sesamum and Groundnut



INDIGO (DYE)



are said to make an extra profit of Rs. 10 per acre by growing them. The area under these improved varieties has increased from 73,000 to 319,000 acres since 1921-22. Though this area is less than 3 per cent. of the total area under rice in Burma, the leaven is gradually working, and slowly but surely the standard of Burma rice is being raised.

In the Eastern and Southern Circles of the Central Provinces, selected strains of Luchai, Bhondu and Bhata Gurmatia, which are late, medium and early rices, respectively, maintain their popularity. They yield on an average about 450 lbs. more per acre than the local mixtures. Kolamba rice No. 42, selected at Karjat, in the Bombay Presidency, has spread over 40,000 acres in the North Konkan. Another Karjat selection known as Kolamba No. 79 has been found particularly suitable for high-lying areas in the Thana District.

The rice crop of Sind is being dealt with at Larkana, where improved types of Kangani and Sugdasi rices are now available for distribution. Ammophos, the new fertilizer containing 20 per cent. each of ammonia and phosphoric acid, has proved an extraordinarily effective manure for paddy in South and Lower Burma.

* * *

The acreage under wheat in India is second only to that of rice. On an average it is 10 per cent. of the total area under cultivation. Since the inception of the Imperial Agricultural Research Institute at Pusa, the production of high yielding rust-resistant wheats with good grain quality and standing power has been kept in the forefront of its plant-breeding programme. Pusa 12, with its high yielding and tillering power, is one of the most popular wheats in the United Provinces. It is being grown, too, in the Simla Hills, the Eastern Punjab, Sind and some of the Rajputana States. Pusa 4, which is an early wheat of good standing power with a strong straw and a large translucent grain of fine appearance, has proved particularly suitable for Bundelkhand and the North West Frontier Province.

It is most gratifying to know that under the adverse climatic conditions prevailing during the year these Pusa wheats gave much larger yields than the *desi* varieties, and that the demand for Pusa wheat seed has increased very greatly in consequence. The demand from certain localities for a bearded wheat of high yielding powers

has been met by evolving Pusa 52. This wheat has given high yields in Bihar, where, in a year remarkable for the heavy incidence of rust as was that under review, it proved the most rust resistant of all the Pusa wheats. Pusa 111, a smooth-glumed variant of Pusa 4, and Pusa 11, a bearded variant of Federation, now under test, promises to prove " hard " wheats, superior in this respect to even Pusa 4.

There are over nine million acres under wheat in the British Punjab. Of this area 20 per cent. was sown with improved varieties. The variety, the spread of which is encouraged by the Department, is known as Punjab 8 A. First introduced in 1919, Punjab 8 A has now spread over twelve lakhs of acres. The other improved wheats under cultivation are Punjab 11, Pusa 4, Pusa 12 and Punjab 17. Pusa 12 and Pusa 4 have received wide recognition in the United Provinces, which is the second largest wheat-growing tract in India. They occupied the bulk of an area of 1,115,000 acres under improved wheats during the year. In those parts of the province where a bearded wheat is required, Pusa 52 and Pusa 54 are gradually replacing Muzaffernagar wheat, which is too prone to suffer from rust. The area under Pusa 4 in the North West Frontier Province is about 330,000 acres, or 33 per cent. of the total area under wheat in the province.

* * *

The estimated area under sugar cane in India was 2,954,000 acres during the year under review, as against 2,924,000 acres last year, as finally estimated. The estimated production of raw sugar (*gur*) was 3,221,000 tons as compared with 3,255,000 tons last year, as finally estimated. After deducting exports of home-made sugar, re-exports of foreign sugars and stocks on 1st April, 1928, at the principal ports in India, it is estimated that about 886,334 tons of imported and locally manufactured white sugar were consumed in India during the official year 1927-28. This is exclusive of the raw sugar (*gur*) manufactured locally, the whole of which, except about 112,500 tons melted by the refineries and about 6,300 tons exported, was consumed in the country.

The Imperial Cane-Breeding Station at Coimbatore continued to breed new varieties of sugar cane. The new canes evolved at this station are now being grown successfully in Northern India on over a lakh of acres. The cane most popular in the United Provinces is Co. 290. Under the Java system of cultivation, with

a rainfall of 42 inches, supplemented by 25 inches of irrigation water, this cane gave during the year an average yield of 45 tons of cane and 4·4 tons of commercial sugar per acre. The bulk of the cane crushed in some of the sugar factories in North Bihar now consists of Co. varieties. Co. 213 has established its reputation in Bengal and is likely to replace both the local canes and Tanna. In Assam Co. 210 and Co. 213 have given very high yields, both as plant and ratoon crops. In the Punjab Co. 205 continues to gain favour on the rain-fed lands, while Co. 223 has given a good account of itself in irrigated areas.

The most important cane investigation in Bombay is directed towards the cheapening of the cost of growing the crop in the Deccan. J. 247 is rapidly becoming popular in Madras on account of its resistance to disease and drought; in some localities 85 per cent. of the cane grown is of this variety. The economics of the system of short-planting for seed have been carefully worked out at Anakpalle; it shows an increased profit over the local methods of over Rs. 118 per acre. The McGlashhan furnace, or Sindewahi furnace as it is sometime called, is becoming very popular in the cane-growing tracts of the Madras Presidency. It is reckoned that the saving in fuel consequent on the use of this furnace amounts to Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 per acre of cane dealt with.

* * *

During the year under review, the area under cotton was 24,767,000 acres, as compared with 24,882,000 acres in 1926-27, as finally estimated. The yield per acre, expressed in terms of lint, rose from 81 to 95 lbs., and the total estimated yield of cotton in 1927-28 was 5,896,000 bales of 400 lbs., as against 5,024,000 bales for the previous season. There was a slight improvement in the demand for Indian cotton from Europe and China, but the strike in the Bombay mills was responsible for a reduction in local consumption of three lakhs of bales. The imports of American cotton amounted to 67,000 bales as against 325,000 bales during the previous season.

The Agricultural Department's work on this crop aims at improving the quality of the lint and at increasing the yield per acre. The improved strains introduced were sown during 1927-28 on over three million acres. In Madras the strain Co. 440 maintained its superiority over the other Cambodia strains. It gives a higher yield; it is more vigorous in growth and it is less susceptible

to the attacks of insect pests. Further spinning tests have confirmed the view that this cotton is capable of spinning 36·36s warp.

At Hagari, H. 62 has for the fourth year in succession proved itself superior to H. 25, both in yield and ginning outturn. Gadag No. 1, a selection made by the Bombay Department for the Kumpta tract, has already established a reputation. About 150 bales of Dhulia, which spins up to 20s warp, have been placed on the market this year. The Economic Botanist in the Central Provinces has succeeded in isolating an improved type known as *Neglectum Verem* No. 262. It gives a ginning outturn of 36, is wilt resistant, and spins up to 24s warp. The local mills have shown great interest in this cotton. The elimination of the *Khaki* lint in the Chanda "Jari" crop has also been successful, and seeds of a pure white strain have been distributed. The United Provinces Department's selection, Cawnpore 402, continues to maintain its superiority.

The application of the Cotton Transport Act to parts of the Bombay Presidency has led to an improvement in the quality of Surat, Kumpta and Dharwar cottons. The three zones of the Madras Presidency to which the Act has been applied are those in which "Northerns and Westerns", "Cambodia" and "Tinnevelly" cotton are grown. The Indian Central Cotton Committee continued to give considerable attention to the operation of the Cotton Ginning and Pressing Factories Act, the organization of primary cotton markets and the marketing of improved cottons.

The Director of the Committee's Technological Laboratory tested during the year 59 samples of cotton for various agricultural officers. The Institute of Plant Industry at Indore has tackled the problem of an early maturing cotton suitable for the Malwa plateau. The Indian Central Cotton Committee now finances 13 provincial research schemes, of which five deal with cotton breeding, three with cotton physiology, two with cotton diseases and three with cotton pests. The pink bollworm research scheme in the United Provinces has conclusively proved that the sowing of heat-treated seed at an expenditure of six annas per acre yields a profit of Rs. 30.

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Although Jute occupies only 1·3 per cent. of the total area under cultivation in British India, it contributes 26 per cent. of the export trade of the country. The record crop of the previous

year having resulted in a drop in the price of the raw product the area shrank by 12 per cent. in 1927. Nearly 85 per cent. of the area is in Bengal, and it is to the credit of the local Agricultural Department that it has isolated and brought into general cultivation high yielding, disease-resistant strains of the two main species cultivated, *viz.*, *Corchorus Capsularis* and *C. olltorius*. On an average these departmental selections yield 25 per cent. more fibre than the local varieties. During the year under report they occupied nearly a million acres, or over 33 per cent. of the total area under the crop in the province. The rapidity with which they are spreading will be evident from the fact that the area under these improved varieties has increased by over 200 per cent. in four years, and by almost 100 per cent. in one year. There is a growing demand for them in Bihar, and Assam, too, where they have proved the most profitable of the varieties tried. The cultivation of jute is making progress in the Ganjar tract of the United Provinces, where the agricultural conditions are similar to those which obtain over large areas in Bengal.

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On an area of over a million acres cropped with tobacco, India produces nearly 1,000 million lbs. of dry leaf. She produces about 20 per cent. of the total quantity of tobacco produced in the world, and about 90 per cent. of the total quantity grown in the British Empire. In spite of her pre-eminent position among tobacco-growing countries, India does not enjoy a proportionate share of the international trade in this commodity. The reason is that practically all the indigenous tobaccos of India yield a dark, coarse leaf which gives a strong and pungent smoke: for cigarettes they are not suitable. At Pusa, the production of a high grade cigarette tobacco is being attempted. The well-known American variety, Adcock, is being acclimatised. The conditions of cultivation suitable to its successful culture are being studied, and improved methods of curing and maturing the leaf are being tried. A considerable measure of success has been achieved in all these three directions. Samples of leaf produced in the past season were sent to experts in England for valuation. They gave it as their opinion that they were the best they had obtained from India so far. The high prices realised for the 1926-27 crop have given a great impetus to the cultivation of Virginian varieties (Adcock and White Burley) in the Guntur District of Madras, and the area under them is now estimated at 25,000 acres. The varieties of cigar tobacco

imported from Sumatra and Manilla, and grown at Rangpur, have shown that cheroot tobacco of a high quality can be produced in Bengal.

* * *

Over 8 per cent. of the total cultivated area in India is on an average cropped with oil-seeds, *viz.*, linseed, rape, mustard, sesamum, castor seed and ground nut. The United Provinces and Bihar, between them, carry half the total acreage under linseed, but the types grown are inferior as regards size of seed and oil-content to those grown in Peninsular India. As both classes also differ in their root-systems, hybridization is being employed at Pusa to produce a large-seeded race with vegetative and root systems suited to the soils of the Gangetic alluvium. The fourth hybrid generation under study contains many plants which appear to possess the desired characters. Of the pure types selected from unit species, Type 124 has consistently maintained its superiority in oil-content over the earlier selections (Types 12 and 121) during the past three seasons. Ground nut has, in recent years, become a very popular crop in some provinces. The area of over five million acres sown in 1927-28 was over four times as large as that in 1918-19. The introduction of early varieties which do not require irrigation has raised ground nut to the position of being the most important *kharif* (autumn) oil-seed crop grown in the Bombay Presidency. Twenty years ago its cultivation was practically unknown in Upper Gujarat, Khandesh and Dharwar. The area in these three districts is now in the neighbourhood of four lakhs of acres. The crop has also invaded the cotton tracts of the Central Provinces. In Burma the area under it has increased from nothing to five lakhs of acres within the last 20 years. The Madras Department is demonstrating a method by which cocoanuts can be raised under a dry system of cultivation. Trees in several of the plots planted in 1924 have already begun to flower. This is a great advance over the local system under which trees are not expected to begin to bear till they are ten years old or more. As a result of these demonstrations, lands hitherto lying waste are being planted.

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In the past the Indian cultivator relied very largely on Nature to provide food for his cattle in the form of pasture. In course of time most of these pasture lands had to be ploughed up to provide

bread for the ever-increasing human population, and the supply of food available for cattle was thus reduced very greatly. The cattle over a large part of India have now to subsist on fodder composed of stalks and leaves of over-ripe grain crops, supplemented by a certain amount of stubble-grazing. A diet of such small nutritive value, which moreover is hardly sufficient in quantity for even half the year, is one of the principal contributory causes towards the deterioration of the bovine population of India, and the work done for their improvement will not bear full fruit until and unless the Indian cultivator is taught to make better provision for feeding them. If cattle-owners could be induced to grow fodder crops and to store fodder in the green state in silo pits or in stacks or barns after drying, as is done on Government farms, they would be secured to some extent against fodder famines which are one of the great barriers to steady progress, not only in cattle-breeding but in agriculture generally in this country. The most valuable leguminous fodder crop introduced by the Agricultural Department is Egyptian clover or *berseem*. It is now being grown successfully in Bihar, Sind, the Central Provinces, the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province. At Pusa a large area of irrigated land, which was previously lying waste, is laid down to *berseem* every year, after which a second crop of early maize is raised. Since it was first introduced on the Tarrnab farm in 1911, *berseem* has replaced Persian clover on 12,000 acres in the North-West Frontier Province, where the practice is to grow clover in every irrigated field once in three years. Among the new fodders introduced in Bihar and Orissa, Rata grass (*Anthistiria eiliata*) and soya beans are the most promising. Perennial fodders like Elephant grass and Guinea grass are being popularised in parts of Assam. Much attention is now being given on Government farms in India to the making of silage. Green fodders are stored in pit silos towards the end of the rains and fed to cattle in the dry weather, when grazing areas are parched and bare. This method of conserving fodder in the green state is being demonstrated in the villages.

A considerable improvement, both in the yield and quality of grass, has resulted in two fairly large forest areas placed under rotational grazing in the Bombay Presidency. In an experimental area on the sea coast, the yield of grass increased phenomenally when the first growth was turned into silage and the second growth was cut or grazed or both.

* * *

In addition to the economic work on crops a considerable amount of research work bearing on fundamental problems of agricultural chemistry, agricultural bacteriology, plant pathology, mycology and entomology is being done by the various departments of agriculture in India. Among the investigations in progress during the year may be mentioned those dealing with the lime requirements of soils, the reclamation of saline lands, the possibility of producing artificial farmyard manure, the detection of adulterants in ghee (clarified butter), the mosaic disease of sugarcane, and the control of pests infecting cereals in storage.

When investigating the cause of acidity in laterite soils, the Agricultural Chemist at Pusa observed that a rod of pure antimony dipped into moist soil develops an electric potential proportional to the hydrogen ion value, and that it is eminently suited for use in determining the lime requirements of soils. Based on this observation, a portable apparatus has been designed for employment in the field.

The possibility of reclaiming about 300,000 acres of *bara* (saline) lands in the Montgomery District of the Punjab is under investigation at a special station at Harappa Road. The keeping of such lands continuously under water for a period of two or more months has produced promising results. The possibilities of producing artificial farmyard manure on a large scale by compositing the waste products of a farm are under investigation at various centres. Success has been achieved in converting such materials as sorghum stubble, sugarcane trash, gram stalks, prickly pear, plantain stems, weeds, etc., into manure of excellent composition.

In field trials carried out simultaneously at Pusa, Netarhat (Chota Nagpur) and Aligarh (United Provinces), a compost of bone meal, sulphur, sand and charcoal gave higher yields of potatoes than either bone meal or superphosphate. Its superiority was equally marked in plots carrying crops of wheat and onions.

The acetic ether test evolved at Pusa for the detection of the adulteration of butter and *ghee* by animal fat has proved to be effective as a test for cow butters and for buffalo butters made from the milk of animals not fed on cotton seed. In the case of butter made from the milk of buffaloes fed on cotton seed, Halphen's test should be applied, and if a positive result is obtained a slight modification of the proportion of acetic ether and alcohol permits of a reliable deduction being made. The test, however, does not

seem to apply when the object is to detect adulteration with "vegetable" fat.

Another year's work on the storage of wheat under mercury vapour has definitely proved that the method is quite satisfactory for household purposes. Mercury, while effectively protecting wheat against the ravages of *Sitophilus orysae*, does not adversely affect either its germinating capacity or its food value.

* * *

The Royal Commission on Agriculture have pointed out that British India has 61 cattle and buffaloes per 100 of human population and 67 for every 100 acres of cultivated area. We have thus twice as many cattle per cent. of population as other thickly-populated countries such as Great Britain, Germany and Japan, and almost three times as many per 100 of population as Egypt, where the general conditions under which agriculture is carried on are almost similar to those which obtain in India. Even with such obvious overstocking, the draught power available for tillage operations is inadequate, and there is a general shortage of milk and milk products. Such a position the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India ascribe to what they call a vicious circle. They proceed to describe it in the following words: "The number of cattle within a district depends upon, and is regulated by, the demand for bullocks. The worse the conditions for rearing efficient cattle, the greater the number kept tends to be. Cows become less fertile and their calves become undersized and do not satisfy cultivators who, in the attempt to secure useful bullocks, breed more and more cattle. As numbers increase or as the increase of tillage encroaches on the better grazing land, the pressure on the available supply of food leads to still further poorness in the cows. As cattle grow smaller in size and greater in number, the rate at which conditions become worse for the breeding of good livestock is accelerated. For it must not be supposed that the food required by a hundred small cattle is the same as that needed by fifty of double the size. As cattle become smaller, the amount of food needed in proportion to their size increases. Thus large numbers of diminutive cattle are a serious drain on a country in which the fodder supply is so scarce at certain seasons of the year as it is in India. The process having gone so far, India having acquired so large a cattle population and the size of the animals in many tracts having fallen so low, the task of reversing the process of deteriora-

tion and of improving the livestock of this country is now a gigantic one; but on an improvement in its cattle depends to a degree that is little understood the prosperity of its agriculture and the task must be faced."

Though the cattle problem in India is admittedly a formidable one, it is believed that improvement can be effected by selective breeding, cross-breeding and better feeding. The different breeds are, therefore, being studied, and pure bred herds established with a view to providing a foundation whereon the edifice of improved cattle-breeding and dairying can, in course of time, be raised. Given this foundation it is possible to raise breeds of cattle which will give good draught bullocks and profitable milch cows. Much attention is also being paid to the question both of growing and storing fodders. Luscious fodders unknown in India previously have been introduced in the rotation, methods of storing fodders in silos and in the dry state have been devised, and accurate information regarding the digestibility and nutritive values of different foodstuffs and fodders is being collected. With the object of demonstrating the possibilities of transporting milk from rural areas where it is relatively cheap to urban centres where it is dear, schemes have been promoted for supplying milk to the towns of Calcutta, Nagpur, Muzafferpore, Agra, Hathras, Naini Tal, Jhansi, and Lucknow. Persons capable of taking charge of such schemes are being trained at the Imperial Institute of Animal Husbandry and Dairying at Bangalore, and expert advice in technical matters connected with cattle-breeding and dairying has been made available to the provincial departments of agriculture, city municipal corporations and private individuals.

With a view to stimulating and to some extent co-ordinating the efforts being made in the various provinces and Indian States towards cattle improvement, the Government of India have established at Bangalore, a Central Bureau for Animal Husbandry and Dairying, with the Imperial Dairy Expert as Secretary. The first task to which the Bureau has applied itself is that of encouraging the formation of herds of pure bred cattle by private owners.

Cattle-breeding operations at Pusa are being directed along two lines: (1) a herd of Sahiwals or Montgomeries is being graded up by selective breeding, and (2) the poorer milkers of the same breed are being crossed with Ayrshire bulls of high milking pedigree with the primary object of obtaining reliable information regarding the inheritance of observable characters in the crosses. In the

pure Sahiwal herd, six cows gave during the year under report over 4,800 lbs. of milk each, in a lactation period of 304 days. Among the half-bred progeny of rejected Sahiwal cows sired by Ayrshire or Holstein bulls, the yields of eight cows were over 7,600 lbs. In the Montgomery herd the average yield per cow per day was 12·7 lb., while in the cross-bred herd, it was 21·0 lb. The average percentage of cows in milk was 51 for the Montgomery herd and 68 for the cross-bred herd. The cross-breds give much more milk than the pure bred Montgomery cows and a greater number of calves over a period of years. It must, however, be remembered that half-bred animals are less hardy and disease-resistant than those of pure indigenous breeds, and that these disadvantages tend to become more accentuated by the further introduction of foreign blood. Having produced a cross of good milking capacity by cross-breeding, attempts are now being made to adopt the cross to local conditions by mating half-bred dams with Sahiwal bulls of good milch pedigree. The ¼-Ayrshires thus produced are promising: one of them gave during the year under review over 4,800 lbs. of milk in a lactation period of 304 days.

In accordance with the breeding policy adopted at Pusa, most of the cross-bred cows on the Bangalore and Wellington farms are now sired by Indian bulls of good milch pedigree. At Karnal, pure herds of Thar-Parkar and Hariana cattle and of Burra buffaloes; and at Wellington and Bangalore herds of Scindi cows are being built up. Six cows each of the Hariana and Thar-Parkar breeds gave yields of over 3,500 lbs. of milk at Karnal during the year under review. The creamery at Anand is being run as a butter factory. It is being utilised, too, for experimental work in connection with the transport of fresh milk to Bombay and the manufacture of *ghee*, condensed milk and casein.

In feeding experiments on the nutrition of growing animals at Bangalore, spear grass silage combined with a low allowance of concentrated food induced a higher increase in weight than spear grass hay or *ragi* (*Eleusine coracana*) straw combined with even a high allowance of concentrate. In experiments designed to determine the relation between the digestive capacity and milk yield of different breeds of milch cows, cross-bred cows consumed 50 per cent. more food than Scindi cows. Scindi cows on going dry consumed less food: this was not noticeable in the case of cross-breds. When the concentrate was reduced, the latter kept up their food consumption by eating more roughage.

With a view to permitting the landing of horses, asses, mules, kine, bulls, bullocks, buffaloes, goats and other ruminating animals and of swine at the port of Karachi, the Government of India issued, on the 5th January, 1928, the necessary notifications under section 3 of the Live Stock Importation Act, 1898 (IX of 1898).

* * *

With the abatement of the ravages of rinderpest among animals in the eastern provinces, the total reported mortality from contagious diseases dropped from 322,331 in 1926-27 to 311,222 in 1927-28. Rinderpest alone accounted for almost 60 per cent. of the deaths. The provinces which suffered most were Burma, Madras and the United Provinces, each of which lost through rinderpest over 30,000 bovines, while the Punjab recorded more than 20,000 deaths from this fell disease. The number of preventive inoculations performed rose from 1,527,213 to 1,727,055. The gradual rise in the number of cattle voluntarily offered for protection indicates that the value of western prophylactic methods is being more and more appreciated by cattle-owners in this country.

The number of hospitals and dispensaries maintained for the treatment of disease among cattle rose from 786 to 831, and the cases treated therein from 1,904,478 to 2,106,107. In addition, 1,320,729 cases were treated by itinerant veterinary officers, as against 1,226,256 in the previous year. The total number of cases treated was 3,426,836 as compared with 3,130,734 in 1926-27.

In addition to the measures adopted for saving cattle from the ravages of disease, the Veterinary Department performs the important function of emasculating inferior and undesirable bulls. During 1927-28, no less than 408,396 scrub bulls were castrated in British India, of which as many as 272,185 were dealt with in the Punjab. The introduction of the Burdizzo castrator, by which an animal can be rendered sterile without cutting the skin or shedding blood, has rendered the operation unobjectionable to the religious susceptibilities of the people, and it is to be hoped that this will, in course of time, result in an appreciable increase in the number of animals offered for castration, particularly in provinces where old prejudices are hard to uproot.

A natural periodic decline in the prevalence and intensity of outbreaks of rinderpest in some parts of India reduced the demand for the products of the Imperial Institute of Veterinary Research

at Muktesar from 6,318,758 doses in 1926-27 to 6,133,509 in 1927-28. The decrease in the demand for anti-rinderpest serum was to some extent counter-balanced by the increase in the demand for other prophylactics such as hæmorrhagic septicæmia and black quarter. This satisfactory position has been attained mainly by developing the resources of the sub-station at Izatnagar, where the whole of the required anti-rinderpest and anti-hæmorrhagic septicæmia sera is now manufactured.

For the training of students in veterinary science there are colleges at Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and Lahore, and schools at Insein and Taunggyi in Burma. A veterinary college is being constructed at Patna for Bihar and Orissa; it will begin to admit students in July, 1929. This college will have a cattle breeding and dairy farm attached to it, in which students will be given practical instruction in animal husbandry and dairying. The number of students who passed the diploma examinations of the college was 75, as against 59 in the previous year and 50 in 1925-26. The specialised short courses provided at the Imperial Institute of Veterinary Research, Muktesar, were taken by 18 officers and subordinates of the Civil and Military Veterinary Departments.

* * *

The progress of agriculture and the welfare of the agricultural population of India depends a great deal upon the Forest Department. In India the Forest Departments are organised on a provincial basis in the same way as the Agricultural Departments now are. As in the case of education and research in Agriculture, the Central Government shoulders the burden of expenditure on research into forestry problems and certain forms of technical education.

The great forests of India are located for the most part in the hills, but there are forests and woods in the plains interspersed with cultivation. More than 20 per cent. of the surface of British India is land classified as forest and administered by the Forest Department. In spite of this, however, such a large proportion of the forests is situated in high and inaccessible hill localities that it is generally true to say that the most of them are inaccessible to cultivators, the majority of whom derive no direct benefits from the forests proper. Nevertheless, there is cultivation on the fringes to be found within their limits amounting in the aggregate

to a considerable area. More than 30 years ago the forests of India were officially divided into the following four classes:—forests which are important for climatic or physical reasons; forests from which the main supplies of valuable or useful timbers are derived; forests which yield the minor timber or other products or small supplies of the more valuable timbers; and lastly, forests which are really grazing grounds. This classification shows how largely the forests of a country can influence its general welfare, for they are more than a mere factor in its economy. They are part of its very make-up, influencing its climate and other natural conditions, not, perhaps, so powerfully as its hills and mountains, but still appreciably, and capable of proving an immensely valuable asset in its commerce, its agriculture, and its animal husbandry. Here, however, we are concerned only to show how the work of the Indian Forest Department concerns the general welfare of the people of India, and more particularly of the agricultural population of this country.

The great mass of the agricultural population derive no direct benefit from the forests proper, but the indirect benefits are immense, and in considering them we can start with the very foundations of agriculture—with climate, rainfall and the preservation of cultivable soil. Forests hold together the fertile surface soil: they store water and dole it out gradually, thus preventing disastrous floods and the formation of ravines; by checking erosion they prevent good soil from being washed into the rivers, and carried away to waste. They also directly increase the fertility of the land, being capable of forming rich vegetable mould even from mineral soils. Finally, in India, forests are a valuable asset in times of scarcity or famine, for they yield vast quantities of fodder and provide edible fruits and roots, of which the poor readily avail themselves. Advantage of the visit of the Royal Agricultural Commission has been taken by forest officers to lay stress on the immense benefits that forestry can bestow on the cultivator by providing him with wood fuel so that cow-dung may be used as manure. Like nearly every other division of the earth's surface, India was once far more densely wooded than she is at present. It seems probable that for centuries before the British Government in India took cognisance of India's forest problem, the process of deforestation went on steadily. The historic forests of the Gangetic plain have been sadly depleted, and although in some places the disappearance of the forests made for the spread of cultivation, in

other places the once wooded slopes and plains are now barren and desolate. As the traveller goes about India he will encounter many examples of the resentment of nature at the thoughtless or ignorant despoiling of her beneficial provision of forest trees and lesser growths of undergrowth and grass. He will see ravines and barren lands pouring down sand steadily to encroach on good silt. Dim traces in now sterile hills of dimunitive irrigation channels and tunnels mark the spots where springs and streams, long since dried up, enabled a vanished population to reap a harvest from ground which brings forth in these days nothing better than cactus or dwarf palm. Where there is good soil it cannot yield its full return to the cultivator since the manure which ought to go into it has to be burnt in place of the wood fuel now unobtainable. Fortunately, the forests of the high hills in which India's mighty rivers rise were always too vast and remote for them to suffer from human inroads. Had they been deforested in days gone by, it is certain that many of the great irrigation schemes of India, which depend for their existence on the perennial water supply of the great rivers, would not have come into being, and the almost incalculable benefits which they have conferred upon the country would have been lost. For the past two generations it has been the duty of the Indian Forest Department to act as nature's steward, to reclaim for her as much as possible of her lost possessions, and to protect her from the ravages which folly or ignorance would still inflict upon her. Naturally enough their work sometimes brings the officers of the Department into conflict with those who are affected by their operations. Restrictions upon the grazing of cattle, the felling of trees, and the lighting of fires, all of which are so necessary for the conservation of India's forest wealth, are frequently resented by those classes of the population whose activities are thereby restrained, and from time to time agitations, more or less serious, are set on foot against the Department. But on the other hand, the more sagacious of those who are affected by the working of the Forest Department realise that they must forego intermediate and temporary advantages if they are to receive the permanent benefits which the work of the Forest Department can bestow, and public opinion is in some places being enlisted in support of the Department. In Madras, for example, considerable tracts of forests covering, in the aggregate, about 3,200 square miles have been handed over to the management of village panchayats or committees of leading men, who, it is believed, have understood

their responsibilities. A special officer attached to the provincial Board of Revenue scrutinizes the work of the panchayats. The Board decides how many cattle should be allowed to graze in any particular panchayat area, and also settles the rent for that area, but everything else is left to the panchayats themselves. At present it is not possible to say whether this system is likely to be extended to other provinces, but an officer belonging to the Forest Department of the United Provinces has recently been put on special duty to study the working of the Madras scheme.

It will hardly be denied by any one who studies the conditions that the provincial forest departments have done their best to hold the balance even between the rights and conveniences of the agriculturists and the latter's and the country's permanent interests. Even if we exclude Burma, no fewer than 12½ million animals graze in Government forests at nominal fees varying from 2 annas to Rs. 2 per annum, and of these animals, 4½ millions get free grazing. Moreover, it is estimated that the total value of rights and concessions enjoyed by villagers every year from the administered forests amounts to more than half a million sterling. Rights so extensive, unless carefully controlled and scientifically regulated, are capable of inflicting severe damage upon the forest resources of the country, and Mr. A. Rodger, the Inspector General of Forests and President of the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun, has spoken of the "terrible damage caused in India by excessive grazing". A few figures will show how extensive are the rights of grazing enjoyed by villagers in Government forests. All unclassed forests, or those areas which have not been reserved or protected and are for the most part situated in inaccessible and undeveloped tracts, are open to grazing, whilst of 85,264 square miles of reserved and protected forest, excluding Burma, 44,327 square miles are open to grazing. More than a quarter of all the cattle of the Central Provinces and Berar graze in Government forests, and the percentage of the cattle of the Punjab and Bombay which graze in the Government forests of those two provinces is also appreciable. It is commonly assumed by opponents of the Forest Department that an almost limitless extension of grazing in Government forests is possible. The figures already quoted show that this is not true. In fact, it has been authoritatively estimated that the useful grazing land enclosed in forests, where neither grazing nor grass-cutting is at present allowed, is probably less than 5 per cent. of the total area available as grazing land in British India. The Forests Depart-

ment now manages to return an appreciable net profit to the Government of India every year. In 1926-27 this profit was 2 crores and 64 lakhs, a very gratifying result when it is remembered that in neither the United States nor Canada are the State forests paying concerns. There is no reason to doubt that the Indian forests will become increasingly profitable to the Indian Government as improvements in methods of transportation, in silvicultural research, and other technical matters are effected, and as the work now being carried on in the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun is enlarged. The area of the forests in connection with which the Research Institute works is 160,000,000 acres, indeed more, because Indian States have also large forests in addition to the above area. This is about one quarter of the area of British India, and the gross revenue realised from the forests in the year 1926-27 was Rs. 6·19 crores. In the year 1912-13 the gross revenue was Rs. 3·22 crores. This all but doubling of the gross revenue in 13 years may fairly be ascribed in part to the work done in forest research in India since 1906. This research is principally economic, but a great deal of work had also been done by the silvicultural and chemical branches of the Research Institute, and the results of this have already been apparent. In the botanical and entomological branches it is naturally more difficult to make visible and measurable progress within a short period of years.

Mr. A. Rodger, O.B.E., held the post of Inspector General of Forests and President, Forest Research Institute and College, throughout the year under review. Two Indian probationers for the Indian Forest Service completed their training at the Forest College, Dehra Dun, in November, 1928, but one failed to qualify in the final examination and was not appointed to the service. The second candidate joined the Department and was posted to Madras. The Government of India also appointed a Muhammadan candidate who had completed his training in the United Kingdom and had undergone a short course at the Forest College at Dehra Dun. Three Indians and one Anglo-Indian, who were successful at the Indian Forest Service competitive examination in August, were selected as probationers and joined the Forest College for training at the end of the year. The concession granted last year to certain Indian students who were undergoing, or had undergone, at their own expense, a course of Forestry in the United Kingdom and had, owing to changes in the regulations governing recruitment to this service, no chance of appearing as candidates at the examination in

1928, is to be extended in 1929 to students who went to England before 1926 and who by taking their final examination in the summer of 1928 were prevented from competing in India in that year.

During the year the draft rules to be made under section 96B (2) of the Government of India Act, to govern recruitment to the Indian Forest Service, were sanctioned by the Secretary of State.

Proposals for the reorganisation of the Indian Forest Service cadre in Assam were sanctioned by the Secretary of State during the year. The scheme involved an increase in the strength of the Indian Forest Service in the Province from 14 to 17, including the revival of a second post of Conservator.

The rules for the entry into the Forest Department as Rangers of Indian non-commissioned officers of His Majesty's Indian Army and Indian State services were revised and circulated.

The institution of a special course of training for Indian Forest Service and Provincial Forest Service officers at the Forest Research Institute and College, Dehra Dun, was sanctioned during the year. The course will be open to all forest officers who may be deputed by local Governments and will not last more than six months, *i.e.*, from July to the end of December each year. No syllabus has been prescribed, the wishes of local Governments for the training of their officers in one or more subjects being followed as far as possible. A fee of Rs. 100 per mensem will be levied, and no diploma will be granted.

India was represented by 8 delegates at the Empire Forestry Conference which was held in Australia and New Zealand in the autumn of 1928. The delegation was led by Sir Peter Clutterbuck, Timber Adviser to the High Commissioner for India and recently Inspector General of Forests. Much progress was made in the advancement and co-ordination of the practice of the science of forestry in the British Empire.

All branches of the Forest Research Institute continued to expand their several spheres of work. The Entomologist devised practical remedies for the defoliators of Sissoo in irrigated plantations, and also carried out extensive statistical and biological studies of teak and other defoliators, and the tropical species of pinhole borers. Important advances were also made in the Forest Economist's branch. The investigations regarding the utilisation of bamboos for pulp were brought to a successful conclusion, and have resulted in commercial activities in this connection both in England and India. Efforts to forward the use of Indian hard-

woods in railway carriage building and other timber-using industries have also borne fruit, and the consumption of hardwoods other than teak increased considerably. The importance of data obtained from the work done in the Timber-testing Section has been increasingly appreciated by commercial firms, Government factories, etc. Improvements have also been evolved in the preservative treatment specifications for sleepers, which have resulted in a daily saving of several hundreds of rupees in one Railway's treating plant alone. Progress has also been evident in research on both kiln-seasoning and minor forest products, much of the work done in the latter section being supplemented by important investigations of a highly technical character undertaken by the Bio-Chemist.

* * *

The record of the work performed by the Survey of India during the year under review is very creditable. It has carried out much work for other Government departments and private parties, in addition to its topographical and geodetic programme.

Lt.-Colonels R. H. Thomas, D.S.C., R.E., and C. M. Browne, C.M.G., D.S.C., R.E., represented the Survey of India at the Empire Surveyors' Conference, which was held in London and Southampton in July, 1928. They also attended the International Geographical Congress held at Cambridge in the same month. Captain G. Bomford, R.E., attended the International Conference on Wireless Longitudes at Leyden.

During the Survey year 1927-28 an area of approximately 48,000 square miles was surveyed, mostly on the scales of one inch and half inch to one mile. The Bhutanese Durbar lent one surveyor and permitted officers of the Survey of India to cross the frontier for the first time. This resulted in 476 square miles of incidental survey of previously unexplored country, and in triangulation which will improve traverse adjustments in the adjoining Bengal Duars.

In addition to a normal programme of forest, riverain and Cantonment surveys and those in connection with the Sutlej Valley Irrigation and the Sind Lloyd Barrage projects, the following special surveys were carried out at the request of local Governments, other departments or private parties:—

North-West Frontier Province.—Cadastral and boundary surveys in Peshawar and Dera Ismail Khan districts.

Baluchistan.—One-inch surveys in the Kalat State and in the Bolan Pass and Sibi districts.

Punjab and Delhi.—Bazar survey at Paharganj, New Delhi.

Boundary surveys in Gurgaon district.

Kangra Valley development survey in Kangra district.

Rajputana Agency and Ajmer.—Four-inch survey of the Kailana Tank Catchment area in the Jodhpur State.

A special 16-inch survey of the Mayo College grounds in Ajmer.

United Provinces.—Boundary surveys in Bulandshahr district.

Hyderabad.—Special 3-inch survey of part of Hyderabad City and environs.

Mysore.—Large-scale surveys of private estates in the Kadur and Hassan district.

Madras Presidency and Madras States.—Large-scale surveys of private tea, coffee and rubber estates in the Coimbatore, Malabar and Nilgiri districts and in Cochin State; 4-inch survey of mining concession areas in Sandur State.

Bengal Presidency.—Air survey in Malda district for settlement surveys by the Air Survey Co., Ltd., with the aid of Survey of India officers.

Assam.—Tea-garden surveys in Sylhet district.

Burma.—Large-scale survey of a rubber estate.

The scientific operations of the department during the year included the following:—

(*i*) Longitude observations, Dehra Dun. The results of longitude operations undertaken during October and November, 1926, were scrutinized in the light of data received from the other Observatories participating in the project. These confirm the value provisionally obtained and make the longitude of Dehra Dun 0·02 seconds of time east of that obtained in 1894-96. The reception of the daily wireless time signals from Bordeaux and Rugby is being continued in order to see if there is any variation in longitude.

(*ii*) Magnetic and Meteorological observations at Dehra Dun Observatory. During the year 1927-28 the

Magnetographs recorded 3 magnetic storms of great intensity: The Omori Seismograph recorded 35 earthquakes, of which three were of considerable and one of great intensity.

(*iii*) The inspection of the Tidal Observatories at Bassein, Rangoon, Elephant Point and Basra, and the preparation and publication of the Tide Tables for Basra and Indian ports for 1929. The predictions for the Tide Tables for 1930 were carried out with the Tide Predicting Machine.

(*iv*) Gravity and deflection observations. In Sind and Baluchistan the force of gravity, as well as plumb-line deflections in the meridian and prime vertical, were observed at 13 stations—3 stations near the coast in Las Bela State, 4 stations in the Indus Delta, 1 station at Hyderabad and 5 stations in Chagai district of Baluchistan. Gravity observations alone were made at 3 stations in Chagai district. Except for one considerable northerly deflection near the Rann of Cutch no exceptional results were obtained.

(*v*) Secondary triangulation in the North-West Frontier Province. The work consisted of two short extensions; the first from the Great Indus principal series, about Campbellpore, to the neighbourhood of Peshawar, a total length of 60 miles; and the second running from the North Baluchistan Series, north-west of Bannu, up the Kurram Valley as far as Parachinar, and in the opposite direction to Razmak, a total length of 90 miles. A small Wild universal theodolite was used by the observer with very satisfactory results.

(*vi*) Levelling operations. A total of 1,431 miles of high precision levelling was done. This includes branch lines not reckoned in the net mileage. Secondary levelling of 1,085 miles for the Lloyd Barrage Project of the Bombay Government and of 14 miles for the Baveli Irrigation Project of the Punjab Government was also carried out during the year. Some tertiary levelling was also done for the latter project.

(*vii*) Scientific Computations. The most notable contribution to geodesy during the year was the interesting address

on the Figure of the Earth, delivered by Dr. J. deGraaff Hunter as President of the Mathematics and Physics Section of the 15th Indian Science Congress, held at Calcutta in January, 1928.

Numerous calculations dealing with the investigation into the most suitable Figure of the Earth were undertaken. Computations for the assessment of accuracy of triangulated heights, for the determination of plumb-line deflections in terms of International Spheroid, and for the adjustment of the 'Iraq and Turco-Persian boundary triangulations were also carried out.

During the year ending 30th September, 1928, 651 departmental maps, including reprints and new editions, have been published. These are made up as follows:—

Topographical Maps on 1-inch, ½-inch and ¼-inch scales.—211 new publications and 255 reprints and new editions.

Geographical Maps.—7 new publications and 50 reprints and new editions.

Special Maps.—83 new publications and 45 reprints and new editions.

In addition to these departmental maps, numerous maps and plans have been prepared for the Army, local Governments, Railways and other departments.

The system of map referencing now in use by the Army has entailed the drawing of 142 mesh originals during the year. These have been surprinted chiefly on new sheets, but many thousands of stock copies of maps have also had the mesh surprinted for supply to the Army.

The value of the instruments supplied to Public Offices is nearly the same as in the previous year, but the value of work done in the Workshop shows an increase by about 2½ per cent. Obsolescent and condemned stores to the value of about Rs. 1,800 have been disposed of to the best advantage of Government. Stock-taking of the serviceable, repairable and material stores was carried out as usual.

Repairs of optical instruments for the Army have been satisfactory, and the approximate quantity of outturn is given below:—2,700 Binoculars, 230 Telescopes, 200 Sight dials, 270 Range-finders, 80 Directors, 650 Watches. Besides ordinary manufactures and

repairs, 85 Microscopes were repaired for the Medical Department, and some of the special manufactures undertaken in the Mathematical Instrument Office are given below:—

1 Co-ordinatograph, Glass protractors, Radical Line Rulers, Instrument for Measuring Angle and Side of Angle.	For Air Survey.

Among the experiments carried out during the year was that with a Roller pen, which led to a satisfactory design being made for Air Survey.

It is also interesting to note that the Himalayan Club was founded on 17th February, 1928, at New Delhi with the object of encouraging and assisting Himalayan travel and exploration, and extending knowledge of the Himalayas through science, art, literature and sport. The initiation of this Club was due to the Hon'ble Sir Geoffrey Corbett, Secretary, Commerce Department of the Government of India, and to Major Kenneth Mason, M.C., R.E., Assistant Surveyor-General.

* * *

Let us now turn to the consideration of irrigation, one of the most important factors in Indian agriculture. The most unsatisfactory feature of the Indian rainfall is its liability to failure or serious deficiency. The average rainfall over the whole country is about 45 inches, and there is but little variation on this average from year to year, the greatest recorded being only about 7 inches. Yet when separate tracts are considered extraordinary variations are found. At many stations annual rainfalls of less than half the average are not uncommon, while at some, less than a quarter of the normal amount has been recorded in a year of extreme drought. The effect of these variations, as productive of famine and scarcity, differs considerably according to the average rainfall of the tract, being least in those parts where the average is either very high or very low. In general it has been found that the lower the rainfall in the tract, the greater is its liability to serious deficiency from the average, and the more precarious is that in which the normal rainfall is below 50 inches. This average includes almost the whole of the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province, the United Provinces, except the sub-montane districts, Sind, a large portion of Bihar, most of Madras, most of the Bombay Presidency, except

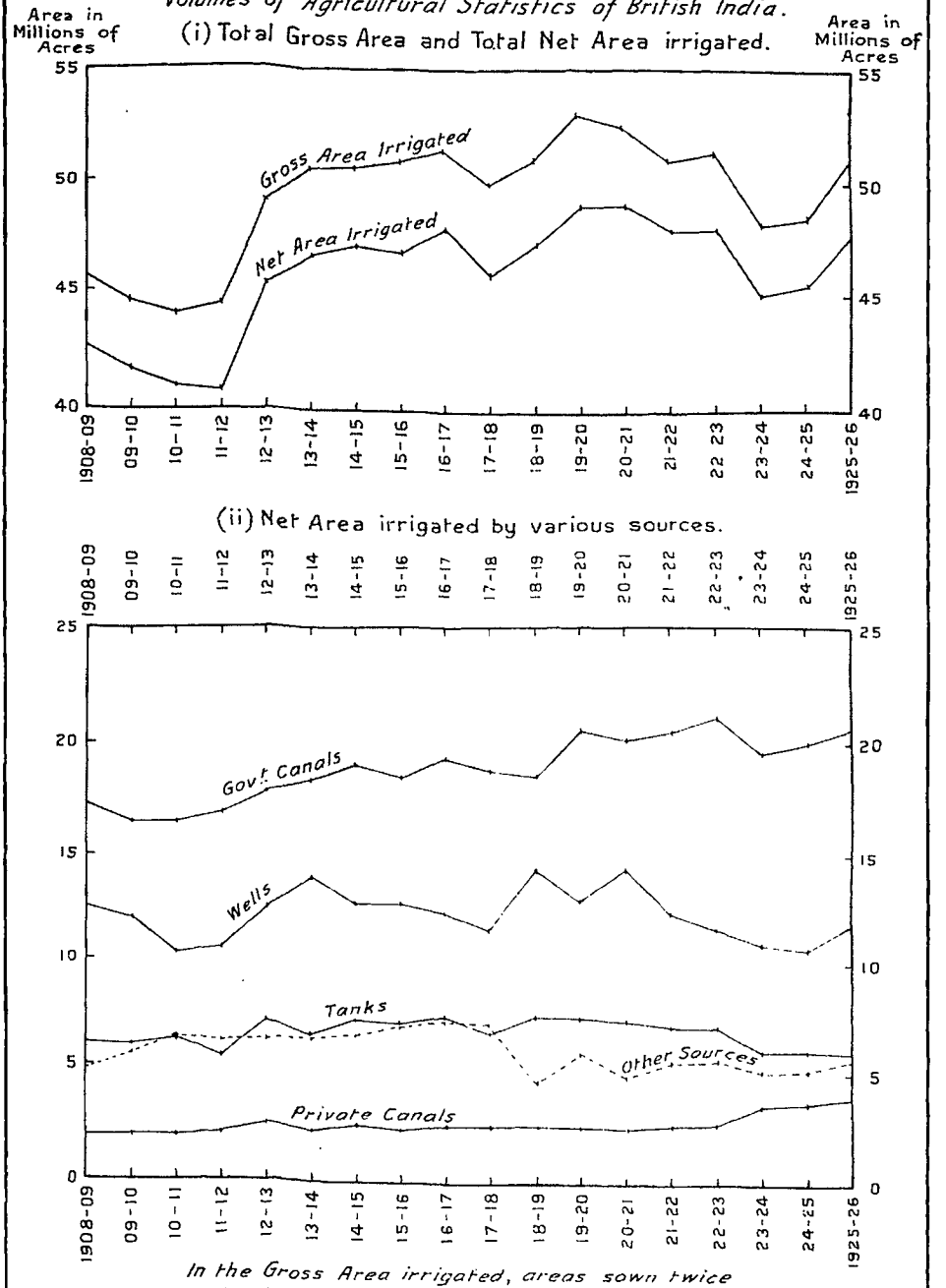
the strip along the coast, portions of the Central Provinces and a small tract in Burma. In all these areas the harvest depends on some form or other of irrigation. Ancient systems of irrigation such as wells, storage reservoirs, dams across the beds of streams, and irrigation canals have long been familiar to Indian engineers and agriculturists. The varied physical conditions of India, however, make it necessary to adopt more than one system of irrigation. In Sind and many parts of the Punjab, irrigation is essential to produce crops, while in parts of the Deccan some form of irrigation is only required as an insurance against years of scanty rainfall. In other parts of India there are localities where canal irrigation is only necessary as a precaution against famine. For the past quarter of a century irrigation has been carried on in British India along the lines laid down by the Irrigation Commission, appointed by Lord Curzon in 1901. But it was not until 1908 that irrigation statistics began to be systematically recorded. From that year until the year 1925-26 the remarkable progress in irrigation can be traced on the graph facing this page.

The vitally important part played by irrigation in the agriculture of the various provinces in India can be judged from a glance at the following figures, which are the averages of the five years 1921-22 to 1925-26. During this period an average of 11·8 per cent. of the annual cropped area of this country was irrigated by Government irrigation works. The collective value of the crops raised on the area so irrigated amounted to one-and-a-half times the total capital expenditure on the works.

Province.	Gross area sown.	Gross area of crops irrigated from Government and private sources.	Percentage of area irrigated to area sown.
	Acres (in 000's)	Acres (in 000's)	
Assam	6,379	364	5·7
Bengal	27,777	1,710	6·2
Bihar and Orissa	31,021	5,386	17·4
Bombay Proper	27,764	1,092	3·9
Bombay Sind	1,451	3,261	73·7
Burma	17,172	1,196	8·4
Central Provinces and Berar	26,726	1,110	4·2
Madras	37,691	11,208	29·7
North-West Frontier Province	2,673	919	34·4
Punjab	30,970	13,644	44·1
United Provinces	43,739	9,630	22·0
Minor Administrations	807	156	19·3
TOTAL	257,170	49,936	19·4

AREA IRRIGATED IN BRITISH INDIA

Note:- *The figures for this graph have been taken from the annual Volumes of Agricultural Statistics of British India.*



In the Gross Area irrigated, areas sown twice under irrigation are counted twice.

There are various systems of irrigation in use in India, such as canal, tank, well, lift irrigation from rivers, and the construction of temporary dams for holding up flood water or rainfall, but canals are by far the most important class of irrigation works. Government irrigation works comprise both tanks and canals, the former generally being small devices which derive their importance from their vast numbers. There are over 35,000 petty irrigation works serving from 2½ to 3 million acres of land in Madras alone. In this case it will be seen that tanks are entirely over-shadowed by the canals of the Indian irrigation system. Of two distinct types, canals draw their supplies from perennial rivers or from water stored in artificial reservoirs. The first kind are those based on rivers rising in the Himalayas where the snow acts as an inexhaustible source of supply during the dry months of the year, whilst the latter are principally associated with the rivers rising in the Peninsula proper, where no such natural storage is available. The most important storage works are those in the Madras Presidency, the Deccan, the Central Provinces, and in Bundelkhand, ranging in size from small earthern embankments to enormous dams such as that under construction at Mettur, on the Cauvery, in the Madras Presidency, which will be capable of impounding over 90,000 million cubic feet of water. Canals which draw their supplies from perennial rivers may again be divided into perennial and inundation canals. The former are provided with head-works enabling water to be drawn from the river irrespective of its natural level by means of some obstruction placed in its bed whereby the water may reach the height required to secure admission to the canal. Within this class fall the great perennial systems of the Punjab and the United Provinces. Inundation canals have no such means of control, and water only finds its way into them when the natural level of the river reaches the necessary height. The most important inundation canals in India are those in Sind, and indeed upon them depends the whole irrigation of the Province at present. They also exist in the Punjab, and draw their supplies from the Indus and its tributaries.

During the year 1927-28 the total area, excluding Indian States, under irrigation by Government works amounted to 27·5 million acres. This represented 12 per cent. of the entire cropped area of the country, and was $\frac{5}{6}$ million acres below the record area of 28½ million acres irrigated in 1922-23. The total length of main and branch canals and distributaries in operation amounted to about

67,000 miles, whilst the estimated value of the crops supplied with water from Government works was Rs. 132 crores. The area irrigated was largest in the Punjab, where 10·4 million acres were irrigated during the year. In addition 664,579 acres were irrigated from channels which, although drawing their supplies from British canals, lie wholly in the Indian States. Next among the Indian provinces came the Madras Presidency with an area of 7·2 million acres, followed by Sind with 3·4 million acres, and the United Provinces with 2·3 million acres. The total capital outlay on irrigation and navigation works, including works under construction, amounted at the end of the year 1927-28 to Rs. 115·3 crores. The gross revenue was Rs. 12·1 crores, and the working expenses Rs. 4·7 crores. The net return on capital is therefore 6·4 per cent.

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Reference may now be made to some of the more important irrigation projects under construction. The greatest of these are the Lloyd Sukkur Barrage in Sind and the Sutlej Valley Project in the Punjab. The Lloyd Barrage scheme is one of the largest irrigation projects which has hitherto been undertaken in any part of the world. The salient features of the scheme are a Barrage across the river Indus about a mile long, which will be completed in the year 1932, when irrigation will commence by means of seven large canals taking off above the Barrage—four from the left bank and three from the right bank. The total area commanded by this scheme is approximately 8½ million acres. The present annual cultivation in Sind is only 3½ million acres. This will be increased, when the scheme is completed and fully developed, to 7 million acres. Since the inception of the scheme, in July, 1923, considerable progress has been made in various directions. The seven regulators which form the controls at the head of the seven canals leading from the Barrage have been constructed and brought almost to completion. The super-structure of five scouring sluices and one-and-a-half spans of the Barrage proper on the right bank was brought up to Reduced Level 215·0 for the gate bridge portion only. The main floors, aprons and concrete paving were completed for the whole area covered by these sluices and Barrage spans. On the left bank seven scouring sluices and two-and-a-half spans of the Barrage were completed up to Reduced Level 201 for the road bridge arches. The cofferdams for enclosing space for 23 spans of the Barrage on both banks have been completed for work during the season 1928-29.

Contemporarily with this work, at Sukkur canal excavation has been actively in progress. The total quantity of earth work to be carried out in this scheme, excluding the water courses, is 555 crores of cubic feet, of which more than one-third has been completed. The designs for all the distributary systems were completed during the year under review. The sanctioned estimate of the cost of the scheme amounts to £13·8 millions.

The next great irrigation scheme in progress is the Sutlej Valley Project in the Punjab. There are on both banks of the River Sutlej, in British territory on the north and in Bahawalpur State territory on the south, a long series of inundation canals which draw their supplies from the river whenever the water is high enough to permit it. These canals are liable to all the drawbacks of irrigation by inundation. There are no weirs at their heads and, in many cases, no means of controlling the volume of water entering them. Consequently, while the water supplies are assured during the monsoon months of a normal year, they are liable to serious fluctuations according to seasonal conditions. In a year of inferior rainfall little water enters the canals. In a year of heavy rainfall they are liable to grave damage by floods. It is to remedy this state of affairs that the Sutlej Valley Project has been taken in hand. By it, the existing canals will be given an assured and controlled supply of water from April to October, and their scope will be extended so as to embrace the whole of the low-lying area in the river valley. Further, perennial irrigation will be afforded to the uplands of both banks which are at present entirely unirrigated, and, owing to the low rainfall of the locality, are lying waste. The Sutlej Valley Project consists of four weirs, three on the Sutlej, and one on the combined Sutlej and Chenab, with ten main canals taking off from above them. This multiplicity of canals and weirs seems a peculiar feature of the scheme, until it is realised that the project consists of four inter-connected systems, each of the first magnitude. The canals are designed to utilise 48,500 cusecs of water during the hot weather and the monsoon, and 7,000 cusecs during the cold weather. Over 5 million acres will be irrigated, of which 2 millions will be in the Punjab, 2·8 in Bahawalpur, and 0·34 million in Bikaner. The full value of the project will be understood when it is said that it will bring $3\frac{3}{4}$ million acres of desert waste under cultivation. Three out of the four head-works projected have been completed, and a total of Rs. 1,467 lakhs had been expended by the end of the year 1927-28. The sanctioned estimate of the cost of the scheme

amounts to Rs. 2,386 lakhs. (This amount was sanctioned in April last.)

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On December 11th, 1928, the Sarda River Irrigation scheme was formally put into service by Sir Malcolm Hailey, Governor of the United Provinces. The River Sarda rises in the Himalayas north of Lucknow and flows in a south-easterly direction. Its name is changed to Chauka some distance before it joins the river Gogra which, in turn, makes confluence with the Ganges near Chapra. This scheme was originally sanctioned in two portions, the Sarda Kichha Feeder Project, comprising the head-works and the main line and western branch of the system, which were sanctioned in 1919, and the Sarda (Oudh) Canal, comprising the Southern branches, which were sanctioned in 1921. The whole system embraces some 650 miles of main canal and branches, 3,600 miles of distributaries, and 110 miles of escapes. The entire system will irrigate over one and a third million acres, and produce a return of 7 per cent. on the estimated capital cost of seven million pounds.

Another important irrigation scheme is the Cauvery Reservoir Project in the Madras Presidency, the estimated cost of which amounted to £5·5 millions. This project has been framed with two main objects in view. The first is to improve the existing fluctuating water supplies for the Cauvery Delta irrigation of over a million acres, and secondly to extend irrigation to a new area of 301,000 acres, which will, it is estimated, add 150,000 tons of rice to the food supply of the country. The scheme provides for a large dam at Mettur, on the Cauvery, to store over 90,000 million cubic feet of water and for a canal nearly 88 miles long with a connected distributary system. Good progress was made with the scheme during the year 1927-28.

Other irrigation projects which we may mention are those situated in the Deccan. The Bhandardara Dam, which is the highest in India, has been completed and since the publication of our last report the Lloyd Dam at Bhatgar (in the Bombay Presidency), which is the largest mass of masonry in the world, has been completed. The latter dam was formally opened by His Excellency the Governor of Bombay in October, 1928. Irrigation from the great lakes formed by these dams is rapidly being developed in the valleys below them, the Bhandardara Dam supplying the Pravara Canals and the Lloyd Dam supplying the large Nira Canals

system. Irrigation in the Pravara area has grown very rapidly, and lands on these canals are now covered with valuable sugarcane crops, where before hardly any crops could be grown. The Nira Valley Project, consisting of the new Nira Right Bank Canal and extension of the Nira Left Bank Canal, will command a total culturable area of about 675,000 acres, and this scheme will be the largest in the Deccan. The completion of the great storage works at Bhandardara and at Bhatgar has considerably extended the total irrigable area and when fully developed the present major irrigation schemes in the Deccan will be capable of irrigating over 450,000 acres annually.

Almost every other province has irrigation projects in preparation, and those which are likely to be completed within a reasonable time will, it is estimated, add over six million acres to the irrigated area in the country, whilst by the time the projects now under construction are in full working order, a total of 40 million acres under irrigation is expected. When allowance is made for the natural expansion of existing schemes an ultimate area of 50 million acres under irrigation by Government works is anticipated.

We have seen above that irrigation in India does not end with her canals. Wells are, and always will be, a vital factor in Indian irrigation. In these also Government takes an active interest, which is continually increasing. The improvement of their efficiency by sub-artesian bores and the installation of power pumping plants form one of the principal features of the programme of the engineering section of the Agricultural Department. During the short period of its existence, the department has been instrumental in increasing the capacity of thousands of existing wells, and in digging or sinking an equally large number of new ones. In 1928-29 the number of wells bored by Government was 3,835, of which 2,892 were successful. The number bored in the preceding year was 3,214 of which 2,378 were successful. There is great scope in India for the installation of power pumps for water lifts driven by bullocks or man power. Some progress in this direction has been made, but the plant will be required to be standardized, and capital, or at least credit, provided before this method of lifting water can be adopted on a large scale.

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Having surveyed the work of the three great departments of Agriculture, Forests and Irrigation, we may now turn our attention

to the industrial life of India. Although the percentage of the Indian population which is occupied in industrial occupations may seem small compared to the major portion which gains its living from agriculture and allied pursuits, the actual numbers are very large. India still holds undisputed rank among the great industrial countries in the world, and the memorandum issued from the India Office to the Secretary General of the League of Nations, in 1921, stating India's claim to be regarded as one of the eight States of chief industrial importance in the world, shows the grounds on which that claim is based. In the jute industry India leads the world, and the size of her cotton industry is surpassed by only four countries in the world. She also possesses important and flourishing iron and steel works, mills and foundries, dockyards, paper mills, match factories and so on. A glance at the 1921 census report shows that nearly sixteen million persons were engaged in industrial pursuits in India, nearly two million in transport, and over a quarter of a million in mining. About eighteen million persons are occupied in these three great branches of labour alone in India. The value of manufactured articles exported from India during the year ending March 31st, 1928, was over 60 million pounds sterling.

From this it will be seen that the condition of India's industrial labour is an element of vast importance in the welfare and well-being of the Indian population generally. Unfortunately, the great dearth of statistical and other data concerning the conditions in which the Indian working classes live precludes us from saying very much about labour conditions in this country. Indeed, it was that fact, combined with the increase of industrial unrest, which has been unusually marked in India during the past year, which led to the appointment of the Royal Commission on Labour which was announced in January, 1929, to enquire into and report on the existing conditions of labour in industrial undertakings and plantations in British India. The personnel of the Commission was announced as consisting of the following:—

The Rt. Hon'ble J. H. Whitley (Chairman).

The Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri,

Sir Alexander Murray.

Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoollah.

Sir Victor Sassoon.

Mr. N. M. Joshi, M.L.A.
Mr. A. G. Clow, I.C.S.
Mr. G. D. Birla, M.L.A.
Mr. John Cliff.
Diwan Chaman Lal, M.L.A.
Miss Beryl M. Le Poer-Power.
Mr. Kabiruddin Ahmad, M.L.A.
Mr. A. Dibden,
Mr. Shamaldhari Lal, I.C.S., } Joint Secretaries.

A few years ago the Labour Office of the Bombay Secretariat made enquiries into the conditions of life, housing, wages and standard of living generally of the industrial population, but the subject is so vast that very little further can be done until a proper system of recording statistical data has been instituted. The annual reports on the working of the Indian Mines Act and the Indian Factories Act, and the activities of various other government or quasi-government institutions have done something to lighten the darkness, but obviously the time has now come for a comprehensive survey into Indian industrial labour conditions.

* * *

Mention was made last year of the intention of the Government of India to address the local Governments on the subject of the possibility of introducing a scheme of sickness insurance either on the lines of the draft convention adopted by the Tenth International Labour Conference, or on different lines. The local Governments were addressed on the matter in September, 1928, and their replies have been received.

The International Labour Conference at its eleventh session, held in May-June, 1928, adopted a draft convention and a recommendation on the subject of minimum wage-fixing machinery. The text of the draft convention and the recommendation and the report of the delegates of the Government of India to the eleventh International Labour Conference have been published. The question whether the convention should be ratified or not, and whether the recommendation should be accepted is at present under consideration.

The year 1928-29 saw a good deal of labour legislation either brought forward or enacted in the Central Legislature. During

the short time that the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1923, has been in force, a number of amendments have suggested themselves or have been proposed by the Commissioners for Workmen's Compensation and local Governments. An amending Bill to give effect to some of the proposals was introduced on the 14th September, 1928, in the Legislative Assembly. The Bill was confined to the amendment of those sections, or parts of sections, which are admittedly defective and to the introduction of changes which were likely to raise no important controversial points and which would be generally recognised as improvements. The Bill was passed during the opening session of 1929. The local Governments were addressed in connection with more fundamental changes in the Act. The Indian Trade Unions Act, 1926, was amended during the year to remove a technical defect.

The question of undertaking legislation to secure the prompt payment of wages and to regulate the imposition of fines in industries was further considered in consultation with the departments interested in the matter. The deliberations of the Royal Commission on Labour will no doubt enable the Government of India to judge the directions in which further legislation is desirable to improve the condition of industrial workers with regard to this particular question.

* * *

The latest report on the working of the Factories Act relates to the year 1927. The number of factories increased from 7,251 to 7,515 during the year, all the major provinces showing an increase with the exception of the Punjab, where there was a decrease of 2. A large part of this increase was accounted for by the addition of 121 rice mills. In one of the sections of the Factories Act all Provincial Governments are empowered to notify as factories establishments which employ simultaneously no less than 10 persons on any one day of the year. The total number of factories so notified during the year 1927 rose from 122 in the preceding year to 160, mainly due to the increase of 32 in the Central Provinces and Berar. The factory population of India has now risen from 1,518,391 to 1,533,382. The only provinces and administrations which have no share in this increase are Bombay, the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province, Ajmer-Merwara, Bangalore and Coorg. The only substantial reduction was in the Punjab, where a decrease of 2,560 is ascribed to the poor cotton crop and

to the centralisation of the Railway Workshops resulting in the closing down of the locomotive, carriage and wagon workshops at Rawalpindi. In Bombay the decrease was mainly in the Ginning and Pressing Industry, due to the poor crop in several areas. In spite of further reduction in the number of employees in the Jute Factories in Bengal there was a substantial increase in the factory population in the province owing to the increased employment in Iron and Steel Smelting Works and allied engineering concerns. There was also a notable increase in Madras, which was due to the increase in the number of factories. The steady increase in the employment of women which has been noticed in previous reports went on unchecked during the year, the total number rising from 249,669 in 1926 to 253,158. The number of children employed in factories fell from 60,049 in 1926 to 57,562, thereby maintaining the downward trend in the employment of children which was referred to in last year's report. This decrease is due to a greater restriction which the Factories Act imposes on the employment of children, as compared to the employment of adults, and also to the increasing efficiency of the arrangements for the certification of children. The percentage of factories maintaining a week of 48 hours per man remains the same as last year, namely 27. In 14 per cent. more the men employed worked for 54 hours or less. The number of men working more than 54 hours a week was 59 per cent. For women the corresponding percentages are 31,13 and 56. These figures do not indicate any material change in the situation as regards adults, but it is satisfactory to note that the percentage of factories which limit the hours of work for children to 30 in the week increased from 30 in 1926 to 36 in the year under review. No reduction has been effected in the number of factories in which the majority of parties were exempted from certain sections of the Act. In fact the figures show a general increase, except in regard to exemptions from section 27, limiting the hours of work to 60 in any one week, the striking reduction under which is partly counterbalanced by the new exemptions from the provisions of section 26, relating to the fixation of the hours of employment, appearing against Bengal and Assam. The reduction from 330 to 2 in the number of exemptions from the provisions of section 27 in the Punjab is due to the fact that the short period exemptions which were granted annually to the Cotton Ginning Factories were apparently not found necessary during the year under review. The number of reported accidents of all kinds rose

from 14,866 in 1926 to 15,711. The total number of fatal accidents, however, fell from 270 to 242. Bombay was largely responsible for the increased number of accidents, the figures for 1927 showing an increase of 816 over the previous year's figures. In Bengal the corresponding increase was 541. In the majority of other provinces there was a considerable decrease in the number of reported accidents. It is satisfactory to note that progress in the fencing of dangerous machinery is being maintained in all provinces, and that the Factory Inspectors are doing all they can to encourage the managements with which they deal to give particular attention to safety measures. The value of safety posters as an aid in the reduction of accidents is gaining increasing recognition, particularly in the Railway Workshops, and it is interesting to find that the Millowners' Mutual Assurance Association in Bombay have agreed to bear the cost of some of these posters for the textile industry.

In the matter of housing the progress made during the year is inconsiderable. Mention may, however, be made of the Housing scheme undertaken by the Government of India at Nasik Road (between Bombay and Poona) for their employees in the factories for the printing of Stamps and Currency Notes. A new town has risen in this place, housing nearly 3,000 persons in comfort.

The number of convictions obtained during the year for the contravention of the Factories Act was 1,420, the number of persons convicted being 432. The corresponding figures for 1926 were 1,417 and 349. Advance in this respect is particularly marked in Madras and the Punjab. There are satisfactory indications of increasing strictness in the enforcing of the provisions of the Act, though there are continued complaints as to the inadequacy of fines imposed by Magistrates on Factory Managers convicted of offences under the Act. The percentage of factories inspected during the year was 89 against 88 in 1926, the total number of factories inspected being 6,692 compared with 6,399 in 1926.

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The Indian Mines Amendment Bill, to which a reference was made in last year's report, was passed by the Indian Legislature as the Indian Mines (Amendment) Act, 1928 (Act XIII of 1928), and received the assent of the Governor-General on the 20th September, 1928. The main provisions of the Act relating to the restrictions of the daily hours of work and the introduction of a

system of shifts in mines do not, however, come into force until the 7th April, 1930.

Section 29 (J) of the Indian Mines Act, 1923, empowers the Governor-General-in-Council to make regulations restricting or regulating the employment in mines, or in any class of mines, of women, either below ground or on particular kinds of labour which are attended by danger to the life, safety or health of women. The question of prohibiting the employment of women underground in mines has been under the consideration of the Government of India for some time past. After obtaining the opinions of the local Governments and the mining interests concerned the Governor-General-in-Council has now issued final regulations on the subject which prohibit absolutely, with effect from the 1st July, 1929, the employment of women underground in all mines in British India with the exception of the coal mines in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and the Central Provinces, and the Salt mines in the Punjab. In the case of these excepted classes of mines, which employ a large number of women, an immediate prohibition of the employment of women underground would have caused serious dislocation of the industry. A period of grace of 10 years has, therefore, been allowed during which the proportion of women to the total number of underground workers employed in the excepted mines will be gradually reduced till the process of elimination is finally completed at the end of the period, *i.e.*, in July, 1939.

The Annual Report of the Chief Inspector of Mines for the year 1927 shows that the daily average number of persons employed in mines during that period was 269,290, an increase of 9,177 persons compared with the preceding year. Of these persons 118,616 work underground, 77,725 in open workings, and 72,949 on the surface; 190,697 were males, 78,593 were females. In coal mines 165,213 persons of both sexes were employed. Of these 33,841 were women employed chiefly as loaders. The actual number of women working underground in coal mines was 28,041. The total output of coal in 1927 was 21,108,976 tons, valued at Rs. 9,00,68,624. This increase of 1,015,952 tons was 5·06 per cent. more than in the previous year, and a figure which has only been exceeded in 1919, when the record output of twenty-one and three-quarter million tons was produced.

During the year 1927 there were 209 fatal accidents, eleven more than in 1926 and six less than the average number in the preceding five years. These accidents involved the loss of 247 lives, which is

twenty more than in the previous year. Of these persons 217 were males and 30 were females. There were in addition 680 serious accidents involving injuries to 713 persons. The death rate per thousand persons employed above and below ground was 0·92, while that of the preceding five years was 1·11.

Since the Indian Workmen's Compensation Act, 1923, came into force an association called the Calcutta Claims Bureau has been formed by the representatives of twenty-seven of the leading insurance companies in India. During the year 1927 the Bureau dealt with nearly three thousand claims, of which a small number were claims made by employees in mines.

It is satisfactory to note that the Workmen's Compensation Act is becoming increasingly better known and better understood, with the consequence that applications for claims have greatly increased. The result is that a large number of claims are being contested, and the work of the Commissioners under the Act is on the increase. The Act is a very beneficial addition to Indian labour legislation which has only now commenced to be appreciated to any extent.

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A discussion of industrial conditions in India naturally leads us to the subject of unemployment. Here again the absence of statistical and other data is a handicap, and so all that can be done is to refer to the subject in somewhat vague and general terms. This much, however, can be said: the problem of unemployment in India is very different from the corresponding problem in England. In this country there is unemployment from time to time in different industries, but normally all the labour available can be absorbed, and very often the trouble is not to find work for the workless but to find workers for the work. Unemployment in Indian industries, in fact, occurs only when scarcity or famine produces partial or complete stoppage of agricultural operations over wide areas, thus throwing into the market agricultural labour or labour employed in industries subsidiary to agriculture. But here it is necessary to draw a distinction between conditions in India at such times and analogous difficulties in Western countries, for a situation of this kind is met in India by the institution of a system of famine relief which has no parallel in other countries referred to. When we talk of unemployment in India, what we have in mind usually is unemployment among the educated

classes, and there is not the least doubt that this constitutes a problem which is becoming more and more serious every year. Higher education in this country is still predominantly of the literary type, and the majority of the graduates look either to the law or to some form of clerical employment for a livelihood. Probably nine graduates in ten of Indian Universities look to Government service in the first place for a living, and if they are disappointed in their hopes in this quarter, their outlook is not a very promising one. Every year the Indian Universities, colleges and high schools turn out many thousands of educated youths in excess of the number of Government or other public jobs available. Among the members of what we might term the educated middle class there is undeniably severe distress on account of unemployment, and in very many cases, even when employment has been found, its remuneration is very meagre and often less than that obtained by the higher classes of artisans. Obviously new avenues of employment for these classes are needed, and the growth of Indian industry and the rise of new forms of industry in this country ought to provide these openings in the future.

CHAPTER IV.

State and People (ii).

PUBLIC HEALTH, EDUCATION, DRINK AND DRUGS.

Although the three subjects discussed in this chapter are Provincial Transferred Subjects, and the two first-mentioned are dealt with in detail in Chapter 10, there are sound reasons for referring to them at this stage. The functions of the Government of India in medicine are, broadly speaking, restricted to the assistance and guidance of research, whilst in education their functions are restricted to the general control of the denominational universities at Benares and Aligarh, and of the University of Delhi; general control of education in the areas under their direct control, such as the North-West Frontier Province; control over Chiefs' Colleges; and the safeguarding of the administration of central subjects. The Government of India also exercises certain powers in respect of infectious and contagious diseases, takes part in medical activities of an international kind, and maintains certain departmental cadres to deal with these matters. In short, the Central Government's work in these subjects starts where the Provincial is brought to a halt by financial, administrative and territorial restrictions.

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It will be generally agreed that hardly any activity of the State, particularly in a tropical country, is as important as that which is exercised in the field of public health. Even if we are speaking only from the humanitarian point of view, this would be true, but, as is easily apparent from what we have said in the previous chapter, in addition to the alleviation of suffering which results from such activity, economic results of vast importance follow from every improvement in public health. Some of the most striking evidence given before the Royal Commission on Agriculture was concerned with this subject, and we can draw a very good illustration of this argument from the most common disease of India, namely malaria. No part of India is free from this scourge, and the number of days of work which are lost every year on its account must run into many millions. The members of every class and occupation in India are affected, and not only the

actual days lost are to be counted, but the weakening effects of malaria on the human system must also be taken into consideration, for it saps the energy and reduces the efficiency of its victims. In other parts of India, commonly prevalent diseases like hookworm, beri-beri, etc., supplement the havoc wrought by malaria, whilst destructive epidemics like cholera, plague and small pox, which so frequently sweep different areas of India, take heavy toll. It must be remembered that a death in India may be a very ruinous thing for a family since it may result in extravagant expenditure on the funeral ceremony, may lead to the un-economic partition of land, and produce a number of other disastrous effects. The chart which is reproduced on another page will show the reader, without a wearisome repetition of statistics, the toll of human life taken in this country by diseases and insanitary conditions, many of which can be prevented or improved. The part played by the Central Government in the improvement of Public Health has been already briefly outlined, and since the financial condition of India has improved appreciably in recent years the Indian Government is now able to give increasing help to Medical Research.

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With the adoption of the programme of work of the Indian Research Fund Association for the year 1928-29, recommended by the Scientific Advisory Board and finally approved by the Governing Body, it was apprehended that there would be a deficit in the budget for that year, but in view of certain officers carrying out researches having proceeded on leave and the consequent saving on account of their pay and also other unforeseen savings, the apprehension proved groundless, and the Association carried out the programme as it stood. During the year the Government of India gave a grant of Rs. 7,50,000 to the Association for the furtherance of Medical Research and to meet the pay and allowances of the Officers of the Medical Research Department lent to the Association to carry out inquiries. The Association financed 50 inquiries in 1928-29 in the field of medical research, including investigations into various aspects of malaria, plague, cholera, tuberculosis, indigenous drugs, material mortality and morbidity in child-birth in India, anti-rabic vaccine experiments, relapsing fever, drug addiction in India, inquiry into the changes that occur in the blood in certain tropical diseases, kala-azar, guineaworm treatment, helminthology, nutritional diseases, tuberculosis, the study of

d'Herelle's Bacteriophage for dysentery and cholera, inquiry into the distribution of blood groups in Indian Races, osteomalacia and several enquiries on other diseases. The Association also continued its contributions towards the cost of two professorships at the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, and the pay of the Leprosy worker employed at the same school, and also towards the upkeep of the Imperial Bureau of Entomology in London (£500). The Association also bore half the expenses incurred in connection with the deputation of Dr. J. C. Mukerji, of the Lucknow University, to the Laboratory Conference on the Sero-diagnosis of syphilis at Copenhagen. A grant from the Government of India towards the cost of the Malaria Survey of India was also sanctioned.

The sixth Conference of Medical Research Workers was held in Calcutta between the 18th and the 20th December, 1928, and was followed by the Annual Meeting of the Scientific Advisory Board on the 21st December, 1928. The programme of work for the year 1929-30 was considered and scrutinised. On account of shortage of available funds a few of the inquiries were stopped and the activities of some were limited. Nevertheless a comprehensive programme of research into most of the principal diseases in India was drawn up. Two schemes for the furtherance of medical research and higher education in Public Health are at present under the consideration of the Government of India. One of these concerns the proposed establishment of an all-India Institute for Education and Research in Public Health for which the Rockfeller Foundation in America has made a generous offer of assistance. In November, 1928, the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India visited the United States of America on the invitation of the Rockfeller Foundation and completed the arrangements which have led to an acceptance by the Government of India of this generous offer. The second scheme is the result of the report of the Fletcher Committee, which suggested the establishment of an enlarged Central Institute of Medical Research at Dehra-Dun instead of the present Institute in Kasauli.

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An important session of the Advisory Council of the League of Nations Health Organisation, Eastern Bureau, was held at Singapore in February, 1929. Colonel J. D. Graham, C.I.E., I.M.S., Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India, attend-

ed as a representative of the Government of India, and was unanimously selected Chairman of the Advisory Council for the year 1929.

During 1928 the Government of India was represented at the meetings of the Permanent Committee of the International Office of Public Hygiene, the International Conference on Rat Destruction held at Paris and Le Havre in May, 1928, the Royal Sanitary Institute Congress held at Plymouth in July, 1928, the Centenary Celebration of the Faculty of Medicine, Cairo, and the International Congress of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, held in Cairo in December, 1928.

In accordance with the new organisation scheme announced in May, 1928, the existing rights and prospects of Indian Medical Service officers in civil employ, who will become surplus with the introduction of the scheme, are to be fully safeguarded. The detailed measures to safeguard the prospects of those already in civil employ are now being considered. It has been decided that until the existing and accruing rights of Indian Medical Service officers in civil employ at the time of the introduction of the scheme are fully liquidated the posts of Surgeons-General and Inspectors-General of Civil Hospitals will be filled by such officers in consultation with the local government concerned, the power of nomination being reserved to the Governor-General-in-Council.

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The General Medical Council have extended recognition of the M.B., B.S., degrees of the Bombay, Lahore, Lucknow and Madras Universities and the M.B. degree of the Calcutta University obtained after 12th May, 1928, under the new regulations, until 31st July, 1929, on the conditions that a satisfactory report on a final examination in Medicine, Surgery, and Midwifery held during 1928-29, by each of these Universities from an official Inspector appointed by the Government of India and approved by the General Medical Council is received by the latter before July, 1929. Consequently the examinations of the Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Lucknow were inspected in the autumn of 1928, and the examinations of Rangoon, Punjab, Bombay and Patna in March and April, 1929.

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The question of the establishment of an All-India Medical Council to regulate medical education in India and maintain a register of medical graduates on the lines of the General Medical Council of Great Britain is still under consideration. Similarly the question of appointing a Commissioner of Medical Qualifications and Standards, pending the establishment of an All-India Medical Council, is also still under consideration.

The Central Medical Service in this country is the world-famed Indian Medical Service, which has produced a number of devoted and brilliant investigators into tropical diseases. The members of this Service furnish the medical officers of the Indian Army, direct the medical administration of the Provinces, provide teachers in the medical colleges and serve as Civil Surgeons in charge of the more important districts in each Province.

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The main features of the scheme for the re-organisation of the Medical Services in India, referred to in last year's report, have been accepted by the Secretary of State. Briefly, the scheme is that the suggested unification of the Military Medical Services in India should be abandoned, that an Indian Medical Service constituted on the same broad lines as at present should be retained primarily for the purpose of meeting the needs of the Indian Army, and that in order to maintain the necessary war reserve of military medical officers and to provide European medical attendance for European Officers of the Superior Civil Services and their families, provincial Governments should be required to employ a stated number of Indian Medical Service Officers. The new scheme involved the employment on the civil side of 302 officers of the Indian Medical Service, and a communique announcing the scheme in the final form was issued in May, 1928. In brief, the result of the re-organisation is that fewer posts will now be reserved for officers of the Indian Medical Service than before, and Provincial Governments will consequently be able gradually to add 90 posts to their own provincial medical services.

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Among the various movements permanently affecting the physical well-being of the people of India, the one encompassed in the term " physical education " has come to have a large and ever increasing place of influence. So generally has the need for it

been recognised that a clamour for " compulsory " physical education in all educational institutions is heard on every hand. In the Primary and Secondary Schools the work is gradually emerging from the " Drill Master " stage of " Physical Jerks " for all, regardless of age, sex or condition, to the more scientific forms adapted to the various stages of physical, mental and social growth and development of the child. In the Universities the movement is still left largely to the students to carry on voluntarily, though in special cases such as Calcutta University, Punjab University and in several of the Colleges affiliated to Bombay University, a beginning has been made in University control and direction. The Report of the Beasley Committee in Madras and the work of the Munshi Committee in Bombay, during the past year, are deserving of special mention as attempts to adequately meet the needs of the new movement.

But Physical Education in its broader aspects extends beyond the scope of purely educational institutions, which reach only the school-going population, to the much larger groups of industrials and non-student groups. One such extension having great significance and value is the so-called Public Playground Movement, now rapidly developing in several of the larger cities such as Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. Here, under Municipal control and aided by the trained physical Directors of the Y.M.C.A., are found reserved areas equipped with special apparatus with trained leaders in charge, where hundreds of children and the young men of the district come daily, not only for recreation and health development, but also to acquire unconsciously in group organisations, the fundamentals of law-abiding citizens. The Police authorities support this work wholeheartedly for its social values.

A third manifestation of the modern movement of Physical Education in India is the rapid and far-flung development of athletic and sports club teams whose number is legion and whose players enter the various leagues, tournaments and other forms of competition in such games as foot-ball, hockey, tennis and cricket. This development is assuming large proportions and bids fair to hold a very large place in Indian life and thought, for not only do thousands of players participate, but tens of thousands come to play the rôle of spectators.

No movement of the sort described above can hope to develop satisfactorily unless it is wisely and capably led and directed. The

National Y.M.C.A. School of Physical Education in Madras is, perhaps, the outstanding institution for the training of such leaders in India. Its student body is recruited from all parts of India. Its courses of study are recognised by Madras, Bengal, the Punjab, Assam and Burma, as well as several of the Indian States, and students are officially deputed from most of these places. Its graduates are in great demand as Physical Directors by educational institutions, municipal playgrounds and welfare organisations.

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The circumstances in which many of the women of India live their lives has aroused widespread interest in the institutions of child-marriage and in the provision of medical attendance for the millions of women whom ancient custom still keeps behind the purdah. As the years pass on these matters continue to occupy the attention of private and official persons and institutions in India to a greater extent, and the views of the few advanced reformers which India possesses are able to gain increasing support year by year. The provision of medical assistance for Indian women was first undertaken by the Countess of Dufferin, wife of the Viceroy of India, in the eighties of last century. She it was who first lifted the purdah to admit skilled assistance to the women and girls who lived behind it, and since that time the wives of other Viceroys have extended and developed her work, until to-day we find no less than three important institutions at work providing medical relief for Indian women. Unfortunately these institutions are neither entirely official nor entirely non-official, and incapable of classification either as central or provincial subjects. The first of these institutions, founded by the Countess of Dufferin and commonly known by her name, has for its object the training of women as doctors, hospital assistants, nurses and midwives, as well as the provision of dispensaries, wards and hospitals. The institution made an excellent start, but after a few years it became clear that its income was insufficient for the fulfilment of its objects, and that the remuneration which it offered to women doctors was inadequate. The net result of this was that in 1914 the Women's Medical Service was established, and the Government of India now pays the Countess of Dufferin's Fund a subsidy of three hundred and seventy thousand rupees per annum.

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The year 1928 saw a serious disappointment in connection with the Women's Medical Service in India. An endeavour to increase the number of first class medical women in the Service by an augmented subsidy from the Government of India met with refusal on the plea that as medical relief in provinces was a transferred subject and the question of the propriety or otherwise of central revenues being expended on objects which primarily benefit the provinces raised important constitutional issues which would come within the purview of the Indian Statutory Commission, the Government of India did not consider it proper at present to throw any further burden on Imperial revenues on account of the Women's Medical Service. Consequently, the cadre of the Women's Medical Service, which was forty-four in 1927, was reduced to forty-two in 1928, and was forty-one in January, 1929—twenty-two of Indian domicile and nineteen British.

The appeal by the Council of the Countess of Dufferin's Fund for grants from the Provinces to meet half the salaries of the Women's Medical Service employed in charge of women's hospitals in those provinces met with scant response. Bombay, Bengal, Madras and the Punjab refused any assistance; Bihar and Orissa and the Central Provinces gave the sum asked for; the United Provinces has not replied at all. This state of affairs seems to indicate that if the scheme is to be financed entirely by the provinces it might not be possible to provide adequate medical aid to the women of India. So convinced of this was the Association for providing Medical Aid to the Women of India that it submitted a memorandum to the Royal Statutory Commission, pleading for a change in the Devolution Rules, so that the subject of medical relief by women for the women of India may be brought within the category of Central subjects, and with the help of an increased contribution from the Government of India, in addition to its present subsidy of Rs. 3,70,000, the Women's Medical Service can be put on a proper basis. The memorandum referred to above is printed in this book as appendix No. 3.

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The Training Reserve of the Women's Medical Service, through which selected Indian graduates in medicine receive post-graduate training and experience prior to the admission of its members to the Women's Medical Service, has fulfilled its purpose as far as funds permitted. During the year under review two graduates,

after three years' post-graduate training in India, were sent to England and one of these, after obtaining a British qualification, was admitted to the Women's Medical Service; the other is still in London. Three other graduates of Indian Universities were admitted to the training reserve. During the year the Association of Medical Women in India, an Association which has been in existence for about 24 years, and which has a membership of about 340, representing about three quarters of the total number of women doctors practising in India, whether as missionaries, or in provincial or Dufferin services, or as private practitioners, drew up a memorandum which 8 of its members presented to Her Excellency Lady Irwin, soliciting her help by increasing medical aid by women to the women of this country. Among other things the memorandum stated the fact that the social prejudices which to a large extent forbade Indian women to attend a general hospital or to accept treatment from men make a larger and better system of medical relief for women in India an urgent necessity. Further, after touching on the amount of unrelieved suffering due to the lack of medical aid, the smallness of the number of medical women in India, and the very large amount of maternal and Infantile mortality compared to other countries, the memorandum pointed out that the population of India includes 117,500,000 women, and that little or nothing has been done in the direction of research or legislation to better their lot in life. The memorandum concluded by suggesting an increase of the Women's Medical Service, the appointment by local governments of medical women to administrate women's medical work, more generous aid for charitable hospitals for women, and the provision of medical aid by women to rural areas. As regards medical preventive work, the memorandum suggested the appointment of medical women in connection with the office of the Commissioner for Public Health with the Government of India for the organisation of maternity and child welfare work, the appointment of medical women to the office of the Directors of Public Health in the provinces, a Government system of grants in aid to approved schemes of maternity and child welfare, the appointment of medical women to carry on research into the causes of maternal and infant mortality, facilities for the training of medical women in preventive medicine, and facilities for the training of health visitors. No one can doubt the rights of the Association of Medical Women in India to speak as they have done. None know better than its members the crying needs of

the women and children of India, both from the standpoint of medical relief and that of the prevention of disease. To exercise these activities adequately the Association asks for medical women in an administrative capacity in the provinces as Assistants or Deputy Directors of Public Health and Civil Medical Administrators, their activities being chiefly directed to maternity and child welfare work, medical examination of school girls, training and examination of midwives and *dais*, in addition to the inspection of women's hospitals. The Association rightly feels that until medical women, intimately acquainted with the conditions prevailing in India, are given an official position in each province whence reports and information can reach the ears of the authorities financially concerned, little can be known and little can be done to remedy the very grave defects under which medical relief for women and child welfare work are carried on in India.

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Twenty years ago the Association of Medical Women, in a similar deputation, approached the then Vicerine and the Secretary of State for India in London, and pointed out defects in the conditions of service and status of medical women in Dufferin services, pleading for the inclusion of women on the Dufferin Council, a medical woman as Secretary of the Dufferin Fund, medical women as inspectresses of women's hospitals, and the formation of a Government service for women on the lines of the Indian Medical Service. It has taken a long time, but most of these reforms have now been carried out to the undoubted benefit of the Dufferin Fund and all that it stands for in human life. Now both the Association and the Dufferin Council join hands in making further requests, convinced more than ever of the need of provision of the best rather than the cheapest of women doctors for the public now awakening and beginning to clamour for up-to-date hospitals, trained midwives, health and the reduction of infant mortality.

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It should be mentioned that Her Excellency Lady Irwin had already issued an appeal to governors' wives of all Provinces in India for a definite sum of money to carry on an enquiry, started by Doctor Margaret Balfour in 1926, into the causes above mentioned. This appeal met with a generous response, and a skilled woman research worker was recruited to undertake this work at

the Haffkine Institute, Bombay, and she began her investigation in February, 1929. The money subscribed will provide for the expenses of this research worker for two years only.

* * *

The income of the Dufferin Fund proper, amounting as it does to rupees 41,000, was spent, as formerly, on scholarships for women at medical colleges, 30 in number, and grants in aid to hospitals for women during the year.

A scheme for the better training of nurses at the three existing nurses' training schools in India was drawn up. During 1928 the cost involved over a lakh of rupees. Application was made to the Rockfeller Foundation for this recurring amount, the local governments being asked to provide the necessary building and equipment for the nurses' training schools. Unfortunately the Rockfeller Foundation were unable to make any grant, as the training of nurses is no longer included in their activities.

The Victoria Memorial Scholarships Fund, which is the second institution working for the relief of women in India, was created by the late Lady Curzon. The Fund exists for the training of indigenous *dais*, and during the year under review continued to work along lines similar to those followed in previous years. The most interesting fact which can be reported is that its promoters are not altogether satisfied with work it is doing. The Fund, it may be explained, was initiated by the late Lady Curzon expressly for the training of indigenous *dais*. This was nearly 30 years ago, and conditions in India have changed a great deal since then. Some ten years ago the Committee of the Fund made an enquiry as to whether the income at its disposal was being spent in the most advantageous possible manner. As a result of this enquiry the Committee decided to adhere to the original objects of the Fund. Progress during the last ten years, however, has been more rapid than in the twenty years preceding, and it is quite evident that midwifery practice in India is passing into different hands. This is especially noticeable in the more advanced parts of India. In the Madras Presidency the number of trained midwives is quite large, and they are now able to compete successfully with the old "barber" midwives. This is due, of course, not merely to the increase in the number of trained midwives, but to an increased appreciation on the part of the public of their services;

the two things naturally proceeding *pari passu*. This process of ousting the indigenous *dai* from her place as the sole attendant on child-birth is slowly spreading to other parts of India. In many reports from different centres there is evidence that a class of women, in whose families midwifery has never been a hereditary profession, are attending classes, earning certificates and taking up the work as a means of livelihood. This process is naturally going on most in the towns, where there are facilities for training for midwifery, and will take a long time to spread to India's rural areas. It is very satisfactory that it should be so, and the progress along these lines is likely to be accelerated more and more as the years go on.

One result of the entrance of women into the medical profession who have hitherto not taken up the work is that the *dais* are beginning to feel their position less secure, and so they, too, are beginning to seek modern training in midwifery. The Victoria Memorial Scholarship Fund has assisted in the training of these indigenous *dais* by giving them small stipends for attendance at classes. In the past this attendance has seldom been of a voluntary character, but pressure has been brought to bear on the women to come to the classes. Now that others are willing to be trained the *dais* may be less unwilling to accept the training which has been offered to them, and it is an open question whether some of the money spent in the past on indigenous *dais* should not now be diverted to the training of a different class of women.

There has been a good deal of talk for many years about the iniquities of the *dai* class and the need of getting rid of the *dai*. Two things, however, must be kept in mind in this connection. One is the fact that there is nothing inherently wicked about the *dais*. They are as capable as any other class of being trained into useful midwives. It is their ignorance, coupled with the degrading and menial tasks which their clients have forced them to perform, which has made them a source of danger to the public. Proper training and the acceptance by the public of the idea that the work of the midwife is an honourable calling, and must receive an adequate remuneration is all that is required to make the indigenous *dai* harmless and useful. Furthermore, she often has experience to aid her, and this is a great asset. The second point to be remembered is that in attempting to oust the *dai* steps must be taken to replace her by someone as good, if not better. Many of those who now come forward for training are still illiterate women, and they

frequently have no experience beyond the small number of confinements required by the examination.

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The Bill for the Registration of Nurses and Midwives introduced into the Madras Legislative Council is about to become law. A Bill with a similar aim has been drawn up for the Punjab, and will be introduced during the forthcoming session. These very hopeful signs of the times are the fruits of years of labour such as the work of the Victoria Memorial Scholarship Fund represents in India.

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The third of the institutions working for the welfare of Indian women is the Lady Chelmsford League, which is closely associated with that of the Women's Medical Service in India and is likewise proceeding along the lines familiar to the readers of this annual volume. A large proportion of the income of the League is spent in aiding the Health Schools which now train health visitors in all the larger provinces in India. The latest Health School which has been founded, and which is assisted by the League, is that at Lucknow, which trains workers for the United Provinces. The instruction is given in the vernacular. The school was started in October, 1928, and though the first class was a small one there is every reason to believe that candidates will come forward in increasing numbers for training. The League no longer requires to assist the Health School at Lahore, which is now entirely supported by the Punjab Government. This and the other Health Schools continue to do good work, though lack of suitable candidates for training continues to be a stumbling block.

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The lack of facilities for training medical women in health work is a subject which is occupying the attention of the Lady Chelmsford League. To-day it is found that many local bodies, especially in the larger places, are anxious to employ medical women. This is sometimes because they prefer a doctor to a health visitor, but also because the work legitimately demands a medical woman, owing to its amount and the number of workers employed. In a large municipality, for instance, where there are a number of health centres, classes for midwives and other activities of the

INDIA
SHOWING THE
PROVINCIAL CENTRES OF THE COUNTESS OF DUFFERIN'S FUND,
AND LOCALITIES ENGAGED IN FURTHERING THE
OBJECTS OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION.
BAY of BENGAL
BRITISH ISLES

REFERENCES
Head Provincial Centres
Hospitals staffed by members of the Women's Medical Service
Medical Missionaries
All other Hospitals staffed by women doctors only
INDIAN OCEAN

Health Department, a medical woman is required who will organise the work under the Medical Officer of Health. At present there is no means of training medical women for this work, which after all is a special branch of medicine as much as surgery or radiology. In addition there is urgent need for medical women who will organize the work on a provincial basis. There must be supervision and inspection of child welfare work, some uniformity of standards and some co-ordination of the work. Moreover, each province needs a worker who will do the propaganda work and planning of new schemes, the persuasion of local bodies and the maintenance of touch with all-India and the world wide movements of a similar nature which are essential to advance.

The propaganda work of the League goes on unceasingly and consists of publishing leaflets, pamphlets, books and posters in various languages all over India. Baby Week continues to be celebrated with a good deal of enthusiasm in various parts of India, and its results are apparent in various ways, such as the establishment of Health centres, small maternity homes, and the appointment of trained midwives.

A handsome silver challenge cup, called the " Irwin Cup ", was presented for competition among local Baby Weeks by Rajah Raghandanan Prasad Singh, M.L.A., during the year. The cup was awarded to Penukonda, in the Madras Presidency, for the great amount of originality, enterprise and labour shown in devising and carrying out the Baby Week. Three places in the Punjab, namely Rewari, Attock and Gujrat were runners up, and made exceedingly good efforts.

A glance at the map on the opposite page is all that is now necessary to enable the reader to appreciate the magnificent work which is being done by the members of the Women's Medical Service in India. As we have seen, it has serious difficulties to contend with, and the members of the Service consequently work under great disabilities. The Central Government is unwilling to incur any additional expense because women doctors work mostly in the Governors' Provinces, while certain provincial governments are unwilling to make any contribution to the cause of women doctors because they believe that the Central Government should bear all the expense. They have far more work than they can cope with, and their service is not pensionable. It is to be hoped that before the publication of our next annual report the position of the

Women's Medical Service in India will be greatly improved, and at least the major portion of the various suggestions set forward in the memorandum to Her Excellency Lady Irwin and also the Simon Commission will be in operation.

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Mention was made in last year's report of a Committee appointed by the Government to enquire into the question of the allocation of a permanent site for Delhi University Buildings, their character, construction and equipment and the extent and nature of assistance, both capital and recurring, which the Government of India might give to the University. The Committee issued their Report in December, 1927, which suggested three possible ways of dealing with the University; but recommended the third course, which was the acceptance in general of the policy of the Government of India as embodied in the Delhi University Act of 1922, and the adoption of a programme which would result in the realisation, so far as practicable of an ideal of a unitary teaching and residential University. This would not remove intermediate classes from the control of the University or make the intermediate examination of an Indian University the normal avenue of admission to the University courses. It would allow the constituent colleges to retain their self-contained and individualistic character and to undertake teaching for the inter-arts inter-science and B.A. (pass) courses. The University (central organisation) would take complete responsibility for the teaching of the Science, B.A. (honours) and M.A. classes. It would also supplement the course given for the B.A. (pass) course and continue to be in full charge of local education. The University (central organisation) and the three first grade colleges would be provided with certain buildings and lands on the Viceregal Estate, Old Delhi, free of cost. The Committee's scheme was estimated to involve, from 1927-28 to 1931-32, a cash expenditure of Rs. 30,35,000, *i.e.*, Rs. 9,35,000 in the shape of recurring grants and Rs. 21,00,000 as capital grants. This estimate was exclusive of the book value of the buildings and lands of the Viceregal Estate, amounting to Rs. 15,13,000, the Government of India's recurring grants to the colleges, the cost of certain new Faculties, and such capital grants as the colleges might require to adapt the Viceregal Estate buildings to their needs. The Committee also made several other recommendations. The Report of the Committee was still under consideration in March, 1929, and the Government of

India were holding conferences with representatives of the colleges regarding the future of the University. Meanwhile an additional non-recurring grant of Rs. 45,000 was sanctioned by the Government of India, so as to give a total grant of Rs. 1,20,000 in 1928-29 in order to enable the University to maintain its existing commitments.

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The Benares Hindu University is an all-India institution classified as a central subject under the Devolution Rules framed under section 45A of the Government of India Act. The University is aided by the Government of India. It received an annual grant of Rs. 1 lakh up to 1925-26 and apart from a small grant of Rs. 50,000 in 1916, and another of Rs. 77,000 in 1919-20 no capital grant of any kind was made to it. In 1925-26, the University made representations for additional subventions and the under-mentioned grants were sanctioned by the Government of India:—

(*a*) The enhancement of the recurring grant from Rs. 1 lakh to Rs. 1¼ lakhs in 1926-27 and 1927-28 on the understanding that amounts of the recurring grants to be made in 1928-29 and onwards would be reconsidered in 1927-28.

(*b*) A special non-recurring grant of 5 lakhs payable in two instalments—one of Rs. 2 lakhs in 1926-27 and the other of Rs. 3 lakhs in 1927-28 solely for the liquidation of indebtedness.

The question of the recurring grant was considered in 1927-28, but no decision could then be reached for want of adequate information. The additional grant of Rs. 25,000 was therefore continued in 1928-29. The grants given by the Government of India had fallen short of the needs of the University, and repeated representations were made by it for further financial assistance:—

(*a*) to wipe off its debt which stood at Rs. 15 lakhs and had been incurred to meet large expenditure on buildings and equipment;

(*b*) to balance its budget;

(*c*) to improve its staff; and

(*d*) to meet the cost of its normal expansion.

The University found it extremely difficult to persuade the public to subscribe money to repay its debt. Nor could it effect any retrenchment of expenditure without impairing its efficiency. It was at the same time suffering both in staff and equipment for want of funds. The Government of India recognised the desirability of rendering additional financial assistance to the University in order to help it to wipe off its debt and to provide for legitimate expansion on a scale not inferior to that of the Universities aided by local governments. They therefore sanctioned in 1929 the enhancement of their recurring grant to Rs. 3 lakhs in 1929-30 and subsequent years as a permanent measure, and the payment of a non-recurring grant of Rs. 15 lakhs spread over the years 1929-30 to 1931-41. These grants would not, however, be paid unless the University agreed to provide, to the satisfaction of the Government of India, safeguards against incurring further debts.

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The Education Department of the Office of the High Commissioner for India was constituted on a permanent basis in 1925 as a result of the recommendations made in the Report of the Committee of Indian Students, 1921-22. The work of the Department had increased considerably since its constitution, and additional assistance was needed to maintain its efficiency. The Government of India, therefore, sanctioned in 1929 a scheme put forward by the High Commissioner for India for strengthening the staff of the Department. The additional recurring cost of the scheme was estimated to amount to about £500 in 1929-30.

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We may now turn our attention to the steps which the Government of India and certain provincial governments are taking to deal with the drink and drug evil in India. The policy of the Government of India in the matter of opium exports is governed by international agreements. In fact the Government of India have gone further than is required by these agreements, and the export of opium to any non-Asiatic country other than the United Kingdom is prohibited, and export to the latter is for medical and scientific purposes only, and is strictly controlled by the Import Certificate system. The same system was applied to other drugs covered by the Hague Convention in 1923 by an order which was revised in 1926 so as to fall into line with the definitions contained

in the Geneva Convention. In June, 1926, it was announced that the extinction of exports of opium for other than medical and scientific purposes would be accomplished in ten years, that is, no opium will be exported for purposes other than medical and scientific after December 31, 1935. The exports in 1927 were 90 per cent. of the exports in 1926, and 80 per cent. in 1928. During the current year these will be 70 per cent. of the exports in 1926, and so on. With effect from the 19th March, 1925, the transhipment at any port in British India of any of the drugs covered by the Hague Convention was prohibited unless covered by an export authorization or diversion certificate issued by the exporting country, and this order was revised in the light of the Geneva Convention on the 12th February, 1927.

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The present opium policy of the Government of India has entailed enormous financial sacrifices. During the last eleven years, the area under poppy cultivation in India has been reduced by more than 76 per cent., and the present cultivation of the poppy is strictly confined to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the amount grown elsewhere being negligible. The area under poppy cultivation in British India in 1927 was 52,278 acres, as compared with 154,621 acres in the year 1920. The Government of India have also entered into negotiations with those Indian States in which opium was produced in order to bring them in line with the policy adopted by the Imperial Government in accordance with the terms of the Hague Convention. The total quantity of crude opium purchased from Indian States was reduced from 11,400 maunds in 1924-25 to 6,500 maunds in 1925-26. (A *maund* is equal to 82 $\frac{2}{7}$ lbs.)

In our last year's report reference was made to a Committee of Enquiry appointed by the Government of India to investigate the question of the relations between the Government of India and the Indian States in the matter of opium. The report of the Committee is still under consideration.

Statistics and reports issued by the League of Nations Secretariat afford ample proof of the earnestness and success with which the Government of India have fulfilled the duties imposed upon them by international obligations. Within their territories both the Central Government and the Governments of the Provinces are grappling seriously with the problem of " black spots " in British India. It might be explained at this point, that except in Burma

and Assam opium smoking, which was recognised by the first Opium Conference at Geneva in 1925 as being the real opium evil, is not a general practice. The Governments of the Provinces have acted in this matter both singly and in concert with each other. In September, 1926, a conference of provincial ministers charged with the administration of excise was held to discuss the co-ordination of excise policy in certain matters throughout India. As a result of this conference the Government of India suggested to the Provincial Governments certain measures which might contribute towards a solution of the problem of eradicating the evils referred to. The result of the conference was that the Governments of Bengal, the Central Provinces, Bihar and Orissa, Bombay and Madras all appointed Committees to enquire into conditions in certain specified areas, and the Government of the United Provinces asked its existing licensing boards to state their views in regard to the position within certain municipal limits after such enquiry as they considered necessary. The proposal to organise some system of liaison between the various governmental authorities has been abandoned, and the Government of India are now considering the desirability of holding a conference after the reports of the various local investigations have been received for the purposes of collating and comparing the results obtained before the different Provincial Governments decide individually on the action to be taken in regard to these reports.

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The year under review saw the introduction of a " Dangerous Drugs Bill ", 1928, a measure to centralise and vest in the Governor-General-in-Council the control over certain operations relating to dangerous drugs, and to increase and render uniform throughout British India the penalties for offences relating to such operations. The Bill was circulated for eliciting opinions thereon in September, 1928, and is likely to be passed shortly.

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The figures showing the decline in the consumption of opium throughout India during the past decade or two are very striking. Between 1910-11 and 1927-28 the consumption has fallen in Madras from 1,039 maunds to 866 maunds; in Bombay from 1,435 maunds to 711 maunds; in Bengal from 1,626 maunds to 994 maunds; in Burma from 1,444 maunds to 622 maunds; in Bihar and Orissa from 882 maunds to 611 maunds; in the United Provinces from 1,545

maunds to 569 maunds; in the Punjab from 1,584 maunds to 1,014 maunds; in the Central Provinces from 1,307 maunds to 626 maunds; in Assam from 1,509 maunds to 722 maunds; in the North-West Frontier Province from 69 maunds to 50 maunds; and in Baluchistan from 15 maunds to 13 maunds. In 1910-11 the consumption for the whole of British India was 12,527 maunds; in 1927-28 it was 6,926 maunds. At the same time the revenue derived from opium in the various provinces of India, owing to the enhanced price at which the drug is sold, has risen from Rs. 1·63 crores in 1910-11 to Rs. 3·38 crores in 1927-28.

Of late years, much has been heard of the increased use of cocaine and allied drugs in the larger cities of India, and from time to time newspapers print somewhat alarming articles on this subject. It is almost superfluous to say that this feature of life in the big cities is a matter of much concern to excise and police officers. The authorities are fully alive to the danger, and have developed, and are continually improving, detective and preventive measures, and captures of this drug and arrests of those who traffic in them are common occurrences. The true coca plant is not grown in India, nor is cocaine manufactured, but notwithstanding several Governments have, as a matter of precaution, passed Acts prohibiting the cultivation of cocaine-yielding plants, and these Acts have now received the assent of the Governor-General.

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As regards opium smoking the following is now the general position in India. The aim of the policy of the Government of India is the ultimate suppression of the use of prepared opium for smoking. Total prohibition of smoking has as yet been enforced only in Assam. Elsewhere the sale of prepared opium is forbidden, and so is its manufacture except by an individual who prepares it for his own use from opium lawfully in his possession. The Government of Burma have adopted the most stringent measures for the ultimate extinction of opium smoking. In 1924 they issued rules prohibiting any person other than a registered smoker from possessing prepared opium, and a register for opium smokers was opened for six months from the 9th January, 1924. No new names can be added to the register, and with the gradual disappearance of the persons on the register on the 8th July 1924, opium smoking will cease to be permitted except in a few backward tracts. The total number of registered smokers of opium on 31st December, 1927,

was 14,003. In Bihar and Orissa opium smoking is prohibited except by licensed smokers. Under the respective Opium Smoking Acts of the Punjab and the United Provinces, opium smoking in company has been prohibited in those provinces; and the provisions of the Punjab Opium Smoking Act have been extended to Delhi, the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan. Under the Punjab Opium Smoking Act an assembly of *three or more persons*, and under the United Provinces Opium Smoking Act an assembly of *two or more persons* is designated an opium smoking assembly if the common object of the persons composing that assembly is to smoke or prepare opium for smoking purposes, and penalties are prescribed for being a member of such an assembly. In Bengal, legislation is being initiated to make opium smoking by persons other than registered smokers a penal offence, and a smokers' register will be opened with a view to the ultimate eradication of the evil. The Government of the Central Provinces are proposing to introduce a Bill in the Legislative Council of that province with a view to prohibiting opium smoking in company. They also propose to introduce a system of registration and rationing of habitual addicts. The Madras Government have postponed the consideration of their Bill, which aimed at prohibiting opium smoking altogether in the Presidency, pending the passage of the Dangerous Drugs Bill. The Government of Bombay are proposing to prohibit the manufacture, possession and sale of prepared opium except under a license, and maintain a register of persons addicted to the habit.

* * *

The consumption of alcoholic liquors does not provide a serious problem in India except in those bigger centres of population in which industrial labour is concentrated. About a quarter of the total population of India—the Muhammadans—are practically outside the range of the drink evil since their religion forbids them to take alcoholic liquor, and this prohibition is for the most part faithfully obeyed. Among the congested labouring population of Bombay and Calcutta and a few lesser places the evil exists to some extent but on the whole it is true to say that the drink problem is not much in evidence in India. There has, however, been a good deal of talk of recent years in most of the Indian Provinces about compulsory prohibition. For many people in India the ideal of total prohibition is not unconnected with politics for, during the non-co-operation agitation, considerable pressure was brought

to bear in some places on drink shop proprietors and would-be drinkers in order to prevent the one class from plying their trade and the other from satisfying their appetite. The object of this pressure was to destroy an important item in the revenues of the Government, chiefly the revenues of the Provincial Governments. Nevertheless the movement towards total prohibition is very largely inspired by genuine reforming zeal, and the general trend of every governing authority in India is to reduce to a minimum the consumption of alcoholic liquors. Absolute prohibition in the sense of ensuring that there shall be no consumption of liquor, except such as is allowed by law, is quite impossible for India in her circumstances. An immense army of preventive agents would have to be employed in every province in order to ensure complete obedience to any law enforcing total prohibition, and the better plan appears to be to continue the present policy adopted by the Government of India and some Provincial Governments in this matter, a plan which aims at inculcating temperance whilst providing facilities for persons requiring wholesome refreshment, but at a price likely to discourage the abuse of intoxicating liquors. The Government of India is not now primarily concerned with the consumption of alcoholic liquors except those imported from abroad, the duty on which forms a useful item in the central revenues of the country. From time to time, however, the subject of alcoholic drinks comes up for discussion in some connection or other in the Legislative Assembly or Council of State, when the Government of India make it clear that their policy in the area subject to their direct administration is to promote and ensure moderation in the use of such liquors. At different times the Government of Bombay, Madras and the United Provinces have accepted prohibition or abstinence in general terms as the goal of their policy, and on October 22nd, 1927, the Madras Legislative Council passed a resolution recommending that the total prohibition of alcoholic drink in the Presidency within the next 20 years should be the declared object of the Provincial Government's policy. In 1926, a local option Bill was passed in Assam, and the Government of the Central Provinces aim at the ultimate extinction of the consumption of country-made spirit. There is, however, reason to believe that there are limits to the policy of checking consumption of liquor by raising the price to a very high figure, for this encourages the manufacture of illicit liquor. The Punjab Government have had to reduce the duty on country spirit, and the Bombay Government,

in their review of the Administration Report of their Excise Department for 1926-27, explained certain financial and administrative difficulties which had arisen out of their policy of partial prohibition, and their resolution of the 11th April, 1928, in which they passed orders on the report of a prohibition (financial) committee appointed by them in 1926. They stated that on account of financial considerations further progress in the direction of prohibition must necessarily be slow. On the whole, therefore, the various governing authorities in this country are adopting all reasonable measures within their power to guard against the spread of the drink habit, and to make it difficult and expensive to gratify.

CHAPTER V.

Communications.

The Railways at present form the most important part of India's system of communications, and the active policy of railway development in every direction which is now being pursued by the Railway Board and by the railway companies of India cannot fail to exercise a profound influence upon rural development generally. With the extension of communications, new markets, new industries and new opportunities are created, which are very vital to an immense country like India. Approximately over seventy-one per cent. of the total route mileage of Indian railways is owned, and over forty-four per cent. is directly managed, by the State. The control, financing and development of the railways of India falls very largely, therefore, on the Central Government which acts in railway matters through the Railway Board. As now constituted the Board consists of a Chief Commissioner, a Financial Commissioner, and three members, one of whom deals with technical subjects, and others with general administration, personnel and traffic. The Financial Commissioner deals with all financial questions. Five Directors assist the Board in the five branches of Civil Engineering, Mechanical Engineering, Traffic, Finance, and Establishments, and by disposing of all matters except those of policy or major importance, relieve the Railway Board of routine work and enable them to concentrate their attention on the larger questions of railway policy. Under the Railway Board each railway has an Agent in supreme charge. Until a few years ago the railways were all administered on the departmental system. The increasing mileage on some of the railways, the growing complexity of traffic problems and modern advances in the science of transportation have necessitated some adjustment in the controlling agency. The old system became unsuited to the working of an increasing traffic over large areas, and the burden falling upon the headquarters staff of the larger railways was so heavy as to render efficient control difficult. A careful analysis of the problem indicated that the remedy lay in adopting a divisional organisation, the main object of which is to fix the responsibility for the whole of the railway work in a certain section of a railway (called a " division ") on one officer

called the Divisional Superintendent. A " division " may be of any length according to circumstances, but is generally a good deal larger than the old railway districts in which, under the departmental system, there were three or more officers each responsible to the head of his department at the headquarters of the railway. Each Divisional Superintendent is directly responsible to the Agent, the administrative head of the whole railway, who has on his staff experts in the several branches of railway work. Naturally, the divisional system is not the same in all its details on every railway. Divisional organisation was introduced on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway in 1922, on the North Western Railway in 1924, and on the East Indian Railway in January 1925. These improvements in organisation were the administrative counterparts of the very fruitful change in the system of railway finance, which, as we shall see in the next chapter, resulted from the convention, concluded in September, 1924, between the Government of India and the Legislative Assembly.

In 1872 the total railway mileage in India was a little over 5,300. At the end of March, 1929, the total route mileage was approximately 40,940, that is, a greater mileage than that possessed by any country in Europe, and almost double the mileage of the United Kingdom. These figures, and the comparison with European countries, are given merely for the purpose of showing the immensity of the effort made in this matter of railway building in India and not in order to suggest that there ought to be any slackening of effort, for it must be remembered that India is as big as the whole of Europe, with the exception of Russia, and it is clear that many gaps in the Indian railway system have got to be filled up before the Government of India can regard their railway system as complete. During the year under review 1,270·24 miles of new railways were opened to public traffic, and the total mileage of railway under construction on March 31st, 1929, was approximately 3,225 miles.

One feature of the Railway Board's programme stands out prominently, and this is the absence of ambitious projects of trunk line construction. The explanation is that India is already well served by trunk lines which follow the outlines of a railway system laid down for her by Lord Dalhousie in the fifties of last century. He foresaw a system of trunk lines connecting the interior of each Presidency with its outlying parts and the different Presidencies

with each other. This scheme was to include a trunk line from Calcutta to Lahore, another from Bombay to the North West of India, another from Madras to Bombay, and a fourth from Madras to the Malabar Coast. Building on this skeleton a number of subsidiary trunk lines have been added from time to time, and there are now only a few gaps left in the main net work.

The position in regard to the important gaps still to be filled is as follows:—

(1) The Central India Coalfields Railway, which will cross the gap lying between the East Indian and Bengal Nagpur Railways in Chota Nagpur and the Central Provinces—certain portions of this line were opened during the year under review, while good progress was made on the others.

(2) The Raipur-Parvatipuram Railway, which will complete the link between the Central Provinces and the East Coast—this line is expected to be completed sometime in 1931.

(3) The Kazipet-Bellarshah Railway, built by His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government, which effects a saving of about 200 miles in the journey between Madras and Northern India—this line was opened for traffic on 15th November, 1928.

The key-note of the programme to which the Government of India are now working is the filling in of the interstices of the net-work of trunk lines with useful branches and feeders so that the benefits of railway service may be brought right to the doors of the agriculturists and rural population. It will be seen that omitting the two main connections already referred to, namely, the Raipur-Parvatipuram line and the Central India Coalfields Railway, the Government sanctioned 12 new lines during the year under review. Of these, construction on eight lines, a total length of 430·50 miles, was started during the year, while the remaining four, 222·50 miles long, are to be undertaken in the near future. These are, in fact, lines designed primarily to serve the interests of the agriculturist and to enable produce to be moved and marketed. The programme, may, therefore, be described as an agricultural railway programme. But to fulfil this character it has been necessary to devise cheaply constructed lines, because construction to

the ordinary standards would have meant either that the lines will not earn a fair return on their capital, or that they will impose an insupportable burden on the carriage of produce and passengers in the very places where it is wished to encourage traffic. Whether these new lines with their low speeds and low standards of amenities will escape severe criticism remains to be seen, but if they are successful they will pay for gradual improvement up to the standard of the older lines.

In addition to their expenditure on new construction the Railway Board and the Agents of the different railways are undertaking more outlay on improvements in open line facilities, which includes large sums for the improvement of rails and sleepers, for the remodelling of station yards and marshalling yards, and for electrification. During 1927-28 and 1928-29 no less than $2\frac{1}{4}$ crores of rupees were provided in each year for the standard of comfort for lower class passengers, attention being paid particularly to water supply, waiting rooms and halls, refreshment rooms, booking arrangements and improvements to coaching stock.

In addition to the construction of new lines a number of important open line works were under construction during the year, and good progress is reported to have been made on them. Of these important open line works, special mention may be made of the provision of additional tracks and improved facilities on the Madras Suburban section of the South Indian Railway, and the construction of bridges over the Irrawaddy at Sagaing and over the Indus at Kalabagh.

* * *

The Local Advisory Committees constitute a valuable link between Railway Administrations and the travelling public, as they afford opportunities for the discussion of matters of interest and importance to the railways' clientele. One hundred and fifteen meetings of these Committees on State-owned railways were held during the year, as compared with one hundred and eight in the previous year and ninety-two in 1926-27. As in the previous year the subjects discussed at these meetings cover a very wide range of topics, and to the list given in last year's report of matters discussed may now be added the following:—extension of through train services and through carriage services; issue of return tickets for week-ends; railway arrangements for fairs and other large

gatherings; running of demonstration trains; provision of steam coach service; running of Indian refreshment cars; booking of luggage; provision of level-crossings and overbridges; opening of city booking offices; waiting rooms; reservation of compartments and the acceleration of train services.

The public appreciation of the utility of these Advisory Committees is reflected in the demands that are made for the constitution of Branch Advisory Committees at other centres in addition to those constituted at the headquarters of Railways. Two such branches were formed during the year—one by the Great Indian Peninsula Railway at Cawnpore, and the other by the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway at Hubli.

* * *

The Railway Rates Advisory Committee, which was constituted in 1926 and referred to in last year's report, continued to function during the year under review. The Committee reported on nine cases that had been referred to them, and at the close of the year there were three cases still under consideration.

In the last year's report references were made to the electrification which is in progress on the Great Indian Peninsula and Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railways, the first object of which is to relieve the congestion of passenger traffic in the thickly populated areas round Bombay. This work has been carried on during the year now under review, and is now nearing completion on both lines.

As mentioned in last year's report, following the recommendations of the expert Committee presided over by Sir Vincent Raven, a number of Railway Workshops were re-modelled and a number of alterations to workshops carried out on the lines recommended by the Committee.

* * *

The importance of the railways to the life of this country and the wide scope of employment which they offer makes the question of the Indianisation of the railway services of first rate importance. The word " Indianisation ", when used in this connection, is applied to the superior or gazetted ranks of the services, since the personnel of the lower and subordinate ranks is naturally predominantly Indian. The pace of Indianisation of the gazetted services has been accelerated within recent years. Of the permanent gazetted

appointments created during the last year, 68 per cent. were Indians compared with 62 per cent. in 1926-27 and 32 per cent. in 1925-26. Analysed in branches the figures for appointments to the permanent staff show that the percentages of Indians appointed were: to the engineering branch 78, to the traffic and commerce branch and the mechanical branch 36 per cent., and to other branches 57 per cent. On the Company-managed Railways the number of Indians appointed during 1927-28 was 49 per cent. of the total vacancies filled in the case of permanent appointments, and 51 per cent. in the case of temporary posts. In the higher subordinate grades there was an increase of 222 in the number of Indians and a decrease of 36 Europeans.

* * *

As was pointed out in last year's report the recruitment in India of officers of the superior railway services and the increasing complexity of railway operating problems demands improved methods of training the staff in their duties. During the year 80 officers, 486 subordinates and 20 probationer signallers attended the newly established Railway School of Transportation at Chandausi to receive special courses of training. With a view to meet the urgent demand for a Railway Staff College, the Railway Board recently sanctioned the establishment of a Railway Staff College at Dehra Dun at an estimated cost of Rs. 23,37,840. This college is intended primarily for the training of probationer and junior officers already employed on the railways, but classes for senior officers will also be held. Good progress was made on the work of erecting and equipping the college during the year under review. Considerable attention is also being devoted to the training of subordinate staff and there are schools for this purpose at Lyallpur in the Punjab and at Bina in the Central Provinces. These schools will train probationers in the subordinate ranks before they take up their regular duties and will provide instructions for members of the subordinate staff to enable them to qualify for promotion.

* * *

With a view to facilitate the tendering for and purchase of stores the Railway Board, in collaboration with the Indian Stores Department, recently convened a standing committee for the standardisation of railway stores. The personnel of this committee consists of a member of the Railway Board and the Controller of

Stores of the Great Indian Peninsula, North Western, East Indian and Eastern Bengal Railways, and the first meeting was held in January, 1928. The work is naturally one of considerable magnitude. Considerable progress has already been made in providing approved specifications for the more important items of stores in common use on Indian railways.

* * *

About 150 of the new standard types of locomotives were put into service on various Indian railways during the year, and although certain minor defects inseparable from the introduction of new designs have come to light, the locomotives have given ample cause for satisfaction. Similarly most of the new I. R. S. designs of coaching bogies, underframes and wagons became available during the year, and orders for about 3,700 of these types were placed mainly with Indian wagon-building firms.

* * *

The Fuel Economy Committee appointed by the Railway Board continued to hold its periodical meetings during the year under review. The State Railways in India consume something like 4 million tons of fuel per year, so that the importance of the subject can readily be realised. Gratifying results have been already obtained resulting in substantial economies, in some cases in the region of 10 per cent. in comparison with the performance obtained in previous years.

* * *

The Carriage and Wagon Shops of the Indian Railways use annually about 31,500 tons of finished timbers of all kinds. The great majority of this up to recent years has been Burma teak. Efforts have now been made to find substitutes for teak from the numerous species of timber that occur through India and Burma. A plant to kiln-season 3,000 tons annually has been erected at Lillooah, on the East Indian Railway, and will be utilised to season miscellaneous timbers which will be tried as substitutes for teak. Four trial coaches of indigenous species other than Burma teak have also been built by the East Indian Railway. Considerable progress has also been made to increase the range of selection of timber for use as sleepers by introducing special preservative treatment. The North Western Railway now has a large plant at Dhilwan which

is used for the preservative treatment, with creosote, of coniferous timber, and the Assam-Bengal Railway has recently erected a plant to treat Assam timber at Naharkatiya, in the North-East of Assam.

* * *

Third class passenger fares had been reduced in previous years on all State-managed Railways excepting the Eastern Bengal Railway. During the year under review it was felt that conditions warranted a reduction in the third class fares on the Eastern Bengal Railway from the scale of 3½ pies per mile to the following scale:—

	Pies per mile.
For the first 150 miles	3½
For the additional distance in excess of 150 but not exceeding 300 miles	2½
For the additional distance in excess of 300 miles .	1½

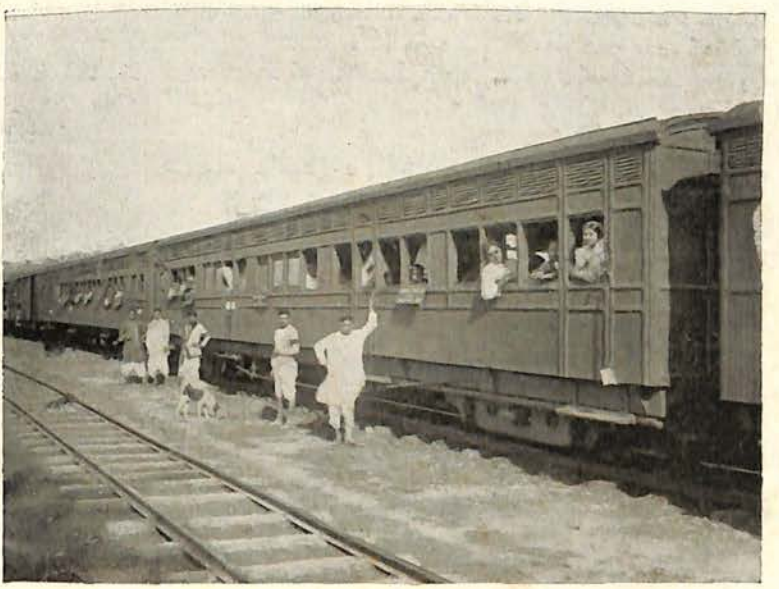
The third class fares over the Burma Railways were also reduced from 1st January, 1929, when the management of that railway was taken over by the State.

* * *

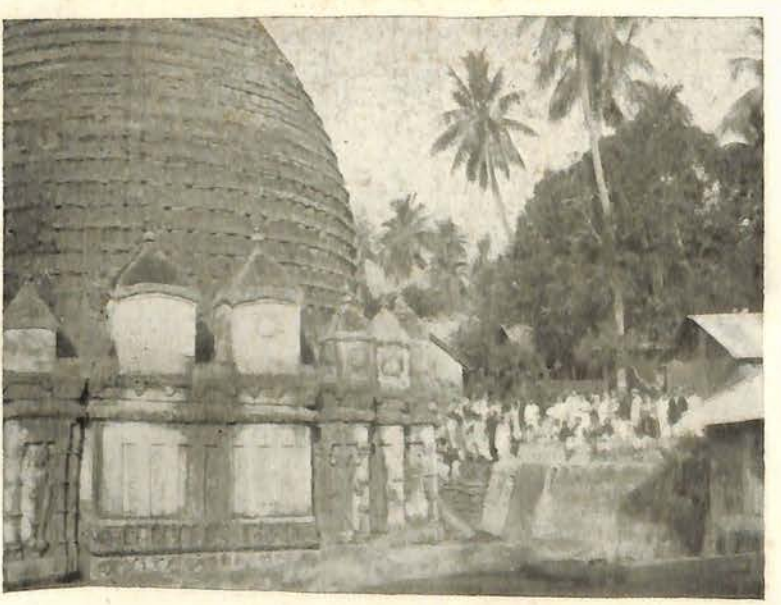
The scheme of separation of Accounts from Audit was first introduced as an experimental measure on the East Indian Railway in December, 1925, and in the following year a Railway Clearing Accounts Office was established and placed as an experiment under the control of the Railway Board with an independent Auditor acting on behalf of the Auditor General. The experiment proved a great success and it was therefore decided, with the approval of the Secretary of State, to adopt the scheme as a permanent measure on all State-managed railways, and to establish the Clearing Accounts Office on a permanent basis. The scheme was introduced on the Burma Railways with effect from the 1st January, 1929, and on the North Western Railway from the 1st April, 1929. It is proposed to introduce it on the Great Indian Peninsula and Eastern Bengal Railways from the 1st October, 1929, and 1st April, 1930, respectively.

* * *

After the transfer of the East Indian and the Great Indian Peninsula Railways to State management the next State-owned and company-managed railway system whose contract could be determined was the Burma Railways. This line was taken over from the Burma Railways Company on the 1st January, 1929, and

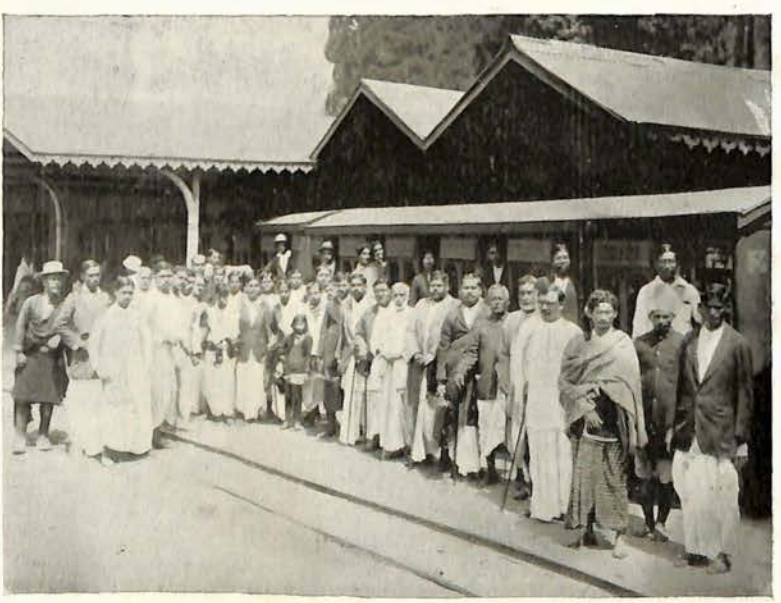


Third Class Conducted Excursions *en route* to Kamakhaya.



At the Shrine at Kamakhaya.

Pilgrims waiting for the Steamer for Amingaon.

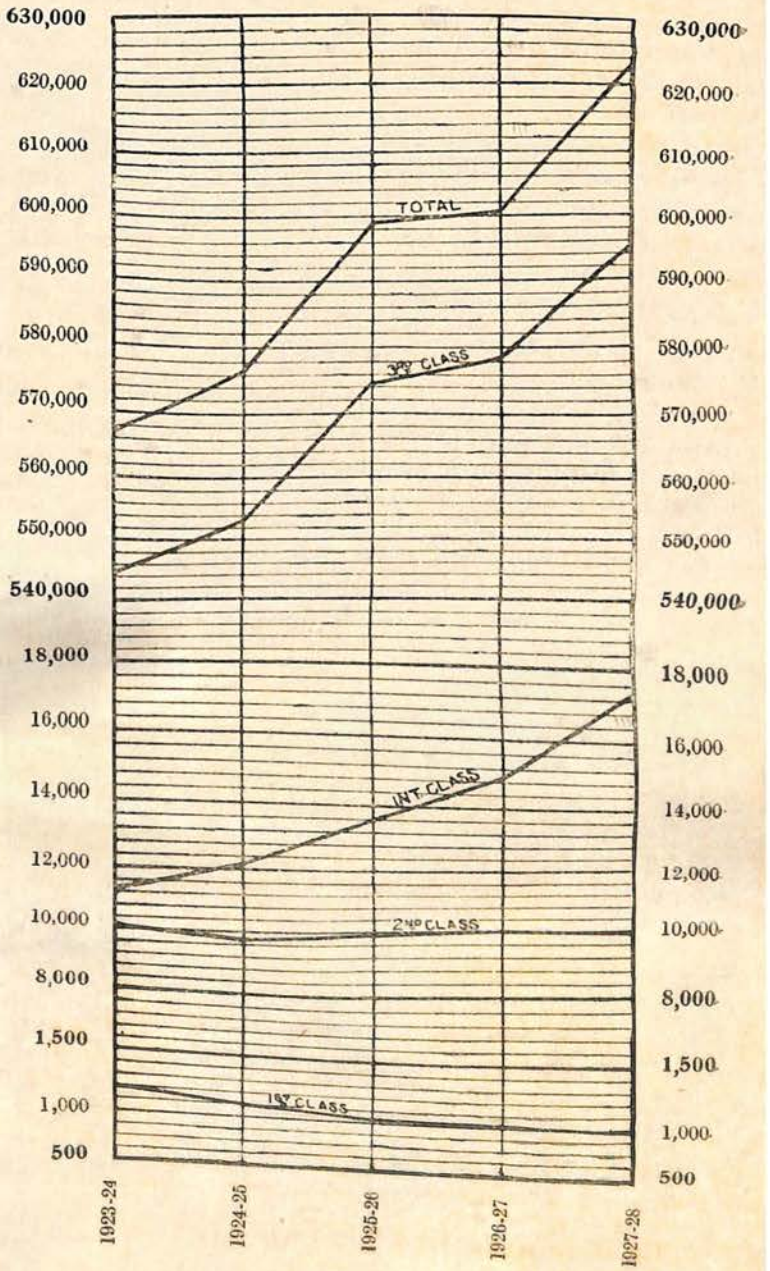


The Darjeeling Excursion Party returning to Calcutta.

DIAGRAM.

Number of Passengers carried on Indian Railways.

(In Thousands.)



it now forms a part of the State-owned railway systems of India, to which it has added a length of some 2,000 miles of metre gauge railway. The decision to take over the line for management by the State was reached after careful consideration and with full regard to the views of the Government and the Legislative Council of Burma, who expressed themselves in favour of State-management. While the transfer of the line to State-management has entailed the payment to the Burma Railways Company of a sum of £3,000,000 it is expected that it will result in a net annual gain to the Government of about half a crore of rupees.

* * *

The Labour position on Indian Railways has assumed considerable importance within recent years, so much so that the Government of India in January, 1929, decided that the appointment of an additional member on the Railway Board, specially to deal with labour problems on Indian railways, was necessary. During the year under review there were three strikes, one on each of the following railways: the East Indian, the South Indian and the Nizam's Guaranteed State Railways. The strike on the East Indian Railway, which started on the 7th March, 1928, with the trouble in the Lillooah workshops, lasted up to the 10th July with subsidiary strikes at Howrah, Ondal and Asansol. On the 30th July the men in the Lillooah shops again downed tools and resorted to disorderly behaviour. The men resumed work on the 8th August, and there has been no disturbance since.

With the exception of the serious disaster at Dankuni, where an express train was derailed owing to a rail having been removed, no serious inconvenience was caused during the strike to the travelling public. As a result of the derailment near Dankuni the engine and five coaches of the train were badly smashed and 18 passengers were killed and 32 injured. There was one other serious incident in connection with this strike. This happened at Bamangachi, where on account of the disorderly behaviour of the workmen and their attempt to induce men to down tools in the locomotive yard the Police were compelled to fire.

The trouble on the South Indian Railway started on the 29th of June, when the workshop staff at Golden Rock, Negapatam, and Podanur downed their tools because the Agent had announced his intention of reducing the number of workshop men by 3,171 men. These men were found surplus to requirements owing to the pro-

posed concentration of the workshops of the railway at Golden Rock, and the introduction of labour-saving devices. A general strike was declared on the 19th of July and spread throughout the metre gauge portion of the South Indian Railway. It lasted till the 30th July. During the short period of the strike there was great dislocation of traffic, and the public were seriously inconvenienced by the strikers attempting to interfere with the running of trains. There was also considerable rioting and stone-throwing, and the Police were compelled to open fire on the crowd on two occasions. At Kattupakam and Kodaikanal Road, on the 21st and 23rd July respectively, owing to the malicious tampering with the permanent way, two passenger trains were derailed. Three passengers were killed and 40 injured, and the railway suffered a loss of about Rs. 1,35,000 in damages to rolling stock.

The strike in the locomotive, carriage, and engineering shops on the Nizam's Guaranteed State Railways was confined mostly to unskilled labourers. It was not of a serious nature and lasted for about 30 working days in all. The men first struck work on the morning of the 16th of August, and resumed work on the 24th idem. They again struck work on the 11th September, and finally resumed work on the 8th October. The causes of this strike are obscure.

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The Publicity Department created by the Railway Board in 1927 was placed on a permanent basis from the 1st January, 1929. There can be no question that the achievement recorded in this field of work has gained a permanent place for publicity as an inseparable partner in the varied phases of business in this country. Railway Publicity continued to receive a warm welcome from all sections of the community, and successfully created and maintained an important link of mutual understanding between Railway administrations and the public. It played a prominent part also in correcting wrongly conceived ideas prevalent as regards travel facilities in India, the measure of its success being the increasing flow of overseas tourist traffic to India, the popularity of students' specials, holiday specials and conducted tours and a greater volume of pilgrim traffic.

The intricate nature of publicity work in India as compared with other countries must be recognised in view of the illiterate

conditions of the great majority of the inhabitants of the country and the lack of knowledge by those that are literate, of a common script and language. In the face of these difficulties the success already achieved by this new department of the Railway Board during the short space of two years is remarkable.

The Central Publicity Bureau, which was first established in April, 1927, in Bombay, was moved to Delhi, the Headquarters of the Railway Board, in March, 1928, to facilitate closer touch with the Board and the co-ordination of publicity work on State Railways. In addition to its administrative control the Bureau is actively employed in the production of publicity material such as Cinema Films, Posters, Publicity Literature and a State Railways Magazine for circulation in India and overseas.

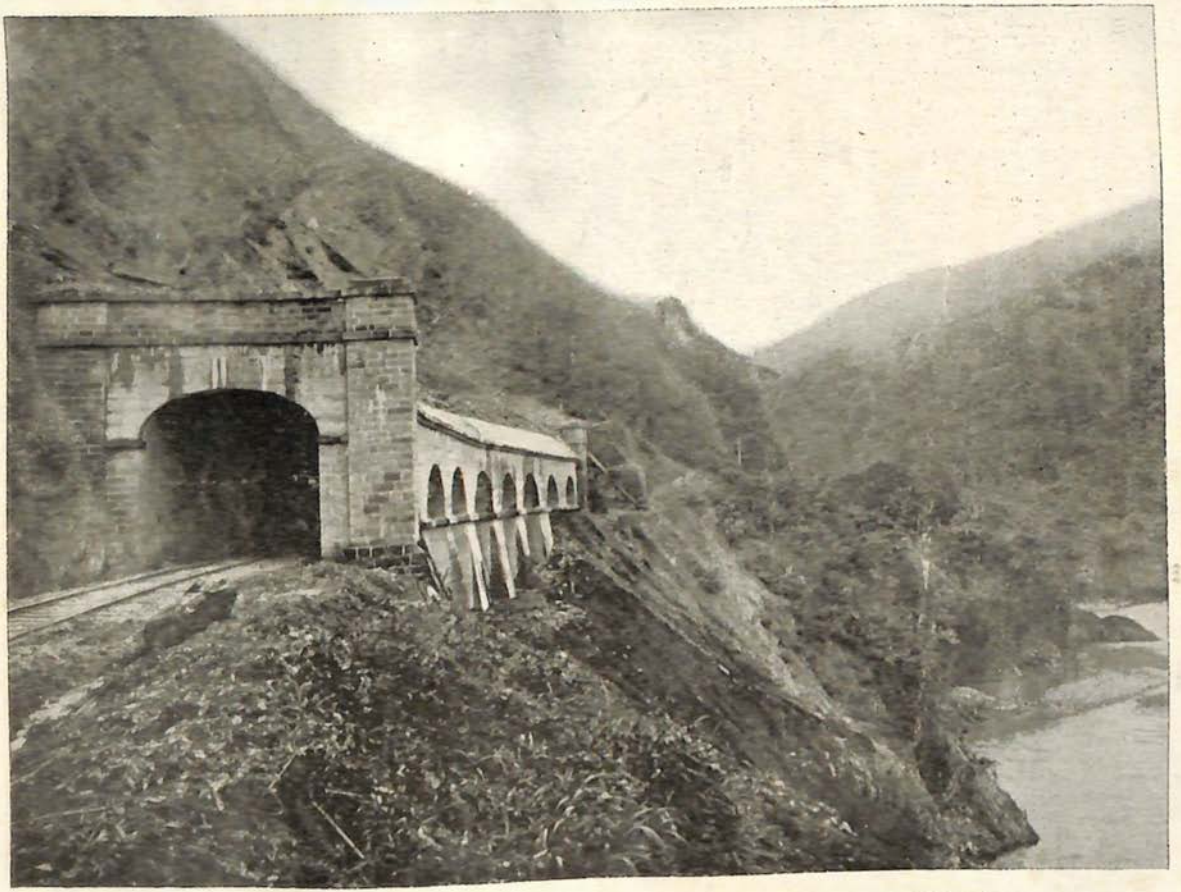
The production of cinema films is concentrated entirely in the Central Publicity Bureau. The films produced are chiefly directed towards encouraging third-class traffic, the improvement of indigenous primary industries, the encouragement of scientific agriculture, attracting overseas traffic, education of the Staff and the travelling public. Films of topical railway events, interesting railway works and the progress of improvements have been produced and screened to create and retain public interest in the railway undertakings. The films produced by the Central Publicity Bureau are circulated to railways for open air exhibition by means of cinema cars. This has, undoubtedly, been the most effective method of conveying information to and creating a strong impression on the minds of the overwhelming illiterate majority in this country. The popularity of these displays can be estimated from the fact that during the six months ending December, 1928, no less than 815,130 spectators were registered to have taken advantage of the 380 shows arranged during the period under reference. Copies of the Railway Board's films have been produced for supply to all State Railways, which are gradually coming into possession of film libraries of their own. A selected number of copies have, also, been sold to other Government Departments and public bodies.

Reciprocal publicity arrangements with overseas railways have grown during 1928-29, and the Bureau is now in touch with most of the European, African, American, Canadian, Australian, Japanese and Mesopotamian rail-road administrations, with whom posters and films for display on their systems, and literature for

distribution, are exchanged. Similar arrangements have been extended to public association not connected with railways.

An interesting feature during the course of the year has been the introduction and development of staff welfare and sports organisation on Indian Railways. A Sports Officer was appointed, whose duties have been to encourage the development of sports and athletic competitions on Indian Railways. Considerable organisation has had to be undertaken in this connection, and a definite advance has already been made in the creating of a sporting spirit and health of the staff. Within a few months of the Sports Officer's appointment football and boxing tournaments, in which all railways participated, were held in Simla during the summer months, and are being followed by hockey tournaments and athletic sports in Delhi before the Railway Board moves to its Summer Headquarters. Great interest has been taken by individual Railway administrations in organising local events with preliminary heats preparatory to the annual meetings. These meetings are calculated to foster the desire for active life, engender *esprit-de-corps* amongst the staff of the railways, and a healthy rivalry with other railways in the field. This new development has also provided a channel of personal touch, otherwise impracticable in large business organisations, between officers and men outside working hours, helping them to acquire a more intimate knowledge of each other, creating a common interest and better understanding.

Demonstration trains for the purpose of educating the Indian cultivator by giving practical demonstrations of scientific methods in farming, cattle breeding and dairying, side by side with Railways propaganda organised in close co-operation with the Provincial Governments, provide an incomparable method of spreading information in connection with Public Health, Veterinary Science and the work of Government Industries and Co-operative Departments. During the year 1928-29 the running of these trains was resumed over the Eastern Bengal Railway and the North Western Railway systems with very great success, and they were visited by large numbers of people in the different places to which they went. The Punjab Government have been so satisfied with the utility of the North Western Railway Demonstration Train that they have insisted on its remaining on tour for 6 months. The East Indian and Great Indian Peninsula Railways are considering the use of similar demonstration trains on their systems.



COVERED WAY CARRIED ON VIADUCT AT CHAMARTOLA, A. B. RAILWAY.

Upper and third class conducted tour specials, as well as holiday and Bazaar special trains, were run by several railways with considerable success. This has provided a new feature of attraction for the public, who look out for these trains with interest. The demand for these services is growing, and has been considerable from educational centres.

* * *

The road system of India is a vital link in her system of communications, for although there has been an impressive growth of railway mileage during the past half century there are still vast areas unserved by the railways. The report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India stated, amongst other things, that in the development of communications generally, railways and roads should be regarded as complementary to each other, and that it should be possible to avoid in India the senseless and wasteful competition between rail and motor traffic that is to-day taking place in England and other Western countries. The steady increase of road motor competition in certain parts of India has made the railway authorities chary of constructing branch lines in areas where such competition is likely to threaten their future prospects. The problem can hardly be called a serious one in its present stage, though it will undoubtedly become more acute unless there is more co-operation between roads and railways aspiring to one ideal, namely, the development of transport.

It will be recalled that a special committee consisting of members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly was appointed in November, 1927, to examine the desirability of developing the road system of India, the means by which such development could be most suitably financed, and to consider the formation of a Central Road Board for the purpose of advising in regard to, and co-ordinating the policy in respect of, road development in India. The personnel of the Committee was:—

Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Bar.-at-Law, M.L.A. (Chairman).
Diwan Chaman Lal, M.L.A.
The Hon'ble Sir Geoffrey Corbett, K.B.E., C.I.E., I.C.S.
The Hon'ble Sir Arthur Froom, Kt.
Kumar Ganganand Sinha, M.L.A.
Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, M.L.A.
Lala Lajpat Rai, M.L.A.

The Hon'ble Mr. Mahmood Suhrawardy.
Mr. Mohammad Anwarul Azim, M.L.A.
Mr. Mohammad Ismail Khan, M.L.A.
The Hon'ble Dr. U. Rama Rau.
Mr. K. V. Rangaswamy Ayyangar, M.L.A.
The Hon'ble Sardar Shivdev Singh Uberoi.
Mr. E. F. Sykes, M.L.A.
Mr. H. F. Knight, I.C.S. (Secretary).
Mr. K. G. Mitchell, A.C.G.I., A.M.Inst. C.E. (Technical Adviser).

The Committee assembled at New Delhi on November 6th, 1927, and a sub-committee was appointed to tour various parts of India and submit reports to the full Committee. Sixty-three witnesses were examined by the full Committee in January, 1928, and the final report was published in November, 1928. A mass of useful statistical, historical and descriptive information on India's road system formed the major portion of the report, in addition to some important recommendations. The Committee were very emphatic regarding the inadequacy of India's road system, and acknowledged that the development of motor traffic is revolutionizing the road problem in this country. They pointed out that it was somewhat incongruous that there should be nearly 40,000 miles of railways in India, while the total mileage of surfaced roads in India is only 59,000, and urged that further development is desirable for the general welfare of the country as a whole and in particular: (*a*) for the better marketing of agricultural produce; (*b*) for the social and political progress of the rural population, which will be advanced by the increased use of motor transport; (*c*) as a complement to railway development. The Committee also acknowledged that road development is now passing beyond the financial capacity of local Governments and local bodies, and is becoming a national interest which may, to some extent, be a proper charge on central revenues.

The Road Development Committee have recommended a scheme for the finance of road development, which includes a proposal that the excise and import duty on motor spirit should be raised from 4 annas to 6 annas per gallon, and that the additional duty of 2 annas should be spent on the development of roads. The proposal has been accepted and the yield of the additional duty during 1929-30 is estimated at about Rs. 80 lakhs. The Committee

considered that the amount realisable annually from the additional duty will not go far to finance road development, but that it is enough at this stage to make a beginning.

Other recommendations made by the Indian Road Development Committee include the appointment of a Road Engineer with the Government of India, a periodical Road Conference, a Standing Committee for Roads, the co-operation of oil companies with the railway administration with a view to reducing the price of petrol in inland towns, and the abolition of all road tolls on traffic.

Before concluding our remarks about India's road system it is but fair to mention that India *can* boast of a number of good main roads, the most famous of which is the Grand Trunk Road which runs from Calcutta to Peshawar. The average Indian district has a few metalled roads linking it up with its neighbours on either side, but very few can boast of an arterial metalled road. In most cases the interior of a district is served by what is termed in India *kachcha* or unmetalled roads of varying degrees of merit.

The table below gives at a glance the percentage of provincial, local and total revenues spent on roads in India; and the incidence of road expenditure per head of population.

NOTE.—*The expenditure taken is that of 1926-27; the revenue taken is the average of the years 1924-25, 1925-26 and 1926-27.*

Province.	Percentage of revenue spent on roads.			Incidence of road expenditure per head of population.		
	Provincial.	Local.	Total	Provincial.	Local *	Total.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Annas.	Annas.	Annas.
Madras	2·5	36 2	5·8	1·0	2·8	4·0
Bombay	4 4	15·6	5 5	5·0	1·2	6·7
Bengal	2 8	35·3	5·7	1 0	1·3	2·3
United Provinces	3·2	16·7	5 0	1·4	1·3	2·6
Punjab	6 5	23·0	7·9	5·5	2·2	7·4
Burma	10·1	29 0	11·0	13·5	2 5	15·6
Bihar and Orissa	3·2	24·4	7·3	0·8	1·7	2·5
Central Provinces	8 9	6·1	8·6	6·3	0 6	6·8
Assam	7·6	61·5	10·9	4·0	2·1	6·0
Total	5·0	24·5	7·0	3·0	1·7	4 5

* Calculated on rural population.

Another link in the chain of Indian communications is the Posts and Telegraphs Department which, in addition to its primary function of providing the Indian public with easy and rapid means of intercourse, is, owing to its ubiquity, called upon to act as the agent to the Government in carrying out other essential services not directly connected with its basic activities. For instance it acts as the banker and agent of the people, enabling them to do their shopping from all distances. It collects customs charges on dutiable articles coming to India by post. It insures the lives of Government employees, and it pays the pensions of retired officials of the Indian Army. It is the custodian of Postal and Telegraphic stores held in reserve for purposes of military mobilisation, and, finally, among a host of miscellaneous activities it sells quinine. The extent to which these useful functions are carried out may be estimated from the fact that at the close of 1927-28 there were 21,608 post offices in India with 108,210 postal officials.

During the year 1927-28, the Posts and Telegraphs Department continued to make steady progress in all branches, and something of the size of its operations may be grasped from the following figures for the year ending 31st March, 1928. A total of 1,348 million postal articles were handled, including 565 million letters, 577 million postcards, 88 million registered newspapers, 102 million packets, and 16·7 million parcels, an increase of 55 million articles over the figures for the previous year. Thirty-nine million money orders of the total value of Rs. 920 millions were issued, on which a sum of Rs. 11¾ millions was realised as commission. Out of 1,387 million articles, including money orders, which were posted during the year 99·98 per cent. were actually delivered or paid as compared with 99·96 per cent. out of a total of about 1,330 millions in the preceding year. The percentage of articles which the department failed to deliver is only ·02 and includes a large number of articles with no address of any sort. When it is remembered that large numbers of postal employees have to be recruited from among primitive jungle and hill-folk, and that in many parts of India, mail runners and postmen constantly run the risk of death from wild beasts and accidents by flood and field, the fine standard of achievement shown by these figures will stand out conspicuously.

Arrangements have been made for the transport by the Marseilles-London air route of articles of the letter mail posted in India for Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State. Advantage has also been taken of the Marseilles-Paris section of that route for the transmission of correspondence intended for France.

The limit hitherto placed on the aggregate amount which a person could send by money order in a single day to a foreign country has been withdrawn. The telegraphic money order service has been extended to the Nyasaland Protectorate.

The limit of weight of parcels for foreign countries has in respect of several countries been raised from 11 lbs. to 20 lbs., and the limit up to which foreign postal articles may be insured has been raised to £200 or Rs. 3,000.

The policy of extending postal and telegraph facilities in rural areas continued to be vigorously pursued. During the year 1,324 experimental post offices were opened against 991 in the previous year. Out of 21,608 permanent post offices existing at the end of the year 17,114 were in rural areas, as also were 41,634 of the 58,384 letter boxes and in addition to 144 telegraph offices proper, 4,011 of the post offices were combined post and telegraph offices, and 8,219 were receiving offices where telegrams could be booked for transmission to the nearest telegraph office. The scheme under which a branch postmaster or a village postman authorised by the Head of the Circle accepts inland telegrams in English or in vernacular and sends them on by post to the nearest telegraph office for onward transmission by telegraph having proved a success it has been made permanent, and 99,000 telegrams were collected by these agencies during the year 1927-28 against 79,117 in the previous year.

The total distance over which mails were conveyed during 1927-28 was 166,606 miles, of which motor services contributed 10,511, as compared with 8,319 in the preceding year. There was thus an increase of 2,192 miles in the motor mileage. The Department avails itself of every opportunity of substituting motor services for cart or runner services to the great advantage of the public and at little or no extra cost to the Department.

The Telegraphic Branch of the Department dealt with 16,775,309 inland and 3,198,725 foreign messages of all kinds. Among other

interesting features was the marked reduction in the rates for foreign telegrams. Owing to the stabilisation of the exchange value of the Rupee at 1*s.* 6*d.* the rates for foreign telegrams were generally reduced with effect from the 1st July, 1927. For telegrams to Great Britain and Ireland the rate was fixed at Re. 1-2 per word. In consequence of the reduction in the Cable Company's charges the rates for telegrams to Great Britain and Northern Ireland *viâ* Eastern Cable and Indo-route was further reduced to Re. 1 per word from the 1st September, 1927. From the same date a week-end letter telegram service was introduced with these countries at three annas per word, subject to a minimum charge of twenty words per telegram. A general reduction was also effected in the rates for telegrams to other countries to the West of India with effect from 1st October, 1927.

A notable incident of the year in the Telegraph Branch of the Department was that with a view to provide facilities for telephone subscribers, a system of receiving and despatching telegrams by telephone was introduced. By this system telegrams, Inland and Foreign, other than Press can be telephoned by a telephone subscriber to the Telegraph Office for onward transmission, and telegrams for delivery can be telephoned by the Telegraph Office to the telephone subscribers. Such telegrams are called " Phonograms ". In addition to the usual telegraph charges a small fee of two annas is charged for telephoning such telegrams to the telegraph office. Received telegrams are telephoned to the subscribers free of charge, and a confirmatory copy of the same is sent to him by the first available post.

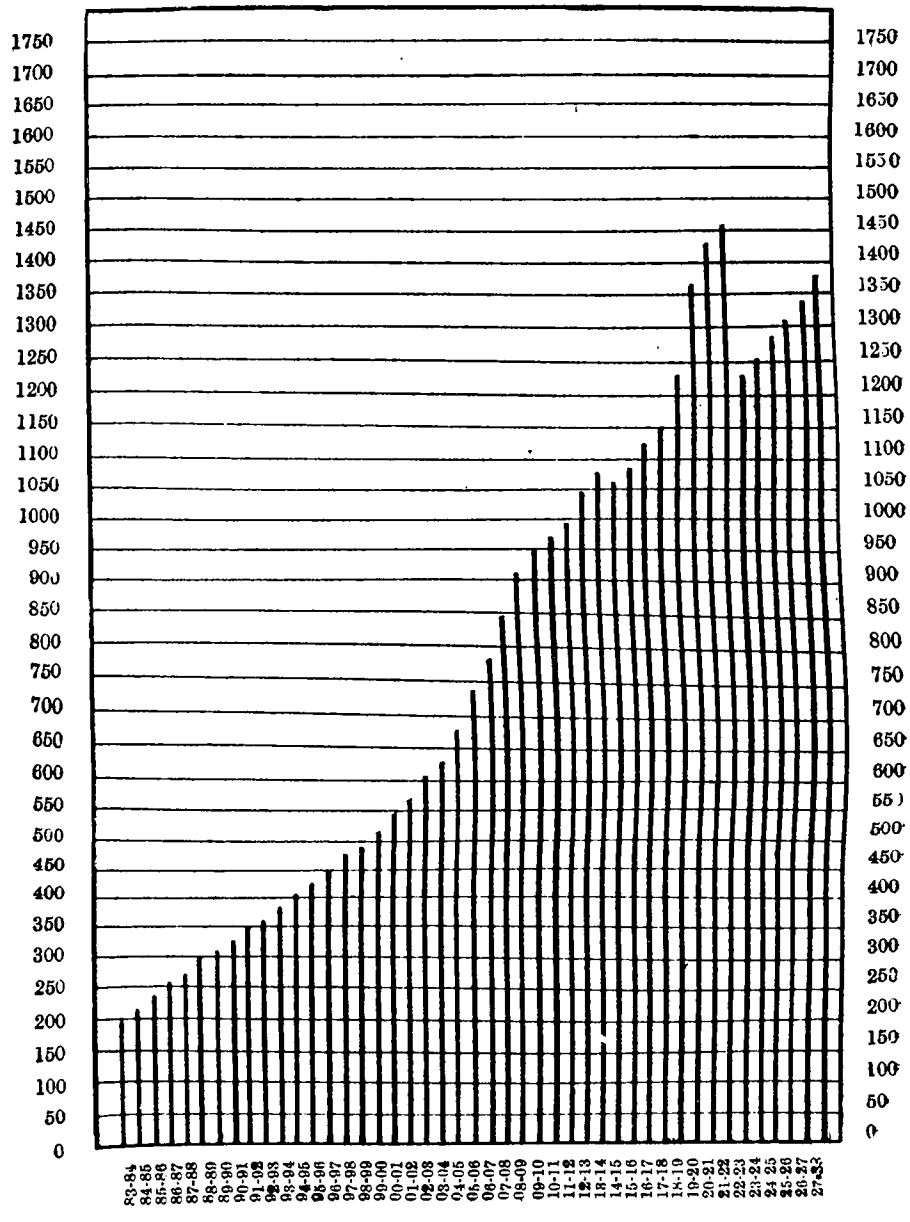
The daily letter telegram service which has hitherto been confined to the British possessions and United States of America was extended during the year under review to Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Germany, Norway, Luxemburg and Sweden. A week-end letter telegram service was also introduced between India and Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Holland and Sweden.

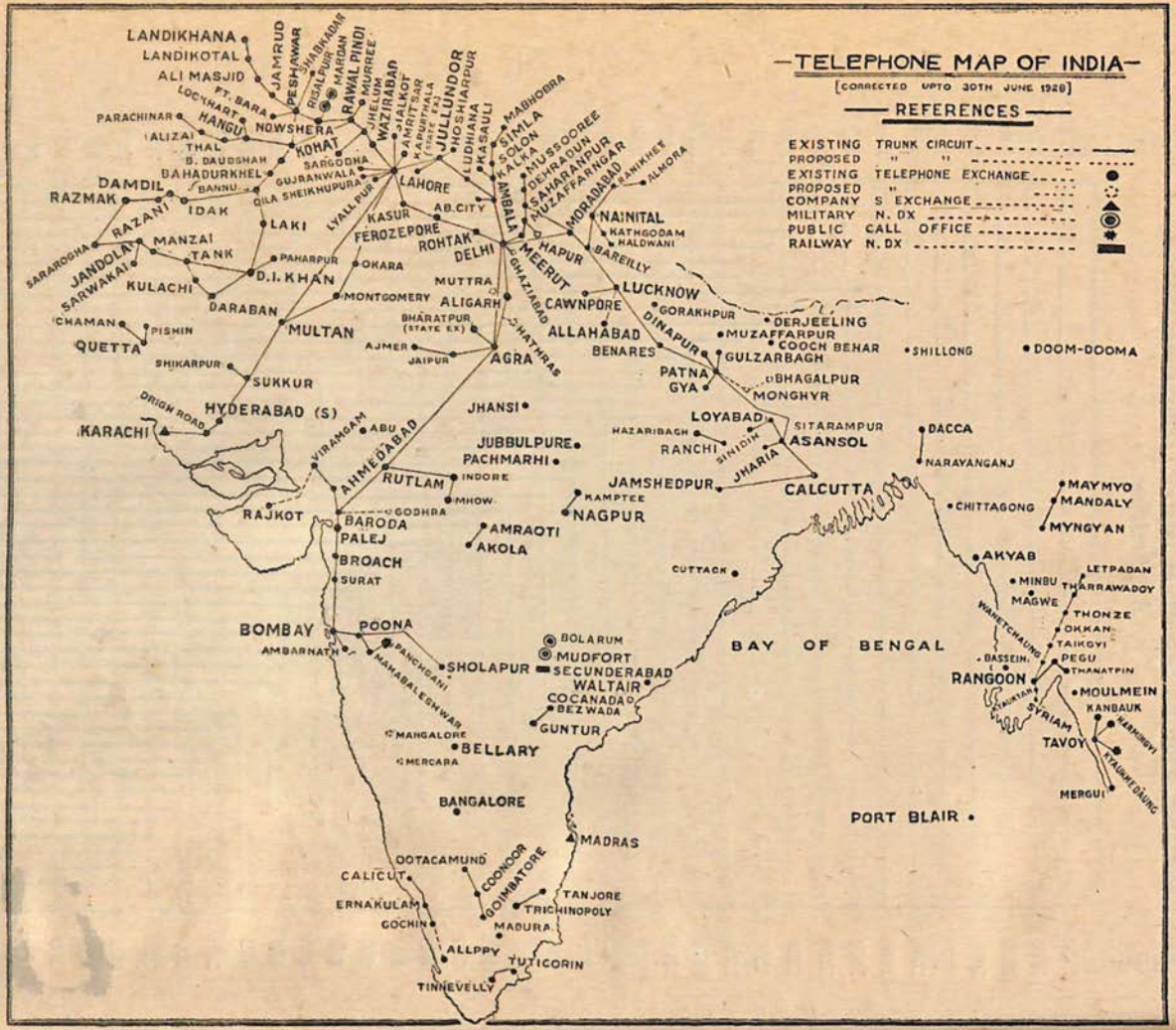
There were, at the end of the year 1927-28, 99,978 miles of aerial line carrying 452,764 miles of wire and 1,039 miles of cables with 80,095 miles of conductors.

As most people are perhaps aware, the system of telegraphy universally adopted for the main lines in India is the Baudot Printing Telegraph. This system has its merits and its defects,

DIAGRAM.

Diagram showing Growth of Postal Traffic since 1883-84—All Articles.




TELEPHONE MAP OF INDIA
[CORRECTED UPTO 30TH JUNE 1928]
REFERENCES
EXISTING TRUNK CIRCUIT
PROPOSED " "
EXISTING TELEPHONE EXCHANGE
PROPOSED "
COMPANY S EXCHANGE
MILITARY N. DX
PUBLIC CALL OFFICE
RAILWAY N. DX
LANDIKHANA
LANDIKOTAL
ALI MASJID
JAMRUD
PESHAWAR
SHABKADAR
RISALPUR
MARDAN
RAWAL PINDI
MURREE
FT. BARA
LOCKHART
PARACHINAR
HANGU
NOWSHERA
ALIZAI
THAL
KOHAT
B. DAUDSHAH
BAHADURKHEL
SARGODHA
GUJRANWALA
BANNU
QILA SHEIKHUPURA
DAMDIL
RAZMAK
IDAK
RAZANI
LAKI
LYALLPUR
KASUR
FEROZEPORE
LAHORE
AB.CITY
ROHTAK
DELHI
AMBALA
MEERUT
HAPUR
MORADABAD
RANIKHET
ALMORA
NAINITAL
KATHGODAM
HALDWANI
BAREILLY
SARAROGHA
JANDOLA
SARWAKAI
MANZAI
TANK
PAHARPUR
OKARA
D.I. KHAN
KULACHI
DARABAN
MONTGOMERY
MUTTRA
ALIGARH
GHAZIABAD
CAWNPORE
LUCKNOW
GORAKHPUR
DERJEELING
MUZAFFARPUR
COOCH BEHAR
DINAPUR
GULZARBAGH
SHILLONG
DOOM-DOOMA
CHAMAN
PISHIN
QUETTA
MULTAN
BHARATPUR (STATE EX)
AJMER
JAIPUR
AGRA
HATHRAS
ALLAHABAD
BENARES
PATNA
GYA
BHAGALPUR
MONGHYR
SHIKARPUR
SUKKUR
DRIGH ROAD
HYDERABAD (S)
KARACHI
VIRAMGAM
ABU
AHMEDABAD
JHANSI
JUBBULPURE
PACHMARHI
LOYABAD
HAZARIBAGH
RANCHI
SINIDIN
SITARAMPUR
ASANSOL
JHARIA
DACCA
NARAYANGANJ
RUTLAM
INDORE
MHOW
JAMSHEDPUR
CALCUTTA
KAMPTEE
NAGPUR
RAJKOT
GODHRA
BARODA
PALEJ
BROACH
SURAT
AMRAOTI
AKOLA
CHITTAGONG
MAYMYO
MANDALY
MYNGYAN
AKYAB
CUTTACK
LETPADAN
MINBU
THARRAWADDY
MAGWE
THONZE
OKKAN
TAIKGYI
PEGU
THANATPIN
WAHETCHAUNG
BASSEIN
RANGOON
MOULMEIN
KANBAUK
SYRIAM
TAVOY
MERGUI
BOMBAY
POONA
AMBARNATH
PANCHGANI
MAHABALESHWAR
SHOLAPUR
BOLARUM
MUDFORT
SECUNDERABAD
WALTAIR
COCANADA
BEZWADA
GUNTUR
BAY OF BENGAL
MANGALORE
BELLARY
MERCARA
BANGALORE
MADRAS
PORT BLAIR
OOTACAMUND
COONOOR
COIMBATORE
CALICUT
ERNAKULAM
GOCHIN
TANJORE
TRICHINOPOLY
MADURA
ALLPPY
TUTICORIN
TINNEVELLY

but during the year it worked well, though it was subject to occasional stoppages when the lines were being overhauled or were interrupted. It may be mentioned that between Rangoon and Madras, the Wheatstone system was worked during the year by wireless.

There has been a steady expansion of the telephone system in the country. On the 31st March, 1927, there were 271 exchanges with 17,115 connections, while on the 31st March, 1928, there were 280 exchanges with 20,042 connections. During the year ending 31st March, 1927, Rs. 33,15,261 were collected for the hire of telephone connections and Rs. 7,68,573 for trunk call fees. During the year ending 31st March, 1928, these figures went up to Rs. 34,06,271 and Rs. 10,50,771 respectively.

On 31st March, 1927, there were 18 licensed telephone exchanges with 28,384 connections. The number of connections in these exchanges increased to 30,598 on 31st March, 1928. The revenue derived from Royalties increased from Rs. 3,09,434 in 1926-27 to Rs. 3,36,791 in 1927-28. Increased Trunk Telephone facilities continued to be given, and nine additional Trunk Circuits were opened during 1927-28, in addition to fourteen other trunk circuits being taken over from the Army Department.

The actual gross receipts of the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department during the year 1927-28 amount to Rs. 10·83 crores, which is higher by 30 lakhs than the actual gross receipts of 1926-27. The actual working expenses for 1927-28 were Rs. 1,054 crores, which is higher than the actual working expenses of 1926-27 by 63 lakhs. Taking into account the interest charges which the Department has to pay for its capital assets, the actual receipts indicate that there has been a loss of Rs. 26·15 lakhs on the working of the Department for the year 1927-28, as compared with a net profit of Rs. 1,025 lakhs in 1926-27.

During 1928 the work of re-constructing certain departmental wireless stations was continued. Progress was made with the direction-finding installation for the new coast station at Santa Cruz (near Bombay). Modern continuous-wave transmitting sets were installed in place of the obsolete "spark" sets at Nagpur and Mhow. New transmitting sets were obtained for Calcutta and Secunderabad, and a special short-wave installation for Karachi in connection with the Civil air service.

The Wheatstone system, which had been applied experimentally to the Madras-Rangoon duplex wireless circuit from November, 1927, was continued during the year "with very satisfactory results, proving that system when efficiently organised to be decidedly superior to the Baudot system for a wireless circuit which has to contend with atmospheric interference. Such results, however, were only obtained after careful organisation on modern lines together with adequate training and supervision of the staff.

During December, 1928, and subsequently the wireless station at Peshawar played an important part in maintaining communications with Kabul when the telegraph lines were interrupted owing to disturbances in Afghanistan. The station at Karachi also afforded valuable wireless facilities to R. A. F. aeroplanes *en route* to and from Afghanistan.

The "Beam" wireless stations of the Indian Radio Telegraph Company, which work under a license and maintain direct communication with British Government stations in England, continued to work satisfactorily. The volume of traffic to and from Europe, America and Africa carried by this service steadily increased during the year.

The broadcasting stations of the Indian Broadcasting Company at Bombay and Calcutta, which were opened in 1927, continued in operation. Owing to financial difficulties, however, the company found it necessary to modify their programmes to some extent. Although broadcasting has become popular in some parts of India the increase in the number of licenses for broadcast receiving sets has not been so large as was expected. In Rangoon the Burma Radio Syndicate installed a small broadcasting station and was licensed to carry on an experimental broadcasting service.

Experimental work was carried out in connection with transmission and reception on short waves, which will be of increasing importance in the future development of wireless communication, especially over long distances. Future arrangements in this connection are receiving careful consideration.

The revised estimate of gross receipts of the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department during the year 1928-29 amounts to Rs. 11·23 crores, which is higher by 40·76 lakhs than the actual gross receipts for 1927-28. The revised estimate of working expenses for 1928-29 is 10·89 crores, which is higher than the actual

working expenses of 1927-28 by 25·61 lakhs. Taking into account the interest charges which the Department has to pay for its capital assets, the revised estimate indicates that there will be a net loss of 28·57 lakhs on the working of the Department for the year 1928-29 as compared with a net loss of 26·15 lakhs in 1927-28.

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Since the publication of our last report Karachi has been brought into direct communication by air with London, and a new era in the history of Empire communications may be said to have begun on 30th March, 1929, when Messrs. Imperial Airways' air liner "City of Glasgow" left Croydon on the first stage of its 5,000 miles flight to Karachi. The air liner arrived in Karachi on 6th April, thus inaugurating the first weekly air mail service between London and Karachi, bringing India within seven days reach of England. This service was inaugurated as the result of an agreement entered into by the British Government with Messrs. Imperial Airways, Ltd., for the operation of a weekly aeroplane mail service between London and India. The necessary facilities for this service have been provided at Karachi, which will serve as a terminal for the air service in India until such time as the service can be extended to Delhi, Calcutta and other parts of India. With regard to internal air routes in India the Government of India have approved of the principal of subsidising certain services, and called for tenders for the operation of a subsidised aeroplane service between Karachi and Delhi with an eventual extension to Calcutta. The main conditions specified for the grant of the subsidy were that the company should be an Indian Company with rupee capital and with a majority of Indian Directors, and that the majority of the share capital should be held by Indians. The company will be required to employ Indian personnel in all non-technical branches, and to afford an opportunity for their employment in the technical branches as soon as the supply of fully-trained Indian personnel is available. Discussion in the Standing Finance Committee of the Legislative Assembly, after the receipt of the tenders, indicated a desire on the part of the Legislature that more effective measures should be adopted to ensure that the control of any such subsidised company should be and remain predominantly Indian, and methods to secure this object were devised under which the Government of India will hold a part of the capital with a preponderating vote in the company, at least three-fifths of the

Directors of which will be Indians, and the appointment of all Directors will be subject to the approval of the Government of India. The Government of India have also approved of a scheme for improvements to the Civil Aerodrome at Dum Dum (Calcutta), one of the most important aerodromes in India, in order to render it serviceable at all seasons of the year. The cost of this scheme will be Rs. 2,93,500, and considerable progress has already been made with the work. A new Civil Aerodrome has also been established at Gaya (in Bihar and Orissa).

* * *

With the object of popularising civil flying in India and of affording facilities for the training of Indians as air pilots the Government of India sanctioned, in 1927, a scheme for the grant of financial assistance to four light aeroplane Clubs in India. The scheme involves an expenditure of over $3\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs of rupees. Four Clubs which were approved for Government assistance have now been established at Karachi, Delhi, Calcutta and Bombay, and under the terms of the scheme each Club has been provided with two " Moth " aeroplanes, with one spare engine. Each Club will receive an annual grant of Rs. 20,000 in addition to an initial grant of Rs. 9,000 towards the provision of a hangar, and a bonus of Rs. 150 per pilot trained by the Clubs, limited to Rs. 2,250 per club, during the first year of its operation. All the clubs have begun operations enthusiastically, and the Pilot Instructors and Ground Engineers have been appointed. The Bombay Flying Club held its inaugural meeting on the 13th January, 1929, and the Delhi Flying Club was opened by His Excellency the Viceroy on the 28th January. The Governor of Bengal opened the Bengal Flying Club at Calcutta on the 2nd February, and the Judicial Commissioner of Sind declared the Karachi Aero Club open on the 10th February. The Government of India have also granted a subsidy to the extent of Rs. 30,000 to the Aero Club of India and Burma, which was formed in 1927. This body acts as a co-ordinating agency between the Government of India and the Light Aeroplane Clubs.

* * *

With a view to the training of Indians in Civil Aviation in England and their possible employment by Government in connection with the regulation and control of Civil Aviation in India,

the Government of India sanctioned the award of ten scholarships within a period of four years and involving a total expenditure of Rs. 2,12,000. As mentioned in our last report, one scholar joined the Imperial College of Science and Technology in October, 1927. Of the four scholarships awarded in 1928, two Indian candidates were selected in England by the High Commissioner for India and two in India by the Government of India. These scholars commenced their course of flying training at the De Haviland Aircraft School, Stag Lane, Edgware, on the 1st July, 1928. One scholarship was subsequently terminated as the holder was reported to be unlikely to make an efficient pilot. The appointment of an Aircraft and Engine Inspector was sanctioned on the staff of the Director of Civil Aviation in India during the year, and Mr. A. S. Lane, who was recruited by the High Commissioner for India for the post, assumed charge of his duties in March, 1929, at Karachi.

* * *

The year under review was remarkable for the large number of international flights which passed through India, the total being sixteen. In April, 1928, Flying Officers Vintcent and Newall arrived at Karachi from England in their D.H. 9 aeroplanes. They have remained in India since, having resigned their commissions in the Royal Air Force, and are engaged in commercial aviation with their headquarters in Bombay. In the same month the French pilots Costes and Le Brix arrived in Calcutta after a non-stop flight from Hanoi. They continued their flight from Calcutta on the morning of the 11th, and arrived in Karachi the same evening, establishing a record for the fastest flight across India.

In May, the French Pilot, Captain Pelletier D'Oisy, accompanied by Lieutenant Gonin, Navigator, and M. Carol, Engineer, arrived in Karachi *en route* to Tokio, in a Potex 29 biplane. Their flight across India was uneventful until they reached Akyab, when engine trouble led to a forced descent in which the machine was destroyed and the navigator and engineer seriously injured. Captain D'Oisy luckily escaped injury.

In August the aeroplane "Princess Xenia" (Fokker F. VII fitted with a Jupiter 400 H.P. engine), piloted by Captain C. D. Barnard and Flying Officer E. H. Elliot, with Her Grace the

Duchess of Bedford as passenger, arrived at Karachi. The machine had originally started from England in June in an attempt to reach India in four days, but engine trouble caused it to be held up at Bushire, which it had reached on the third day of the flight. The return flight met with better success, being accomplished in the record time of 4½ days from Karachi to Croydon. The Duchess of Bedford returned to England by steamer.

In September, a series of five Dutch flights, at intervals of a week, commenced from Amsterdam to Batavia *viâ* India. Mails were carried on each flight, and the machines used were 3-engined Fokkers fitted with Armstrong-Siddeley Lynx engines, and were destined for the Netherlands Indian Air Navigation Company, operating in the Dutch East Indies. The first machine arrived in Karachi on the 18th September and the second on the 25th. Both these machines, as also the fifth which later returned to Amsterdam, are said to have carried sufficient mails to cover the cost of the flight, and reached their destination safely. The third machine sustained slight damage in landing at Cawnpore on 2nd October, and was delayed for some time awaiting the arrival of spares before it could continue its flight. The fourth machine accomplished its journey without mishap as far as Rangoon, but when attempting to take off there its left wheel sank in soft ground and was wrenched off. The flight was consequently abandoned.

Another arrival in Karachi in September was the late Baron von Huenfeld, of trans-Atlantic fame, who was flying to Tokio in his Junker aeroplane "Europa". He reached Calcutta on the 27th and left for Hanoi *en route* to Tokio on the 1st October.

In November Captain Frank Hurley, accompanied by Flying Officer Moir and Mr. Owen, crossed India on their flight from Australia to England. The machine used was a Ryan monoplane fitted with a 220 H.P. Wright Whirl-wind engine and was named the "Spirit of Australia". In the same month two Swiss pilots, Monsieur Oskar Kaser De Horn and Lieutenant Gottlieb Imhof, flying a low-powered Swiss monoplane, arrived at Karachi from Zurich. They eventually flew on to Bombay with the intention of returning by air to Zurich, but had to abandon the return flight owing to engine trouble.

In December, a sixth Dutch mail flight from Amsterdam to Batavia *viâ* India was undertaken successfully. This machine later

in January re-crossed India on a return flight to Amsterdam. In the same month, a German pilot, Baron Koenig, also arrived at Karachi, having flown from Berlin *viâ* Moscow, Teheran and Bushire in a Klemm-Daimler light monoplane fitted with a 20 H.P. engine. Later in the month he flew to Calcutta, which he eventually left in February, 1929, for Bangkok.

In February, 1929, the French pilots Paillard and Le Brix flew across India on their way to Saigon in a Bernard Commercial Aircraft fitted with a 0450 C. V. Renault motor, and carrying mails. The machine unfortunately crashed shortly after leaving Rangoon, Monsieur Le Brix and the mechanic Jousse sustaining injuries. The airmen were rescued by villagers, and the mails and parts of the machine were salvaged. Another arrival at Karachi during this month was Vicomte de Sibour, who, accompanied by his wife, was flying from England to China in a De Havilland "Moth" machine fitted with a 100 H. P. Gipsy engine.

Such is the record of Civil Aviation in India during 1928-29, and now that the long-talked of air mail service between England and India has been established the importance of India as a connecting link between Britain and the outlying parts of the British Empire cannot be overestimated.

Finally, it may be noted that considerable interest is being taken in aviation by many members of the Indian Legislative Assembly, several of whom were passengers in aeroplane flights over Peshawar during a specially arranged visit to the Frontier in April, 1928.

* * *

The Indian Meteorological Department, consequent upon the development of aviation in India, has accomplished a very full programme of work during the period under review. The transfer of the headquarters office from Simla to Poona was completed in June, and the new headquarters building was formally opened by His Excellency Sir Leslie Wilson, Governor of Bombay, on 20th July, 1928, in the presence of the Honourable Mr. A. C. MacWatters, Member in charge of the Department of Industries and Labour, Government of India, and a large and distinguished gathering. In connection with the ceremony, an exhibition of meteorological instruments, weather maps, charts, etc., illustrative of the varied activities of this department was on view, and

the occasion was further utilised for an important conference of departmental officers from all parts of India, in which matter of administrative and scientific interest were discussed. It has since been decided that a similar conference of officers shall be held annually at the new Poona headquarters.

Preparations for the provision of meteorological information along the Basra-Karachi air route were continued during the year. The Meteorologist-in-charge at Karachi, who had been sent on deputation to Europe to study recent developments in aeronautical meteorology, visited the meteorological services in England, Norway, Germany, Belgium, France, Italy and Egypt, and on his return resumed charge of his duties at Karachi in September, 1928. As the airship intended for the London-Karachi air route is nearing completion and trial flights are expected before the end of 1929, proposals were submitted during the year to Government regarding the action to be taken for the intermediate stage of meteorological preparation for the arrival and departure of airships. These contemplate an extension of the present organisation by establishing a few more reporting stations in the neighbourhood of Persia, equipping some of the existing observatories along the flying route with self-recording instruments and obtaining synoptic data from a larger area.

The observatory building at the Karachi Airship Base, which was completed at the end of 1927-28, was equipped with self-recording instruments, and the recording of ground and upper air observations, including visual observations of the hourly values of cloud and visibility, was inaugurated at the observatory. At the forecasting centre at Karachi, in addition to the study of daily synoptic charts for weather reports and forecasts, a beginning was made with the study of weather conditions based on data extending up to Italy to the west and Russia to the north, with a view to finding out the possibility of issuing more detailed forecasts, as well as medium-range forecasts extending up to 3 or 4 days or more.

In connection with the Karachi-Delhi and Delhi-Calcutta sections of the proposed trans-India air service, a scheme for the provision of meteorological facilities has been submitted to the Government of India for sanction. The scheme comprises the location of an office at Delhi in charge of a Meteorologist and the fitting up of complete sets of meteorological self-recording instruments at

six aerodromes along the route, besides other details of a minor character.

* * *

For some years past the International Meteorological Committee, which is the permanent executive body of the International Meteorological Organisation, has been contemplating the establishment of an International Meteorological Secretariat. This Committee decided to form a small secretariat and place it temporarily at De Bilt or Utrecht, in Holland. In order to meet the cost of this office the various countries interested in the work of the organisation were asked to contribute towards its maintenance according to the scale based on the size of the country. As the maintenance of the International Meteorological Organisation was considered essential for meteorological progress and India has gained appreciably by such international co-operation in the past and would gain still more in the future, the Government of India sanctioned the payment of 4,000 francs annually as India's contribution to the International Meteorological Secretariat.

* * *

During the year eleven pilot balloon stations were opened in different parts of India in accordance with the general upper air extension scheme, and three more in north-east India in connection with the intensive study of weather, and especially for nor'westers there. In addition to the recording of wind speed and direction in the upper atmosphere by pilot balloon ascents, other useful measurements of pressure, temperature and humidity at higher levels by means of sounding balloons, etc., were undertaken by the department. Arrangements were made for the recovery of sounding balloon meteorographs through the Mamlatdars. Up to the end of December, 1929, eighteen instruments were sent up and six were received back. The first of the six instruments that were returned had reached a maximum height of 12 miles. The base of the stratosphere was seen from the record to be at a height of about 10 miles and the temperature recorded there,—119° F., or 151° F. below the freezing point,—is one of the lowest temperatures that have been recorded so far in any part of the world. In the stratosphere, about the height of 10 miles, the temperature increased again to 87° at the top of ascent. R. A. F. flying machines continued their meteorological observations at Peshawar, Risalpur,

Kohat and Karachi, and made further upper air data available to this department.

Considerable attention was paid during the year towards researches in both theoretical and practical meteorology and allied subjects. The application of modern theories of meteorology to the study of Indian Weather Charts was continued, and proved to be of great help in forecasting. A further study of microseisms at Bombay appeared to reveal the existence of three distinct types of these vibrations which are readily distinguishable from one another and are associated respectively with (1) South-west Monsoon; (2) Storms in the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal; and (3) local disturbances on the Bombay coast. Interesting experiments on earth-current measurements similar to those which yielded interesting results at the Bombay Observatory were started in Poona. At Kodaikanal, spectrograms for the determination of the amount of ozone in the upper air were obtained on all suitable days from the 12th September, 1928, onwards, with a Dobson's spectrograph which has been loaned to the Observatory. Investigations of the upper air by means of instruments designed or improved upon by the Agra Observatory in recent years furnished interesting data which have been, or will shortly be, published in the form of Scientific Notes. A number of statistical investigations were taken up by officers and assistants of the department, and also by science graduates who worked for short periods as unpaid research scholars in the Poona Office.

At Calcutta the details of the scheme for the intensive study of weather over north-east India were worked out during the year. Arrangements have been completed for three sets of observations per day at 21 existing meteorological stations, and for reports of non-instrumental observations from 56 auxiliary stations distributed over the area. The equipment of some of the selected stations with autographic instruments is in hand, and is expected to be completed very soon.

The storm and heavy rainfall warnings were issued from Poona and Calcutta. During the year seven storms of slight to moderate intensity formed in the Bay of Bengal, and timely warnings were issued in each case. Warnings were also issued on 27 occasions to the Arabian Sea area from Poona and on 21 occasions to the Bay of Bengal area from Calcutta in connection with depressions,

squally weather or winter disturbances. Heavy rainfall warnings were issued by special telegrams to the officials on the warning list of this Department, and were also included at the end of the Daily Weather Telegram.

An increasing number of weather reports and forecasts were supplied during the year from Poona, Karachi, Quetta and Peshawar in connection with aviation. Among the noteworthy flights for which forecasts were issued during the year may be mentioned the visit to India of the Under Secretary of State for Air, Sir Philip Sassoon, on the flying boat "Iris", and the inauguration of the Dutch Royal Air Mail Service to the East Indies.

* * *

Towards the close of the year under review it was notified that the Indian Merchant Shipping (Amendment) Act, 1928, which transferred to the Governor-General-in-Council the statutory powers hitherto vested in the local Governments in regard to the administration of the Central subject of shipping and navigation, would come into force from the 1st April, 1929. Under the new centralisation scheme the coasts of India will be divided into six Districts based on the major ports of Aden, Karachi, Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and Rangoon. Then each District, with the probable exception of Karachi, will be placed in charge of an officer to be called the Principal Officer, Mercantile Marine Department, in that District. The Principal Officer will be the chief executive officer of the Government of India in his district in all matters relating to the Mercantile Marine administration, and will correspond with the Government of India direct and not through the local Government. Chittagong will be a sub-District, and be in charge of a Nautical Surveyor. The scheme also includes the appointment of a technical advisory staff for the Commerce Department of the Government of India, and the services of two officers have been obtained on loan from the Board of Trade for appointment as Nautical Adviser to the Government of India and as Chief Surveyor with the Government of India.

* * *

In last year's report mention was made of the investigation by two officers of the question connected with the conditions prevailing on native passenger ships in the light of the criticisms received

on the draft rules published by the Government of India in 1925. The officers, after visiting the principal ports and examining these questions in consultation with the local authorities, submitted their report in May, 1925, together with a revised set of draft rules. The revised draft rules were again published for criticisms in October, 1928, and at the close of the year criticisms had been received and were under the consideration of the Government of India.

* * *

The Indian Lighthouse Act of 1927, referred to in last year's report, was brought into force on April 1st, 1929, it being found impossible to do so earlier as the Government of India desired first to set up the necessary machinery to enable them properly to discharge the statutory powers vested in them by the new Act.

The lighthouses on the coast of India have been divided into two classes, *viz.*, local and general. The local lighthouses are those which are of assistance only to navigation entering or leaving a particular port. The general lighthouses are those which are of assistance to navigation generally. The local lighthouses will be administered by the Port Trusts concerned or by the local Governments where there are no Port Trusts, and the general lighthouses by the Government of India. For purposes of the administration of the general lighthouses the coasts of India have been divided into six districts based on the major ports of Aden, Karachi, Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and Rangoon, and each district has been placed in charge of a Superintendent of Lighthouses, who will be the chief executive officer of the Government of India in his District in all matters relating to general lighthouses and will correspond with the Government of India direct and not through the local Government. A Chief Inspector of Lighthouses has been appointed and two Inspectors of Lighthouses will be appointed shortly. These officers will be attached to the Commerce Department of the Government of India. The Government of India will be aided in the administration of the general lighthouses by a Central Advisory Committee consisting of members representing the interests concerned.

CHAPTER VI.

Trade and Commerce.

The changed relations between India and Great Britain consequent upon the introduction of the Reformed constitution in 1920 resulted in India exercising a greater control over her own Fiscal Policy than before. The Indian Fiscal Commission, a representative body of European and Indian commercial interests, was appointed in 1921 to examine the Government of India's tariff policy. The Commission recommended the adoption of a policy of protection, to be applied with discrimination along certain carefully indicated lines, and also the creation of a Tariff Board to investigate the claims of particular industries to protection and to advise the Government and the Legislature in carrying out the Fiscal Commission's policy. The Tariff Board came into existence in 1923 as an experimental measure for one year, but the numerous applications for protection from various industries made it desirable that its life should be extended from time to time, and so to-day the Indian Tariff Board still functions.

During the year under review the Tariff Board concluded their investigations into the claims for protection of the Match and Oil industries, and also the enquiries into the question of tariff equality in respect of the manufacture of Electric Wires and Cables and of Printing Type.

In October, 1926, the Tariff Board was directed by the Government of India to investigate the question whether the match industry in India should be protected, and to report whether the existing import duty of Re. 1-8 per gross on matches, which had a protective effect, should be maintained, and also whether the loss of revenue resulting from the high rate of duty could be made up by any other appropriate form of taxation of the industry. The Board found that the match industry fulfilled all the three conditions laid down in paragraph 97 of the Indian Fiscal Commission Report, and that it should be protected. They recommended that the existing revenue duty of Re. 1-8 per gross should be maintained and converted into a protective duty. The Government of India accepted this recommendation, and an Act entitled "The Match Industry (Protection) Act, 1928" was passed to give

effect to it. As recommended by the Board no time limit has been fixed for the protective duty. The Government of India, however, do not contemplate the retention of the duty at the high rate of Re. 1-8 per gross for any long period. If in future it became evident that the Swedish Match Company had definitely adopted a policy of supplying the Indian market with matches made in India and if it appeared that the existing prejudice against the Indian match similar in quality to the imported match was disappearing, the amount of duty would be open to reconsideration. The Board considered that the manufacture of matches was not a fit industry for development on cottage lines, and could not therefore recommend any special measures for the encouragement of cottage match factories. The Government of India accepted this finding.

As regards the possibility of making up the loss of customs revenue the Board, while recognising that in certain circumstances an excise duty might properly be imposed, made no specific recommendation. The Government of India agreed with the Board that conditions might arise rendering the imposition of such a duty desirable. They did not, however, propose to impose an excise duty for the present.

The Board also examined the question of the possible danger to the Indian Match Industry arising from the operation of the Swedish Match Company behind the tariff wall. They were of the opinion that in existing circumstances no action was called for against the Swedish Match Company on the ground of unfair competition. They recommended, however, that, should developments indicate that the Company was acquiring undue control to the detriment of the Indian industry, Government should take steps to safeguard this industry. The Government of India considered that if it appeared probable that the Swedish Match Company would obtain a monopoly of the manufacture and sale of matches in India, this would create a new situation which would necessitate a re-examination of the position.

* * *

Reference was made in the last year's report to the enquiry by the Tariff Board into the question of safeguarding the Indian Oil Industry against injury inflicted on them by a kerosene price war in progress in India between the Standard Oil Company of New York and the Royal Dutch Shell Group. The Board was of the

opinion that no case had been made out for safeguarding the Indian Oil Industry against the sale of imported kerosene below world parity. The Government of India saw no reason for rejecting this opinion, and accepted the finding of the Board that no action was called for.

The questions of protection for Electric Wires and Cables and Printing Type were referred to the Board in March, 1925, along with several others of a similar nature in which representations were made that the development of certain industries was hampered by the fact that the duty on the finished article was lower than the duty on the materials which have to be imported for the manufacture of that article. The Board recommended that a duty of 5 per cent. *ad valorem* should be imposed on all classes of rubber-insulated wires and cables other than those specified in item 90-A of the Import Tariff Schedule, and that the import duty on printing type should be changed from $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *ad valorem* to a specific duty of one anna per lb. The Government of India accepted these recommendations and gave effect to them in the Indian Tariff (Amendment) Act of 1929.

The Board also recommended the removal of the duty of 15 per cent. *ad valorem* on electrolytic copper rod, commonly known as " black rod ", which is used for the manufacture of bare hard-drawn copper conductors. The Government of India found, however, that there are practical difficulties in distinguishing electrolytic copper rod from other copper rod, and the relation of prices was such that in the event of the former being brought on to the free list users of good quality copper for other purposes would be led to use electrolytic copper. It was accordingly decided that the relief required by the manufacturers (the Indian Cable Company) should be given not by removal of the duty, but by allowing them under executive orders, as had hitherto been done as a temporary arrangement, to import their requirements of such rods free of duty.

* * *

As foreshadowed in last year's report, a second conference on the abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions was held at Geneva in July, 1928. This conference, at which India was represented by Mr. H. A. F. Lindsay, the Indian Trade Commissioner in London, drew up a Supplementary Agreement providing for the conditions required for the coming into force of

the Convention adopted at the first conference, and fixing September 30th, 1929, as the last date on which the ratifications must be deposited. The agreement has been signed by India and 28 other States. The question of ratifying the Convention is now under the consideration of the Government of India.

* * *

An International Conference relating to Economic Statistics was held in Geneva from 26th November to 14th December, 1928. Forty-two countries accepted the invitation of the League of Nations to send delegates, and of these 16 represented Non-European countries. The object of the conference was to draw up an International Convention with reference to the scope of the economic statistics which it is thought should be published officially in each country, and the methods that should be applied in the compilation of certain branches of those statistics. For this purpose the Economic Committee of the League had already framed a draft Convention on the subject, and this was submitted to the conference for consideration. India was represented at the conference by Dr. D. B. Meek, Director General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics. In accordance, however, with the instructions given him, he refrained from voting and from signing the Convention.

* * *

During the year under review, India participated in a number of fairs and exhibitions in the United Kingdom and on the Continent. The more important of these were the Cardiff Empire Exhibition, October-November, 1928, the Lyon's International Fair, March, 1928, and the Budapest International Fair, April-May, 1928. The Government of India also sanctioned participation by the High Commissioner for India in the Canadian National Exhibition, which was held at Toronto during August-September, 1928.

In the case of the Cardiff Empire Exhibition, India's participation resulted in 39 trade enquiries respecting Indian condiments, canned fruit, rice, coir, tobaccos and cigars. By the visits of large parties from neighbouring schools, thousands of school children were enlightened as to the great part which India plays as a food-producing country. The Lyon's International Fair resulted in 71 trade enquiries, 14 per cent. of which came from other foreign countries. There were over three thousand exhibitors, and the daily number of visitors ran into five figures, so that here again

India benefited to an extent that it is impossible to estimate accurately on paper. At the Budapest International Fair, India had a separate building enclosing thirteen stalls. There were 105 business enquiries, many of which have resulted in substantial orders for India from Hungarian firms. Similar successful results were obtained at the Canadian National Exhibition. The participation of India in overseas Fairs and Exhibitions has proved a healthy stimulant to trade in this country, and money spent in this direction can by no means be considered ill-used.

* * *

On the 20th December, 1928, a treaty was concluded and notes were exchanged between His Majesty's Government and the National Government of China by which:—

(1) Great Britain and other parts of the Empire conceded to China complete tariff autonomy and also the right to impose tonnage dues at such rates as she may think fit.

(2) Great Britain and China undertook to accord most-favoured-nation treatment to each other in respect of import and export duties, internal taxation and transit dues on goods imported or exported by them and all matters connected therewith; and China also undertook to accord similar treatment to other parts of the Empire, including India, on condition of reciprocity.

(3) China undertook to adopt a certain customs tariff which had been provisionally agreed upon at a Conference held in 1926, and to maintain it for at least one year as the maximum tariff applicable to British goods.

(4) China undertook to abolish, as soon as possible, *li-kin* and other internal taxes on imported goods.

(5) China undertook to apply the new tariff uniformly on all land and sea frontiers, and to abolish the preferential rates hitherto levied on goods imported or exported by land frontier.

The treaty and the new tariff came into force on the 1st of February, 1929.

In pursuance of the undertaking to apply the new Chinese tariff uniformly on all frontiers, China is now levying full duties on the

Sino-Burmese frontier. The land trade between Burma and China has hitherto been the subject of a special arrangement under which China undertook to grant certain rebates of the duties levied by her and India undertook to impose no duties except on salt imported from China and rice exported from Burma. This arrangement has now been abolished by mutual consent.

* * *

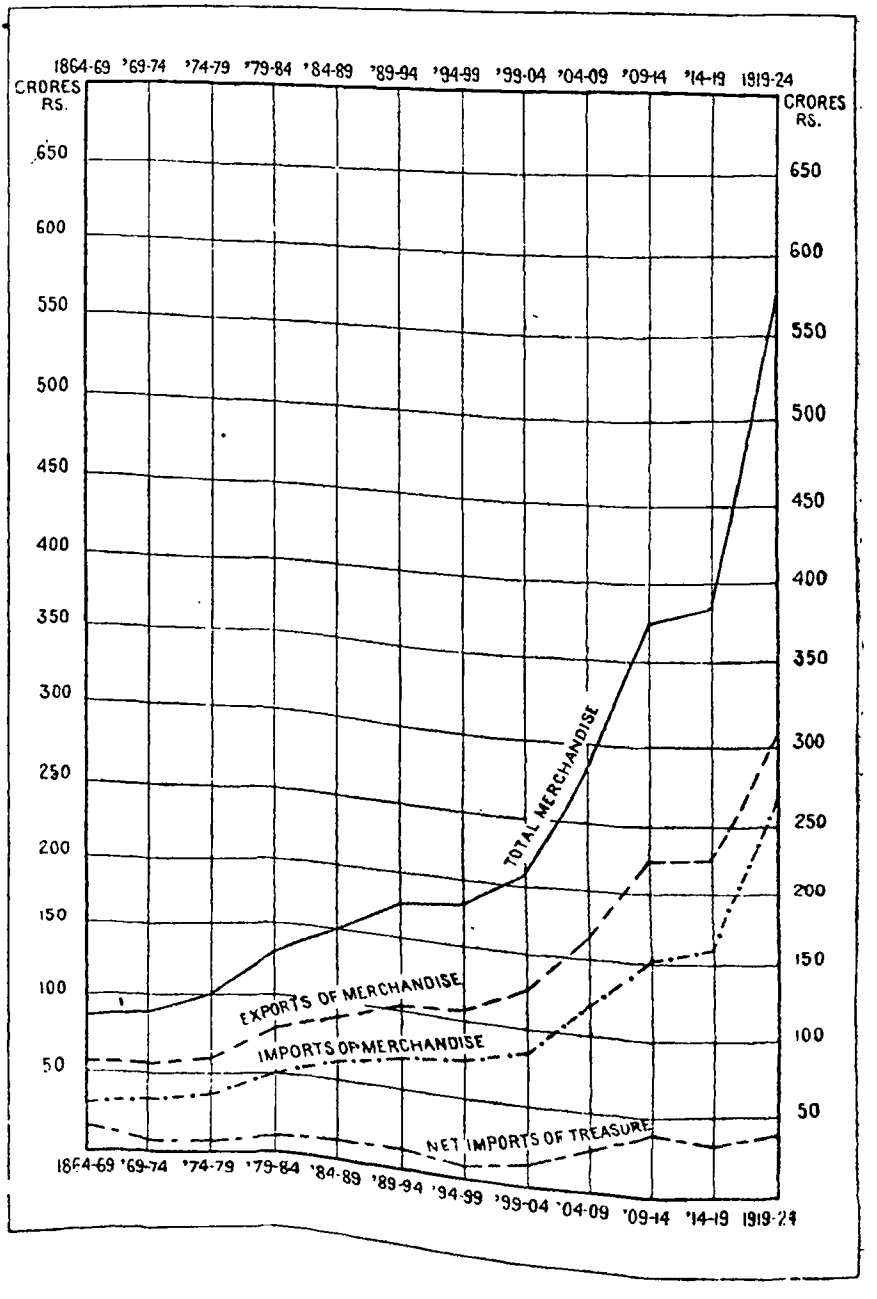
The way is now clear for a study of the main features of India's trade during the year 1927-28, the latest year for which statistics are available. The balance of trade in merchandise in favour of India amounted to Rs. 82 crores, as compared with Rs. 79 crores in the preceding year and the exceptionally high figure of Rs. 161 crores in 1925-26. India's net imports of the precious metals further declined during the year under review to Rs. 32 crores as compared with Rs. 39 crores in the previous year and Rs. 52 crores in 1925-26. The net imports of gold also declined to Rs. 18 crores compared with Rs. 19 $\frac{2}{5}$ crores during 1926-27, and the net imports of silver decreased from 19$\frac{3}{4}$ crores in 1926-27 to Rs. 13$\frac{3}{4}$ crores in the year under review. It may be mentioned, however, that despite a number of disturbing factors in China and elsewhere the price of silver during the year remained comparatively stable.

The salient features of Indian imports and exports during the year 1927-28 show that the imports of cotton piecegoods increased by 185 million yards or 10 per cent. in quantity to 1,973 million yards, while the corresponding gain in value was only Rs. 12 lakhs, not even 1 per cent. of the total value of Rs. 55 crores. Grey goods advanced from 748 million yards valued at Rs. 19$\frac{2}{3}$ crores to 875 million yards valued at Rs. 21$\frac{1}{4}$ crores, but the increase was off-set by a decrease under white goods, which fell from 571 million yards valued at Rs. 17$\frac{1}{2}$ crores to 556 million yards valued at Rs. 15$\frac{1}{2}$ crores. The value of coloured goods remained fairly steady at Rs. 17$\frac{1}{2}$ crores, though the quantity imported rose from 447 million yards to 505 million yards. Imports of cotton twist and yarn increased from 49 million pounds to 52 million pounds, but the value recorded showed very little improvement compared with the preceding year. There was a decrease from 923,000 tons to 823,000 tons in the quantity of sugar imported owing to reduced imports of Continental beet sugar, while the fall in prices reduced the value to Rs. 15 crores or by 21 per cent. In iron and steel imports there was an increase of 41 per cent. in quantity and 28 per cent. in

DIAGRAM.

The Foreign Sea-borne Trade of British India during the last 60 years (1864-69 to 1919-24). Quinquennial Average.

(Private and Government)



value from Rs. 16¾ crores to nearly Rs. 21½ crores. Machinery and mill work advanced by Rs. 2 crores to Rs. 16 crores, railway plant and rolling stock by Rs. 1½ crores to Rs. 4¾ crores, and motor vehicles by Rs. 1 crore to Rs. 5 crores. Imports of hardware were valued at Rs. 5¼ crores as against Rs. 5 crores in the preceding year. Mineral oils showed an increase of 49 million gallons in quantity and Rs. 1½ crores in value, this being due to larger arrivals of kerosene oil from Russia and Georgia, and of fuel oils from Persia. The value of imported provisions was Rs. 6½ crores compared with Rs. 5¾ crores in the previous year. Imports of foreign cotton continued on a larger scale during the year under review and amounted to 66,000 tons valued at Rs. 6¾ crores, compared with 46,000 tons valued at Rs. 5 crores in 1926-27. The value of liquors and paper remained almost stationary at Rs. 3½ crores and Rs. 3 crores, respectively. The value of silk and silk manufactures and also of wool and woollens increased during the year from Rs. 4½ crores each to Rs. 5 and Rs. 5⅓ crores, respectively. The imports of artificial silk were valued at Rs. 5½ crores—an increase of Rs. 1¼ crores compared with the preceding year.

On the export side the total value of raw and manufactured jute exported increased from Rs. 80 crores to Rs. 84 crores. Raw jute increased by 184,000 tons or 26 per cent. in quantity to the record figure of 892,000 tons, while the value improved by Rs. 4 crores or 15 per cent. to Rs. 30⅔ crores. Shipments of gunny bags also increased in number from 449 to 463 millions, but there was a fall in the value realised from Rs. 24⅓ crores to Rs. 23¼ crores. Raw and manufactured cotton decreased by Rs. 13 crores or 19 per cent. to Rs. 57 crores, raw cotton alone accounting for a decrease of Rs. 11 crores. There was an increase of 6 per cent. in shipments of rice amounting to 2,152,000 tons valued at Rs. 33⅔ crores. Exports of wheat rose from 176,000 tons valued at Rs. 2¾ crores to 300,000 tons valued at Rs. 4½ crores. All other food grains and pulses showed increases during the year. The value of shipments of oil seeds advanced by Rs. 7½ crores to Rs. 26½ crores, while the quantity of lac exported decreased by 8 per cent. from 592,000 cwts. to 544,000 cwts., but higher prices accounted for an increased return of Rs. 1½ crores or 28 per cent., the total value realised being Rs. 7 crores.

We may now turn to a more detailed survey of the course of exports and imports during the year 1927-28. On the import side cotton manufactures were as usual the most important item, ac-

counting for 28·77 of the total value of imports into this country. Although the total value of the imports of cotton manufactures during the year under review showed little variation from the preceding year's figures there was a substantial increase in quantities, chiefly on the piecegoods side. In December, 1926, cotton prices reached a bed-rock level, and thereafter a larger volume of orders was booked during the early months of 1927. The advancing level of prices for cotton and cotton manufactures, however, subsequently checked the flow of orders, the prices in the distributing centres being unable to keep pace with the rise in manufacturers' prices. After the steady rise in prices throughout the summer months until September, a gradual fall set in and at the beginning of November the Yarn Association withdrew its control of production and prices. There followed a revival of business, especially in Calcutta and Karachi. The year 1927-28 was, on the whole, a profitable one for dealers in staple goods, as stocks at the beginning were not heavy at the principal distributing centres, and clearances of the goods received were generally satisfactory.

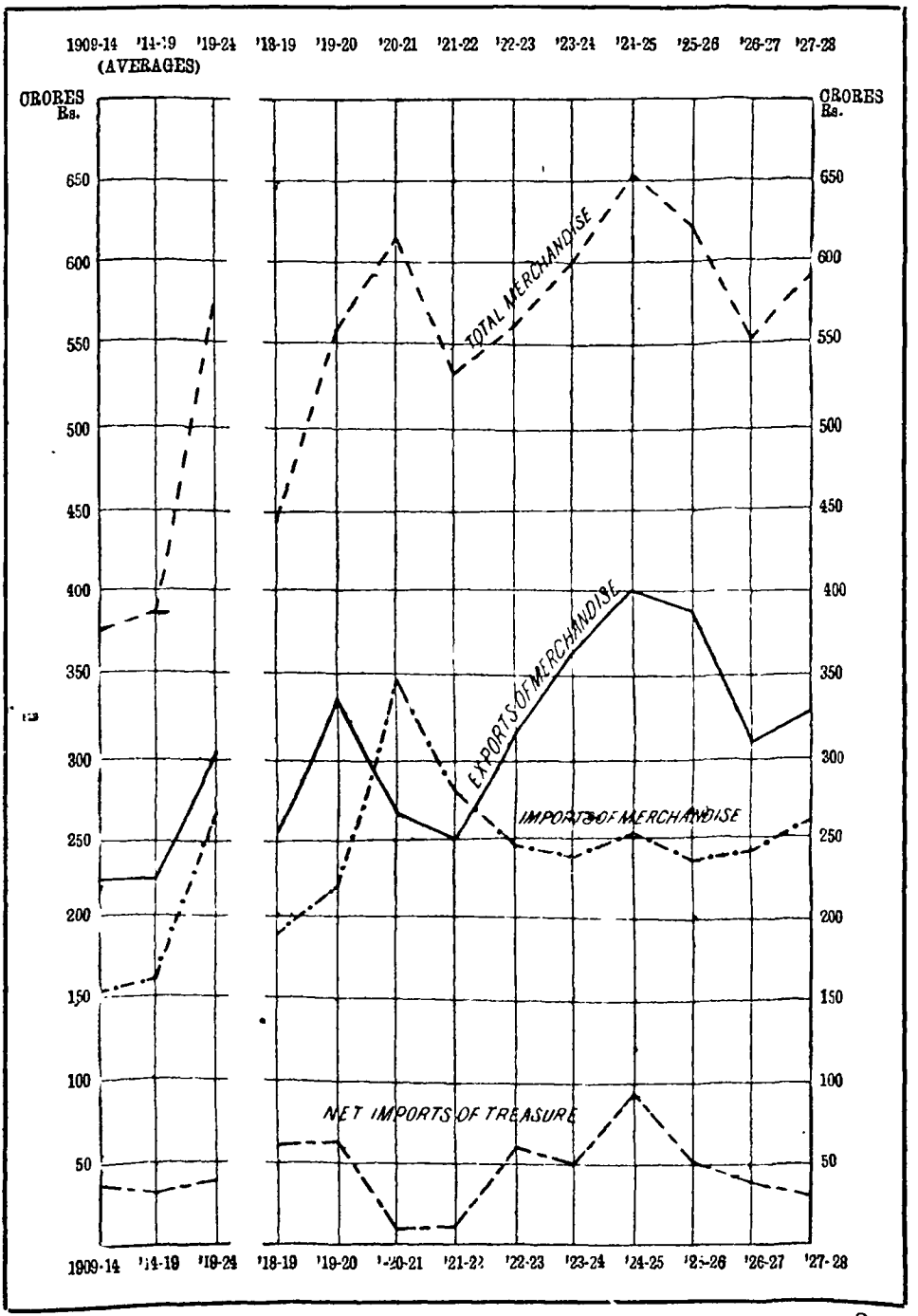
The imports of cotton twist and yarn amounted to 52·3 million pounds against 49·4 million pounds during the previous year—an increase of nearly 3 million pounds in quantity and Rs. 17 lakhs in value. There was a considerable falling off in the imports from Japan during the year owing to the severe depression which the Japanese cotton industry has been passing through since the financial crisis of 1927. Imports from China, on the other hand, showed a remarkable advance, due to lower production costs. It is noteworthy that the Japanese-controlled mills in China, unable to dispose of their goods in the Chinese markets owing to the disturbed political conditions in that country, sent large consignments to the Indian market. The other sources of imports of cotton yarn to India were the Netherlands, Switzerland and Italy. The following figures show India's demand for foreign yarn and the production in Indian mills over a series of years :—

	Imports.	Indian mill production.
	lbs. (1,000)	lbs. (1,000)
Annual average—		
Five years ending 1908-09	38,573	641,776
Five years ending 1913-14 (pre-war period)	41,794	646,757
Five years ending 1918-19 (war period) .	34,063	666,227
Five years ending 1923-24 . . .	44,681	662,512
Year 1913-14 (pre-war)	44,171	682,777

DIAGRAM.

The Foreign Sea-borne Trade of British India during the last ten years as compared with averages of the Pre-war, War and Post-war periods.

(Private and Government)



	Imports. lbs. (1,000)	Indian mill production. lbs. (1,000)
Annual average—*contd.*		
Year 1914-15	42,864	651,985
Year 1915-16	40,427	722,425
Year 1916-17	29,530	681,107
Year 1917-18	19,400	660,576
Year 1918-19	38,095	615,041
Year 1919-20	15,097	635,760
Year 1920-21	47,333	660,003
Year 1921-22	57,125	693,572
Year 1922-23	59,274	705,894
Year 1923-24	44,575	617,329
Year 1924-25	55,907	719,390
Year 1925-26	51,688	686,427
Year 1926-27	49,425	807,116
Year 1927-28	52,345	808,911

From these figures it will be seen that the production of yarns in Indian mills exceeded even the record attained in 1926-27, and amounted to nearly 809 million lbs. From 1927-28 the imports of bleached and mercerised yarn have been classified according to counts in the trade statistics, whereas formerly, the details by counts were only given in respect of grey and coloured yarn. The imports of white yarns in 1927-28, excluding two folds, amounted to 2·4 million lbs., of which 2·3 million lbs. were of counts above 30. The imports of counts 1 to 20, which had declined to 1,068,000 lbs. in 1926-27, increased to 2,465,000 lbs. during the year, in spite of the modification in the rates of import duty at the end of September, 1927. China and the United Kingdom were the chief suppliers, Japan's share dwindling to 153,000 lbs. in the year under review. There was a decline in the production of yarns of counts 1 to 20 in Indian mills by 21 million pounds to 495 million pounds. In counts 21 to 25 the production increased by 14 million pounds to 182 million pounds, while the imports, solely from the United Kingdom, fell from 483,000 pounds to 416,000 pounds. In counts 26 to 30 the production increased by 1 million pounds to 81 million pounds, imports dropping from 470,000 pounds to 439,000 pounds. In counts 31 to 40 the imports were 27·3 million pounds as against 24·4 million pounds (grey and coloured alone) in the preceding year, while the production rose by 6 million pounds to nearly 34 million pounds. Of these imports 1·3 million pounds represented white yarns, the increase under grey and coloured together thus amounting to 1½ million pounds. The United Kingdom's share

in the cotton twist and yarn trade fell from 41 per cent. in 1926-27 to 39 per cent. in the year under review, Japan's share fell from 54 per cent. to 32 per cent., while China's share advanced from 2 per cent. to 25 per cent.

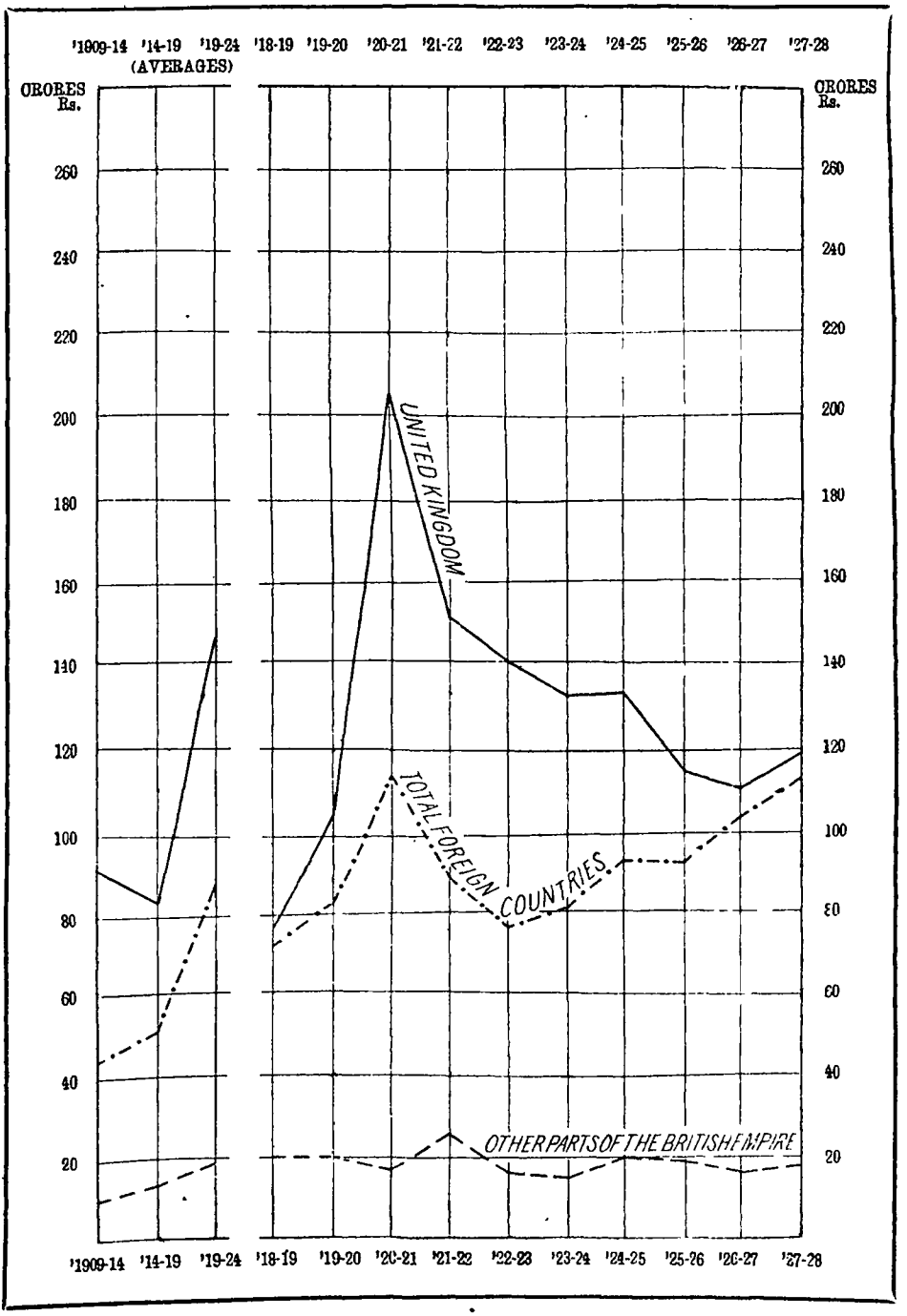
The total imports of piecegoods, including fents, during 1927-28 exceeded the preceding year's receipts by 185 million yards, though in value the increase registered was only Rs. 12 lakhs. Compared with the pre-war year 1913-14, the imports in 1927-28 were less by over 1,200 million yards, but the year's record was the highest since 1916-17. In last year's report it was pointed out that the advance in 1926-27 was chiefly in white goods. In the year under review, the increase was mainly in grey goods, which registered an increase of 127 million yards over the previous year. Coloured, printed or dyed goods increased by 57·4 million yards, but there was a set-back in white goods, which fell by 14½ million yards. The value of grey goods imported increased by Rs. 163 lakhs to Rs. 2,125 lakhs and of coloured goods by Rs. 30 lakhs to Rs. 1,752 lakhs, while white goods fell by Rs. 2,11 lakhs to Rs. 15,42 lakhs. The United Kingdom's share in the imports of grey goods increased by 62 million yards or 11 per cent., and the Japanese share increased by about the same amount. The imports from China (including Hong Kong), advanced from 1·8 million yards to 7 million yards, but the share of the United States of America receded from 2·7 million yards to 2·2 million yards. In white piecegoods the United Kingdom still maintained a monopoly, the figures being 527 million yards as against 550 million yards in the preceding year. Switzerland increased her supply by 3½ million yards to 12 million yards, and Japan from 2·9 million yards to 5·6 million yards. Britain's share in the imports of white piecegoods into India was 95 per cent. against 96 per cent. in 1926-27 and 1925-26.

The United Kingdom was again to the fore in the coloured section of piecegoods with an increase of 34 million yards during the year. Italy also greatly increased her contribution during the year to 24½ million yards against 15½ million yards in the previous year. The Japanese quota still continued to advance, 102·7 million yards having been sent to India during the year under review against 85·8 million yards in 1926-27. The share of the Netherlands declined from 14 million to 12 million yards. The other chief sources of supply were Germany, Switzerland and Belgium, the first two of which sent a little over 2½ million yards each, while the last named sent 1·7 million yards.

DIAGRAM.

(*a*) Variations in the Trade of British India with principal countries during the last ten years as compared with averages of the pre-war, war and post-war periods.

(I)—IMPORTS



The following table shows the percentage share of the United Kingdom and Japan, the two principal competitors in the piecegoods trade in the Indian market, in the total imports of piecegoods in 1913-14 and each of the past four years:—

Percentage share of the United Kingdom and Japan in the Imports of Cotton piecegoods.

—	1913-14.		1924-25.		1925-26.		1926-27.		1927-28.	
	United Kingdom.	Japan.	United Kingdom.	Japan.	United Kingdom.	Japan.	United Kingdom.	Japan.	United Kingdom.	Japan.
Cotton piecegoods—										
Grey . . .	98·8	·5	86·0	13·0	79·2	20·1	78·7	20·7	74·4	24·5
White . . .	98·5	...	97·1	·8	96·0	1·0	96·4	·5	94·7	1·0
Coloured . . .	92·6	·2	83·1	10·0	73·1	19·0	71·1	19·2	69·8	20·3

The distribution of the total import trade in piecegoods among the principal countries concerned is shown in the table below:—

—	1913-14.	1920-21.	1921-22.	1922-23.	1923-24.	1924-25.	1925-26.	1926-27.	1927-28.
United Kingdom . .	97·1	85·6	87·6	91·2	88·8	88·5	82·3	82·0	78·2
Japan	·3	11·3	8·3	6·8	8·2	8·5	13·9	13·6	16·4
United States . . .	·3	·9	2·1	·5	·5	·5	1·0	·9	1·4
Netherlands . . .	·8	·9	1·1	·8	·7	·6	1·1	1·1	1·0
Other countries . . .	1·5	1·3	·9	·7	1·8	1·9	1·7	2·4	3·0
Total .	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

An analysis of the total quantity of piecegoods imported into India during 1927-28 shows that 50 per cent. was received in Bengal. Bombay came second in importance as a distributing centre, and the receipts in both provinces showed a substantial

increase compared with the preceding year. Burma recorded a small increase, while Sind and Madras consumed lesser quantities.

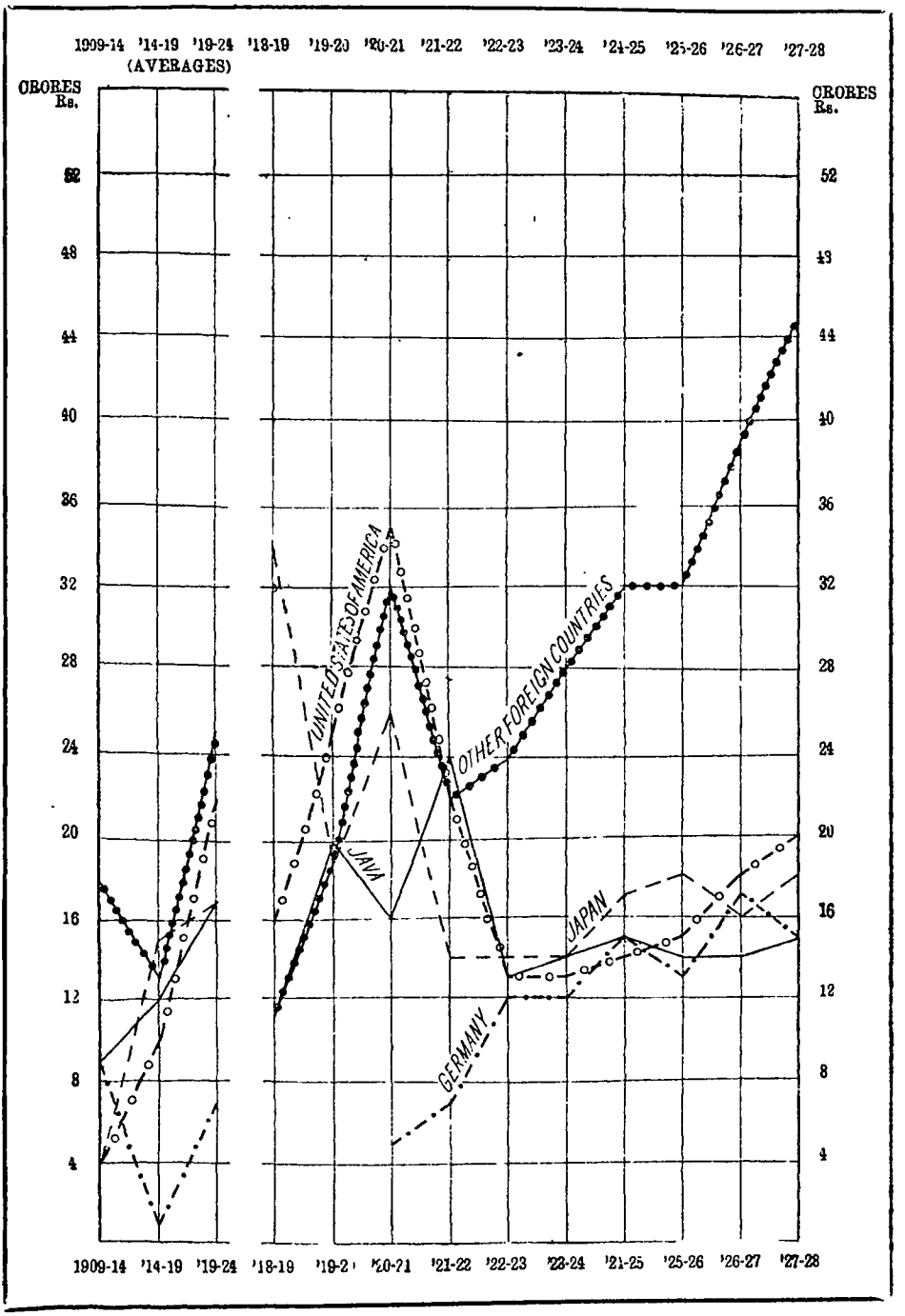
Second in order of importance in India's imports during the year under review comes metals and manufactures of metals, which showed an increase of 38 per cent. in quantity (from 910,000 tons to 1,259,000 tons) and 19 per cent. in value (from nearly Rs. 24 crores to over Rs. 28⅓ crores). Of this total, iron and steel represented 21½ crores and rose to the second place in order of importance, among imports, displacing sugar, which occupied that position in the previous year. If such items as machinery and millwork, railway plant and rolling stock, cutlery, hardware, implements and instruments, and motor vehicles were included under one head with metals and manufactures thereof, the total value would amount to 65⅓ crores, which is nearly 16 crores less than the value of imports of the yarn and textile fabrics, the most important group among imports. The corresponding figures for the preceding year were, for the metal group Rs. 56 crores and for the textiles Rs. 79 crores.

In last year's report reference was made to the fact that India's imports of iron and steel from the United Kingdom were seriously affected by the coal strike in Great Britain during the major portion of the year 1926. During the year under review, however, the imports of iron and steel not only recovered, but reached a record figure. The output of pig iron in the United Kingdom rose from 2½ million tons in 1926 to over 7 million tons in 1927, while the production of steel ingots and castings rose from 3½ million tons to over 9 million tons. The chief competitors of the United Kingdom in the Indian metal market are Belgium and Germany, but extra special efforts were made by British steel makers during the year to reduce prices to the absolute minimum to meet foreign competition. Galvanized sheets, which, as usual, formed the chief single item of manufactured iron and steel, accounted for about 38 per cent. of the total value imported, as compared with 43 per cent. in 1926-27. The United Kingdom, the chief source of imports into India, increased her supplies from 249,000 tons valued at Rs. 6,45 lakhs to 298,000 tons valued at Rs. 7,24 lakhs. There was a fall in the value of the United States' contribution from Rs. 40 lakhs to Rs. 16 lakhs, while consignments from Belgium and Germany rose from Rs. 25 lakhs and Rs. 7 lakhs, to Rs. 49 and Rs. 15 lakhs, respectively. The imports of tinplates recorded a small increase from 22,200 tons valued at Rs. 77 lakhs to 24,000 tons

DIAGRAM.

(*a*) Variations in the Trade of British India with principal countries during the last ten years as compared with averages of the pre-war, war and post-war periods.

(II)—IMPORTS



valued at Rs. 82 lakhs. The trade was practically divided between the United Kingdom and the United States of America, the former increasing her share from Rs. 40 lakhs to Rs. 57 lakhs and the latter reducing her supplies from Rs. 37 lakhs to Rs. 25 lakhs. The imports of steel bars, other than cast steel, rose from 151,000 tons valued at Rs. 1,48½ lakhs to 181,000 tons valued at Rs. 1,83 lakhs, the increase being shared between the United Kingdom, Belgium and Luxemburg. The supplies from Germany, however, declined from 27,000 tons valued at Rs. 25⅔ lakhs to 14,000 tons valued at Rs. 12⅔ lakhs. The imports of beams, channels, pillars girders and bridge-work were double those of the preceding year and totalled 144,000 tons valued at Rs. 1,84 lakhs, against 72,000 tons valued at Rs. 90 lakhs in the previous year, mainly from the United Kingdom and Belgium. Rails, chairs, and fishplates (including those for railways) showed a striking increase from 23,000 tons valued at Rs. 25½ lakhs to 113,000 tons valued at Rs. 1,35 lakhs. This was chiefly due to the construction of the new harbour and railway communications at Vizagapatam, in the Madras Presidency.

The production of pig iron in India has steadily increased since the year 1922-23. Nevertheless, the imports of this commodity rose from 1,600 tons valued at Rs. 2 lakhs to 5,100 tons valued at Rs. 6 lakhs during the year under review, of which the United Kingdom supplied 4,000 tons, compared with 1,000 tons in the preceding year. The imports of iron and steel from the United Kingdom exceeded in volume those of the pre-war year, and totalled 685,000 tons or 57·2 per cent. of the total imports of iron and steel as compared with 406,000 tons or 48·1 per cent. in 1926-27. Next to the United Kingdom came Belgium, the imports from which country rose by 23 per cent. from 257,000 tons to 316,000 tons, although her share in the total trade was 4 per cent. less than in the preceding year. Germany's share fell from 9·3 per cent. to 6·6 per cent. There was, however, an increase in the case of France as a result of her attempt to conserve her overseas markets. The imports of metals other than iron and steel and their manufactures fell from 64,000 tons to 62,000 tons in quantity and from Rs. 7,06 lakhs to Rs. 6,96 lakhs in value. The imports of aluminum, lead, tin and zinc increased, whilst those of brass, copper and quicksilver declined.

Machinery and mill work imports regained its position as third on the list during the year under review, coming next

in importance to cotton manufactures and iron and steel. The total imports of machinery of all kinds, including belting for machinery and printing presses, during 1927-28 were valued at Rs. 16,99 lakhs, as compared with Rs. 14,60 lakhs in 1926-27. The main contributing factor to this increase was the removal or reduction of the Customs duties on certain kinds of machinery from the 1st October, 1927, effected in pursuance of the recommendations of the Indian Tariff Board. With the exception of electrical machinery, rice and flour mill machinery, saw mill machinery and wool machinery, all other descriptions showed substantial increases. Contrary to last year's experience the value of textile machinery imported during the year increased by 23 per cent. from Rs. 2,51½ lakhs to Rs. 3,08⅔ lakhs, of which the United Kingdom's supplies accounted for Rs. 2,89 lakhs or 94 per cent. For some years past the imports of cotton machinery have shown a marked decline, but this tendency was arrested during 1927-28, the imports amounting to Rs. 1,97 lakhs compared with Rs. 1,70½ lakhs in the previous year. Spinning, weaving, and jute manufacturing machinery all showed marked advances, of Rs. 21, Rs. 12 and Rs. 29 lakhs, respectively, while wool manufacturing machinery fell from Rs. 4 to Rs. 1⅔ lakhs. There was a decrease in the imports of electrical machinery from Rs. 2,29½ lakhs to Rs. 2,00 lakhs, the decrease being noticeable in the case of transformers and generating plants. The United Kingdom continued to hold the major portion of this part of India's trade, whilst the United States of America came second. Prime movers, other than electrical, increased in value from Rs. 1,98¼ lakhs to Rs. 2,08 lakhs during the year.

Fourth in order of value in India's imports comes sugar. An increase in world production and falling prices were the chief features of the sugar market during the year under review. The world production of sugar in the season 1927-28 was 25,250,000 tons, showing an increase of 1,517,000 tons over the preceding year in spite of the reduction of the Cuban crop to 4 million tons. The bulk of India's sugar supplies is drawn from Java. At the opening of the year stocks of sugar in India were ample to meet all demands, and with prospects of a surplus crop importers were content to postpone purchases until a lower level of prices was reached. Both Japan and China influenced this action to a large extent, because of the financial troubles in the former country and the civil war in the latter. Simultaneously the beet sugar crop in Europe was

better than usual, and India remained the only large market available for Java. Thus Indian importers were able to exert pressure on Java and bring down the rates. Imports of sugar of all sorts (excluding molasses) in 1927-28 declined from 826,900 tons valued at Rs. 18,36 lakhs to 725,800 tons valued at Rs. 14,50 lakhs. This decline was at the expense of beet sugar, while cane sugar actually recorded an increase as a result of low prices. Sugar supplies from the United States of America dwindled to almost nothing, though in 1926-27 that country sent 11,600 tons to India. Canada's supplies, too, were very low—only 400 tons compared with 4,650 tons during the preceding year. Bombay, Karachi, Madras and Burma showed increases of imports of Java sugar, and took 23, 21, 7 and 7 per cent. respectively of the total supplies of Java sugar to India. The imports of beet sugar during the year showed a marked decrease on the figures for the previous year, the total being only 18,000 tons as compared with 176,000 tons in 1926-27.

Mineral oils were again fifth in order of importance in India's import trade during the year under review. The total imports of all kinds of mineral oils from foreign countries in 1927-28 increased to 232 million gallons valued at over Rs. 10,44 lakhs, as compared with 184 million gallons valued at Rs. 8,89 lakhs in the preceding year. Of this amount about 41 per cent. consists of kerosene oil, 46 per cent. of fuel oil and 11 per cent. of lubricating oils. The imports of kerosene oil advanced by 30 million gallons to nearly 94½ million gallons in quantity and by Rs. 1·10 lakhs to Rs. 5,39⅓ lakhs in value. The principle feature of the year with regard to oil was the rate war, in which keen competition was shown between the products of the Burma Oil Company and that of the Standard Oil Company. The question whether indigenous oil concerns in India should be afforded protection was the subject of an enquiry by the Tariff Board during the year, but before the publication of their report the price war was called off and the competing companies entered into a mutual arrangement. The Tariff Board found that there was no case for any protective measure to the oil industry in India, and the Government of India agreed with this view. Nearly half of the supplies of kerosene oil imported into India during the year were from the United States of America, against 87 per cent. in the preceding year, while Russia (including Georgia) contributed over 19½ million gallons valued at Rs. 1,03 lakhs. Imports from Borneo, Persia, and the Straits Settlements increased during the year, while the coast-wise imports of kerosene oil from Burma declined from 130 million gallons in 1926-27 to 120 million gallons in the year under review. There

was a sharp rise in the import of foreign motor spirit during the year from 3,800 gallons to 138,000 gallons. Coastwise imports of petrol and other motor spirit from Burma into India amounted to 39 million gallons, compared with 29 million gallons in the preceding year.

Sixth on the list of India's imports during the year 1927-28 came motor vehicles. There was a general fall in the prices of all motor vehicles during the year, due mainly to the reduction of the duty on motor cars and motor cycles from 30 to 20 per cent. *ad valorem*, and on pneumatic rubber tyres and tubes from 30 to 15 per cent. from March 1st, 1927. This, combined with keen competition in the automobile trade, was responsible for an increase of 15 per cent. in the number of motor vehicles imported into India in 1927-28, the figures being 15,122 valued at Rs. 3,54 lakhs. The United States of America took the lion's share of the trade, the number of cars from that country numbering 6,031 valued at Rs. 1,34½ lakhs. The United Kingdom, however, strengthened her position and sent 3,600 cars to India, valued at Rs. 1,02½ lakhs, compared with 2,546 cars valued at Rs. 80 lakhs in the preceding year. It is note-worthy that the average declared value of cars imported from the United Kingdom fell from Rs. 3,159 in 1926-27 to Rs. 2,849 in 1927-28, the decline being illustrative of the efforts made by British manufacturers to increase their stake in the Indian market by lowering prices. The imports of cars from Canada, Italy, France and Belgium decreased during the year. India still lacks a net-work of good roads throughout the country, and that is one of the chief factors operating against the more rapid development of motor transport in this country.

The imports of motor cycles increased by 19 per cent. from 1,803 in 1926-27 to 2,146 in the year under review, and by 14 per cent. in value from Rs. 10,47,000 to Rs. 11,96,000. The United Kingdom supplied 91 per cent. of the total imports against 92 per cent. in the preceding year. The imports from the United States of America again declined from 75 to 67, while those from Germany and France showed a slight increase. The rapid expansion of motor transport in India led to a further increase in the import of motor omnibuses, vans and lorries during the year. The imports totalled 8,682, valued at Rs. 1,49 lakhs against 6,343, valued at Rs. 1,20 lakhs in the preceding year. Of these 7,412 represented chassis with a total value of Rs. 1,22 lakhs against 5,345 valued at Rs. 96 lakhs in 1926-27. Canada and the United States of America

produced the bulk of the supplies, the British manufacturers being unable to make much headway in the Indian market owing to the attractive prices offered by their Canadian and American competitors. The imports from Canada rose from 3,529 to 4,268 in number and from Rs. 48 lakhs to Rs. 54¾ lakhs in value. The supplies from the United States of America increased from 2,322,. valued at Rs. 49⅓ lakhs to 3,699 valued at Rs. 67½ lakhs. The United Kingdom sent 447 vehicles valued at Rs. 22¾ lakhs, compared with 341 valued at Rs. 19 lakhs in the preceding year.

The reduction of duty and the increase of motor transport were responsible for a substantial increase in the imports of rubber manufactures. The number of pneumatic motor covers imported increased by 35 per cent. from 311,000 to 419,000, and their value from Rs. 1,18 lakhs to Rs. 1,69¼ lakhs. The imports from both the United States and Canada were almost double those of the preceding year, but only a slight increase in the number of tyres supplied by the United Kingdom was recorded on the figures for 1926-27. In pneumatic cycle covers and motor tubes the United Kingdom was the foremost supplier to the extent of 55 per cent., the balance being equally divided between Canada, the United States of America and France. The total value of all tyres and tubes for motor vehicles amounted in 1927-28 to Rs. 2,19 lakhs, compared with Rs. 1,56 lakhs in the preceding year. This figure is the highest ever recorded since statistics have been kept.

The year under review saw a further expansion of the trade in artificial silk, and the figures given below show that the great advance which commenced in 1924-25 has been steadily maintained.

	lbs. (000).	Rs. (000).
1922-23	225	13,40
1923-24	406	19,55
1924-25	1,171	42,40
1925-26	2,671	74,72
1926-27	5,776	1,02,64
1927-28	7,510	1,49,21

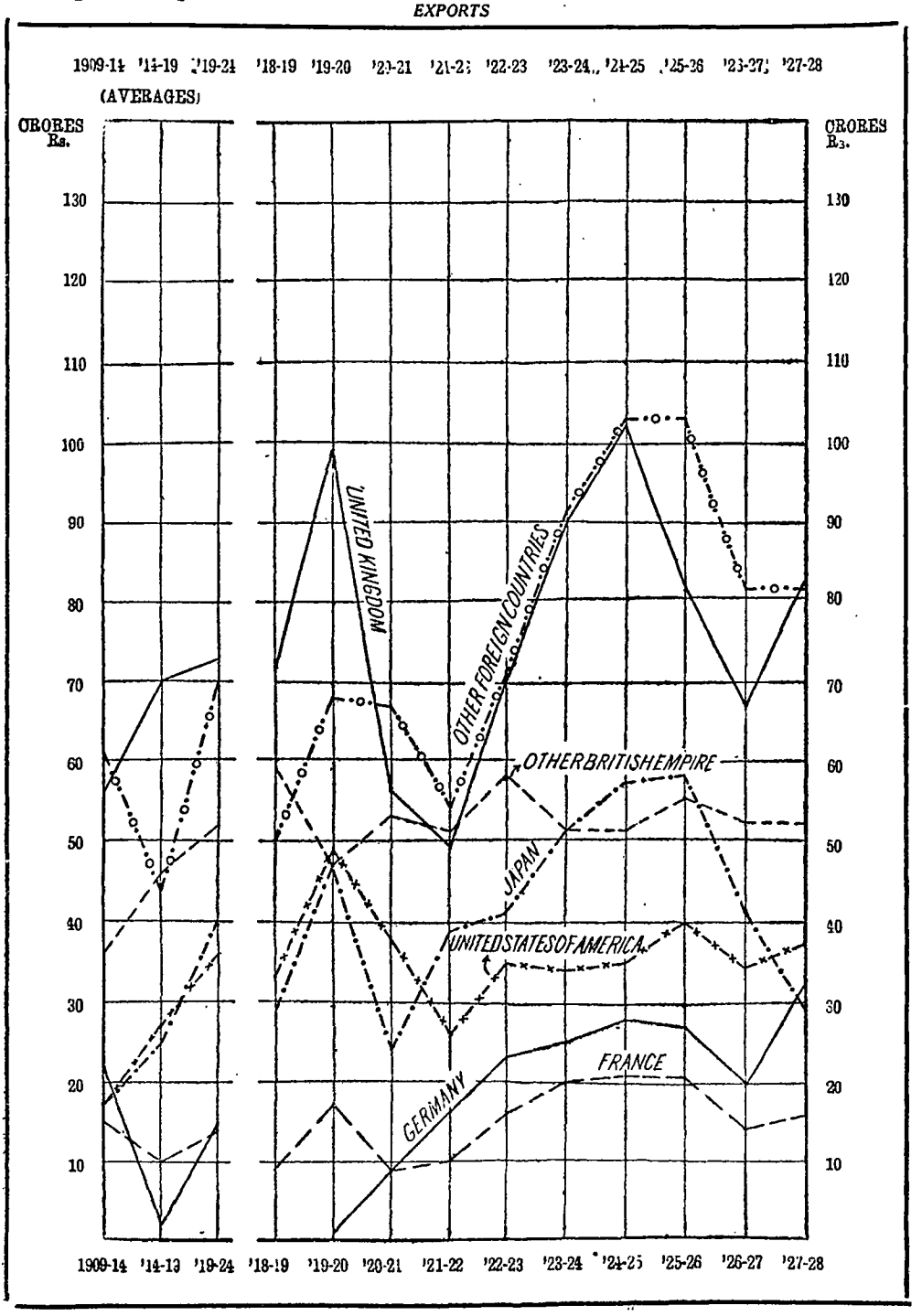
Nearly the whole of the increase in the imports of artificial silk during the year was contributed by Italy, although the United Kingdom was a close competitor. The quantities imported from Italy and the United Kingdom during 1927-28 were 3,432,000 pounds and 2,277,000 pounds, as compared with 3,843,000 pounds and 655,000 pounds, respectively, in the preceding year. These

figures show that the imports from Italy during 1927-28 were slightly less than in the previous year, while the British trade registered an advance of 248 per cent. Imports from Germany and Switzerland declined during the year, while those from the Netherlands, France and Belgium increased. The total imports of artificial silk yarn were valued at Rs. 1,49 lakhs, Italy being responsible for Rs. 66¼ lakhs and the United Kingdom for nearly Rs. 47 lakhs. In imports of cotton piecegoods and artificial silk there was an increase of over 11 million yards during the year, the total takings amounting to 53,141,000 yards, valued at nearly Rs. 3,86½ lakhs or about Rs. 80 lakhs more than in the preceding year. In the previous year the United Kingdom was the largest single supplier, but in the year under review Italy advanced her sales to over 16 million yards against nearly 14 million yards in 1926-27. Switzerland, Germany, Austria, Japan and Czecho Slovakia also increased their share of this trade to a notable extent, while Belgium's share in the trade fell from 980,000 yards to 757,000 yards. The set back in the United Kingdom's trade can be attributed to the competition of the cheaper lines of cloth marketed by other countries, and the fact that the combined share of Italy and the United Kingdom's trade in this class of goods fell by 14 per cent. during the year is evidence of steadily growing competition. The imports of raw wool advanced from nearly 5 million pounds valued at Rs. 32 lakhs in 1926-27 to 5·8 million pounds valued at Rs. 45 lakhs in the year under review. Persia, the United Kingdom and Australia were the principal countries of supply. Britain's quota amounted to 1·6 million pounds against 1·5 million pounds in the preceding year. The import trade in woollen piecegoods showed a steady advance in 1927-28, the imports being 18·8 million yards valued at Rs. 3,28½ lakhs, an increase of 22 per cent in quantity and 18 per cent. in value over 1926-27. Imports from the United Kingdom amounted to over 7 million yards valued at Rs. 1,62 lakhs, the figures for the preceding year being 6 million yards and Rs. 1,42½ lakhs. France came next with 4·4 million yards, as against 2·2 million yards in the previous year. Germany and Japan's share in this trade increased slightly during the year, but the Belgian share was negligible.

India's imports of railway plant and rolling stock, both for private and Government concerns, improved during the year from Rs. 6,08 lakhs to Rs. 9,35 lakhs, of which Rs. 4,77 lakhs represented importations on private account and Rs. 4,58 lakhs on

DIAGRAM.

(*b*) **Variations in the Trade of British India with principal countries during the last ten years as compared with averages of the pre-war, war and post-war periods.**



Government account, against Rs. 3,25 lakhs and Rs. 2,83 lakhs, respectively, in the preceding year. Thus the marked fall which was recorded in our last report was made up during 1927-28. Belgium's importance in this class of goods is worthy of notice. Her share in 1927-28 was 23·9 per cent., against 17·4 per cent. in 1926-27 and 9·2 per cent. in 1925-26.

The import trade in both alizarine and aniline dyes showed an increase during the year. While the imports of alizarine dyes from Germany showed a reduction from 4,145,000 pounds to 3,577,000 pounds, the United Kingdom's share, on the other hand, increased from 742,000 pounds in 1926-27 to 1,284,000 pounds in the year under review. Aniline dyes from the United States of America, which have lately been making great advances in the Indian market, were imported to the extent of 1,327,000 pounds, or 600,000 pounds less than in the preceding year. Direct imports from Germany, however, increased by 3 million pounds to over 9 million pounds. The British share in the imports of aniline dyes declined by 19 per cent. to 357,000 pounds, while the shares of Switzerland and Italy rose from 404,000 pounds and 268,000 pounds to 520,000 pounds and 731,000 pounds, respectively.

* * *

Turning now to the export trade of India in the year under review we notice that jute and cotton and their manufactures, grains and tea were in practically the same position as in the previous year. The first place in the export trade for 1927-28 again fell to jute. Two successive good crops and a steady demand for both the raw material and manufactured articles enabled the total exports of jute during the year to eclipse the previous year's record. The prices were well maintained owing to high consumption and heavy buying ahead by spinners, both in India and abroad. At the beginning of April the price of raw jute at Calcutta was Rs. 62-8 per bale of 400 pounds, but the rates gradually fell as a result of the anticipation of a good crop, and by May had reached Rs. 55. In June, however, the course of the market suddenly changed, and by the third week in August the price had risen to Rs. 75. This rise was the result of several factors—an unexpectedly steady demand from foreign countries towards the close of the season 1926-27, improvement in hessian prices, lateness of the new crop, want of rain in jute districts, and speculative activity resulting from these circumstances. On September 20th, the price stood at Rs. 69 per bale, and when the final crop estimates became

available prices fell further, Rs. 64-8 being reached on the 27th of September. The course of prices during the remainder of the year was between Rs. 59 and Rs. 63. The total weight of raw and manufactured jute exported during the year was 1,777,000 tons, or 208,000 tons more than in the preceding year, while the total value increased from Rs. 80 crores to Rs. 84·2 crores. Raw jute accounted for 36 per cent. of this value, and jute manufactures for 64 per cent. as compared with 33 and 67 per cent., respectively, in 1926-27. The quantity of raw jute exported was 26 per cent. higher than that in the preceding year, and the exports of bags increased in number from 449 millions to 463 millions, and of gunny cloth from 1,503 million yards to 1,553 million yards.

Of 4,995,000 bales of raw jute exported during the year, Germany took 1,339,000 bales as against 1,025,000 bales in the preceding year—an increase of 36 per cent. There was also a considerable improvement in the takings of jute by the United Kingdom, her imports amounting to 1,244,000 bales valued at Rs. 7,68 lakhs as compared with 968,000 bales valued at Rs. 6,14 lakhs in the preceding year. The Netherlands, Belgium, Spain, Italy and Brazil increased their takings, while the United States of America took only 472,000 bales compared with 489,000 bales in the preceding year.

The total exports of gunny bags increased in number from 449 millions to 463 millions, and Australia remained the best market for this commodity. The United Kingdom accounted for over 46 millions as against 39 millions in the preceding year, while Java and the Straits Settlements reduced their demands slightly. The Union of South Africa and China increased their takings, and the United States of America and Cuba took smaller quantities.

The trade depression consequent on the financial crisis in Japan and the unsettled political conditions in China greatly affected the exports of raw cotton from India during the year, which were reduced to 2,686,000 bales from 3,188,000 bales in the preceding year. Other factors were the comparative dearness of Indian cotton in relation to American, and the large outturn of the Chinese cotton crop. The Indian cotton crop of the 1927-28 season was estimated at 5,963,000 bales of 400 pounds each, as compared with 5,024,000 bales in the preceding year. The American cotton crop of 1927 was a short one, unlike the crops of the three preceding years. The Egyptian crop also gave a much smaller yield. Indian cotton prices followed the trend of those of America, as usual. From

May onwards there was a steady advance in prices until June. After a temporary set-back which lasted till August, a further rise took place, which was maintained with occasional slight fluctuations until the close of March. The total exports of raw cotton to the Continent were 1,102,000 bales compared with 821,000 bales in the preceding year. There was an improvement in the United Kingdom's demands, which rose to 160,000 bales compared with 87,000 bales in the preceding year. Exports from Bombay were 63 per cent. of the total quantity of raw cotton exported, those from Karachi 27 per cent. and from Madras 5 per cent. The shortage of Indian staple cotton, combined with the fact that Indian prices were out of parity with American prices for considerable periods, was responsible for heavy imports of foreign cotton into Bombay.

The cotton industry passed through another period of depression during the year under review. The production both of yarn and piecegoods increased, but exports declined, and there was a heavy accumulation of stocks. The production of yarn in Indian mills in 1927-28 increased to 809 million pounds, compared with 807 million pounds in the preceding year. The exports of yarn fell by 40 per cent. in quantity from 41½ million pounds in 1926-27 to 24¾ million pounds in the year under review. The value realised fell from Rs. 3,08½ lakhs to Rs. 1,88 lakhs, a decline of 39 per cent. China, usually the most important market for Indian cottons, actually sold large quantities of cotton yarn in the Indian market, under-cutting the local product and the imports from other sources. Had Chinese requirements been maintained at the preceding year's level the year under review would have compared favourably with 1926-27. Syria, Iraq, and Persia also reduced their purchases considerably, while slight increases were recorded in the shipments to Egypt, Aden and Siam. Shipments to the United Kingdom, Greece, and Turkey (European) showed some increases.

The total production of piecegoods in Indian mills in 1927-28 increased in quantity by 4 per cent. as compared with the preceding year, but the proportion of exports of piecegoods to the total production was 7 per cent. as compared with 8·7 per cent. in 1926-27. Measured in yards, however, the actual quantity exported compared with that of the preceding year declined by 29 million yards. There was a marked decline in the export of coloured, grey and white piecegoods. The chief single customer in Indian piece-

goods during the year was Persia, which took 28·2 million yards against 37·8 million yards in the preceding year. Iraq was the premier market last year, but took only 24·1 million yards in 1927-28, while the Straits Settlements took 3 million yards less than in the preceding year. Ceylon's requirements, too, fell from 21·7 million yards to 19·6 million yards. The total value of piecegoods exported in 1927-28 was Rs. 6,18½ lakhs as compared with Rs. 7,32½ lakhs in 1926-27. Grey goods accounted for Rs. 53 lakhs, coloured Rs. 5,60 lakhs, and white goods for the remainder.

In last year's report reference was made to a Trade Mission to the Near East and Africa appointed by the Government of India on the recommendation of the Indian Tariff Board to make a survey of the potential markets in those countries for Indian cotton goods and to make recommendations for the encouragement of the export of cotton manufactures from India. The Mission assembled in Bombay on January 27th, 1928, and proceeded to Bushire, Basra, Baghdad, Damascus, Aleppo, Constantinople, Beyrut, Cairo and various other places. The Mission completed their report in July of the same year, and made many important recommendations for the marketing of Indian cotton piecegoods in the Near East and Africa. The most important recommendation of the Mission was the appointment of three Trade Commissioners for India to be stationed at Alexandria, Mombasa and Durban. Other recommendations included suggestions for better marketing methods and the development of the existing piecegoods trade with Persia, Iraq and East Africa.

The exports of food grains, pulses and flour made some recovery during the year under review as a result of larger shipments of wheat. The total quantity exported amounted to 2,784,000 tons against 2,429,000 tons in the preceding year, the value rising by Rs. 3,67 lakhs to Rs. 42,92 lakhs. Shipments of wheat increased by 70 per cent. from 176,000 tons to 300,000 tons, and in husked rice by 117,000 tons to 2,152,000 tons. Rice accounted for 79 per cent. of the total quantity of food grains and flour exported, as compared with 85 per cent. in the preceding year. Wheat and wheat flour contributed 13 per cent. to the exports against 10 per cent. in 1926-27, and pulses 5 per cent., as in the preceding year. The production of cleaned rice in 1927-28 was 1·5 million tons less than in the previous year, but the exports of rice and paddy together registered an advance over the preceding year by over 128,000 tons. Burma alone possesses a large exportable surplus

An Aerial View of Karachi Port showing the Harbour, Boat Basin, Oil Installations and Shipping Berths. Ninety-nine per cent. of India's wheat exports during the year 1928-29 were shipped *via* Karachi.

of this commodity, the total exports from that country in 1927-28 being 1,888,000 tons compared with 1,787,000 tons in the preceding year. As in the previous year Ceylon took the largest quantity of rice during the year, namely 461,000 tons, Germany coming second with 346,000 tons. Demands from the Straits Settlements, China and the United Kingdom decreased considerably during the year.

The total exports of wheat during the year showed a marked improvement as compared with 1926-27, but were far below the pre-war average of 1,308,000 tons, the total being 300,000 tons valued at Rs. 4,40½ lakhs, as compared with 176,000 tons valued at Rs. 2,71 lakhs in the preceding year. As usual the United Kingdom took the major portion of the shipments, namely 251,000 tons valued at Rs. 3,66 lakhs. The wheat crop of 1926-27 was satisfactory, but with an increase in internal consumption and ample world supplies available the rates offered during the greater part of the year were not sufficient to induce withdrawals from local consumption. France and Belgium were the second best customers with 20,500 and 19,700 tons, respectively. Ninety-nine per cent. of the wheat exports from India passed through the port of Karachi.

The tea industry had another prosperous season in 1927-28. Although the production of tea fell short of the preceding year's record, the exports increased and prices throughout the season were well maintained. The climatic conditions during the early part of the season were unfavourable to the crop in Northern India, and the outturn till July was 12 million pounds behind that of the corresponding period of 1926. The largest decline in production was in Assam, the output in that area falling short by 6 million pounds compared with the previous year's record. The total production of tea in 1927 was estimated at 391 million pounds as compared with 393 million pounds in 1926. Assam, as usual, contributed the larger share, her production being 60 per cent. of the total output, while Northern India contributed 26 per cent. and Southern India 14 per cent. The total area under tea in 1927 was 753,000 acres as against 739,000 acres in 1926. The total shipments of tea during the year showed an increase of 4 per cent. in quantity and 12 per cent. in value. Only 946,000 pounds of green tea was exported during the year, the balance of 360⅔ million pounds consisting of black tea, of which the shipments to the United Kingdom totalled 306 million pounds valued at Rs. 28⅓ lakhs as compared with 290½ million pounds valued at Rs. 24½

lakhs in the preceding year. The United Kingdom absorbed 85 per cent. of India's tea exports, compared with 84 per cent. in the preceding year. Re-exports of Indian tea from the United Kingdom in 1927-28 were about the same as the preceding year, amounting to approximately 45 million pounds. Re-exports to the Irish Free State amounted to nearly 17 million pounds, a slight decrease on the previous year's quota, while other European countries and the United States of America took smaller quantities. Direct shipments of tea from India to the United States of America, however, increased from 7·6 million pounds to 8·8 million pounds, while Indian exports to Canada decreased from 11·5 million pounds to 9·3 million pounds. The main feature of the Indian tea export trade during the year was the direct buying by Russia, which absorbed $6\frac{1}{3}$ million pounds, compared with 101,000 pounds in 1926-27.

Oil seeds occupied the fifth place among India's exports during the year, and showed an increase of 44 per cent. in quantity and 40 per cent. in value over the preceding year's figures. Compared with the pre-war average, however, there was a decrease of 17 per cent. in quantity, but an increase of 9 per cent. in value. The total exports of oil-seeds amounted to 1,210,000 tons valued at Rs. 26,69 lakhs.

In our last report we pointed out that the Indian export trade in oil-seeds is suffering from a growing competition of other producing countries, with the inevitable result of a steady fall in the pre-war average. The trade in Indian ground-nuts, however, was an exception to this rule. The outturn during the 1926-27 season was the highest ever recorded, namely, 2,046,000 tons. The exports also attained the record figure of 613,000 tons in 1927-28, compared with 368,000 tons in the previous year. This increase in exports is due not only to the larger crop, but also to other factors such as larger demands following the resumption of normal trade conditions in Europe, better facilities in securing freights to continental ports and the release of speculative holdings of the produce of 1926-27 by exporters who were waiting for favourable markets and easier freights to clear their stocks. Germany was the largest purchaser of Indian ground-nuts during the year with 218,000 tons or 36 per cent. of the total quantity exported. France came second with 151,000 tons. The Netherlands, Italy, the United Kingdom and Belgium all increased their demands during the year.

Of other exports, hides and skins showed a marked improvement in the year under review owing to a world shortage of hides and leather. The leather stocks of the world were greatly depleted and the available supply of hides was insufficient to meet the increasing demand. Shipments of raw hides and skins during the year, therefore, amounted to 64,400 tons valued at Rs. 8,81 lakhs, as compared with 50,600 tons valued at Rs. 7,18 lakhs in the preceding year. Exports of raw wool continued to expand during the year, rising from 45 million pounds to 50 million pounds in quantity and from Rs. 3,93 lakhs to Rs. 4,36 lakhs in value. As usual the United Kingdom took the bulk of India's exports, the figures being nearly 44 million pounds or 87 per cent., while the remainder went mainly to the United States of America. The production of pig iron in India increased from 957,000 tons in 1926-27 to 1,162,000 tons in 1927-28. The exports increased from 309,000 tons to 393,000 tons in quantity and from Rs. 1,40 lakhs to Rs. 1,79 lakhs in value. Japan, always the best customer for Indian pig iron, increased her taking from 234,000 tons to 271,000 tons, the United Kingdom coming second with 21,000 tons against 16,000 tons in 1926-27. The United States of America and Germany both increased their demands, as also did Sweden, the Straits Settlements, Italy and Belgium. Chinese requirements, however, fell from 7,616 tons to 4,009 tons. The exports of unmanufactured tobacco further receded by nearly 1 million pounds to 28 million pounds. The value realised, however, was Rs. 1½ lakhs more than in the preceding year, and the principal customers were the United Kingdom and Aden. The exports of manufactured tobacco, however, increased from 911,000 pounds to nearly 1·2 million pounds.

Having discussed the leading features in the distribution of India's overseas trade we may now set down a few general remarks. The year under review saw Great Britain recovering from the depressing effects of a protracted coal strike, while on the continent the year witnessed the return of Italy to the gold standard and the virtual stabilisation of the French Exchange. Throughout the year conditions in the Far East were very unsatisfactory, and this had a corresponding adverse bearing upon India's overseas trade. Both Japan and China purchased less of India's goods during the year, but their exports to India were increased. In the case of the United Kingdom, however, the excess of imports over exports to that country declined by Rs. 8 crores to Rs. 37 crores in spite of an increase under imports, owing to the good demand which Indian staple articles

enjoyed and to the decline in the prices of the principal imported articles. The net results of the trade with European countries and the United States of America showed larger balances in favour of India than in the preceding year, the surplus in the case of the continent increasing by Rs. 19 crores to Rs. 40 crores. The United Kingdom's share in India's import trade remained much the same as in the preceding year. In exports, however, her share increased by nearly 4 per cent. to 25 per cent. The share of the other parts of the British Empire in imports declined from 7·1 per cent. to 6·9 per cent., and in exports from 17 per cent. to 15·1 per cent. The whole British Empire had 46·3 per cent. of the total trade compared with 45·5 per cent. in the preceding year. The United States of America claimed 8·2 per cent. of the import trade as against 7·9 per cent. in the preceding year, while in exports her share remained unchanged at 11·1 per cent. Germany's share in the import trade fell from 7·3 to 6·1 per cent., but her share in the export trade increased by 3 per cent. to 9·9 per cent.

Turning now to individual heads we notice that the percentage share of the United Kingdom in the imports of cotton manufactures declined from 75·3 to 72·1, while the Japanese share increased from 17·2 per cent. to 18·1 per cent. The shares of the United States of America and Italy also showed increases. In the imports of iron and steel the United Kingdom's share showed an increase of nearly 6 per cent. consequent upon increased production and better prices, while the shares of other countries declined. In machinery and hardware the United Kingdom increased her share, while there was a considerable decline in the share of the United States of America. In the imports of motor vehicles there was a small increase in the United Kingdom's share, but this was to a large extent overshadowed by a much larger increase in the case of the United States. Canada's share in the motor vehicles trade fell by 5 per cent. The imports of railway plant from the United Kingdom also advanced from 61·6 per cent. to 77·9 per cent., while those of Germany and the United States of America declined. On the export side the United Kingdom's share in the total exports of tea increased from 85 to 87·5 per cent., while the United States of America also slightly increased her purchases of Indian tea from 2·1 to 2·3 per cent. The shares of Australia, Canada and the Persian Gulf markets declined. In raw jute, Germany increased her share from 27·6 per cent. to 27·8 per cent., and the share of the United Kingdom increased from 22·9 per cent. to 25 per cent.,

while those of France, Italy and the United States declined. In exports of jute manufactures the shares of both the United Kingdom and Australia fell, but that of the United States increased from 35 to 36·2 per cent. Of the total exports of raw cotton, Germany, the United Kingdom, Italy and Belgium increased their shares, while Japan's quota receded from 58·7 to 46·1 per cent. and that of China from 13·1 to 4·2 per cent.

From the above outline it will be seen that India's foreign trade showed considerable improvement during the year 1927-28. The monsoon of the year was unusually good, except for devastating floods in certain areas, and the output of crops was on the whole satisfactory. The exchange was stable and there was a steady demand for the staple articles of Indian produce with the exception of cotton, which showed a marked decline for reasons already explained. The reader will note that the shipments of raw jute during the year surpassed all previous records, while at the same time prices maintained a satisfactory level. The most depressing feature of the situation was cotton and cotton manufactures, the exports of the former being seriously affected by the political and economic situation in China and Japan. With the exception of sugar nearly all the principal articles of import advanced during the year—particularly luxury articles such as motor-cars, silk and artificial silk, and cigarettes. The trade position of India during the year under review was one of confidence and satisfaction, there being very few dark spots in the picture.

It is unnecessary to dwell at any length on India's land frontier trade, in which the traffic in a certain number of selected articles at certain railway stations adjacent to certain important trade routes across the frontier is registered. During the year 1927-28 the imports and exports of practically all the important items in India's frontier trade showed an increase, and even when compared with her great volume of overseas trade India's land frontier trade is now far from negligible, the exports of food grains and flour amounting to several million maunds. The principle followed in the registration of the land frontier trade of India was extended to Burma in 1926, the stations selected being Bhamo in the north, which catches the trade entirely river-borne as well as the trade despatched from or to the rail-head Katha, to the railway heads of Lashio and Heho in the Shan States; and Thingannyinaung in the south, through which the bulk of the trade with Siam passes.

CHAPTER VII.

Finance.

In order that the reader may thoroughly understand Indian political problems a brief sketch of the financial relations between the Central Government and the provinces in this country is necessary, particularly outlining the developments since 1921, the year in which the present system of Government came into operation as a result of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. The beginning of the control of the Provincial Governments over their own finances dates from 1870, when Lord Mayo started that process of devolving financial and general administrative authority on the Provinces which has resulted in the quasi-federal system which exists to-day. Before his time all the revenues of India went into one purse, and the Provinces were allotted for their annual expenditure only those sums which the Government of India thought fit, or which they could be persuaded or cajoled into granting. The inevitable result of such a system as this was that the distribution of the public income degenerated into something like a scramble, in which the most violent had the advantage, with very little attention to reason.

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Lord Mayo's solution was to give each Province a fixed annual grant for the administration of the Provincial services and also to give Provincial Governments an interest in nursing the taxable capacity of their subjects by allowing them to impose certain local taxes in aid of the grant from the Central Government. It was not long, however, before further changes were called for, and between 1877 and 1883 the financial relations between the Central Government and the Provinces experienced further developments, including the resettlement on a wider basis of the system of Provincial finances. For example, in the Provincial settlements of 1870-71 a fixed sum had been made over to each Local Government to defray the cost of Provincial services, but by these subsequent reforms a share in the revenues was substituted for the fixed grant. This gave a margin which might be increased by careful management. The settlements were made liable to periodical revision and the system thus established existed

with modifications until the end of the first decade of this century. This is the beginning of the system of the division of revenue heads into central, provincial and divided—a system which lasted until the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. The heads of revenues which were made over to the Provinces were believed to be capable of expansion by careful management and thus likely to meet provincial needs. But, of course, revenue and expenditure in the provinces could not be made to meet exactly, and so the excess of provincial expenditure over revenue was made up by assignments from the Central Government expressed as a percentage of the land revenue of each province, which was otherwise a Central receipt.

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The principal land-marks in the history of Central and Provincial financial relations between Lord Mayo's and immediately subsequent Reforms, and the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms in 1921 are the quasi-permanent settlements which came into operation from 1904 onwards, and the permanent settlements from 1911-1921. By the former the revenues assigned to a province were definitely fixed and were not subject to alteration by the Central Government except in cases of extreme and general necessity, or unless experience showed that the assignment made was disproportionate to normal provincial needs. The object of this reform was to give to the Provinces security and a motive for economy and careful husbanding of resources. Henceforward the Provinces could maintain some continuity of financial policy since they were assured that they would reap the benefits of their own economies and would not be forced into ill-considered schemes of expenditure merely in order to show at the next settlement with the Central Government that their scale of expenditure was high and their needs corresponding thereto. The financial reform of 1911 made the settlement absolutely permanent. In 1911 also the fixed assignments to the Provinces were reduced, but the provincial share of growing revenue was increased. During these years a further benefit was conferred on the Provinces by the introduction of a new Famine Insurance Scheme in 1906, by which the Government of India placed to the credit of each Province exposed to famine a fixed amount on which it could draw in time of need without trenching on its normal resources. If this

fund became exhausted, further expenditure would be shared equally by the Central and Provincial Governments, and, in the last resort, the Government of India would give the Provinces further assistance from Central Revenues. In 1917 these arrangements were modified and famine relief became a divided head, the expenditure being apportioned between the Central and Provincial Governments in the proportion of 3 to 1. Before this scheme was introduced, the liability for famine expenditure had lain upon the provinces, and the Central Government had only intervened when the latter's resources had become exhausted.

Thus, at the time of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, the financial relations between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments were broadly these. The budget of the Government of India was made to include the transactions of Provincial Governments, the revenue enjoyed by the latter being mainly derived from sources of income which were shared between the Government of India and themselves. Generally speaking, certain heads of revenue, such as the land revenue, excise, income-tax, and the profits from productive irrigation works, were divided between the Provincial and the Central Governments. The Provincial Governments took the receipts from Forests and Registration, as well as from Courts and Jails. To the Government of India went the revenue from opium, salt, customs, railways, posts and telegraphs, and tributes from Indian States. The Central Government, out of these incomings, was responsible for defence charges, for the upkeep of railways and posts and telegraphs, for the payment of interest on debt, and for the Home charges. The provinces, from their incomings, met the expenses connected with land revenue and general administration, with forests, police, courts and jails, with education and with medical services. Charges for irrigation were common to both the Central and to the Provincial Governments.

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The basic principles of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms are completely opposed to the principles upon which the old settlements were based. There is no need to discuss here the wider objects of the new model of government which was introduced by these Reforms, but the most obvious ways in which it affects the financial relations between the Central Government and the

Provinces may be briefly outlined. In the first place we may consider the effect of dyarchy, that is, the division of the departments of provincial administration into reserved and transferred departments, which introduces a new conception into the Government of India. The reserved departments, which include such services as police and irrigation, are still kept under executive control, but the transferred departments, among which are numbered the well-named " nation-building " services, like education, local self-government, agriculture, sanitation and so on, are now transferred to the ultimate control of the Provincial legislatures. Behind these far-reaching administrative changes lies the deeper purpose of introducing India to responsible self-government, and it is in the provinces and by the medium of dyarchy that this purpose is meant to be achieved. There is no dyarchy in the Central Government, which still remains under official control tempered largely, it is true, by the influence which the central legislature can bring to bear upon the Executive Government. This at once brings us up against the basic conditions of the financial system, which is the corollary of the new system of government, for the Provincial Governments are now, so far as some of their most important activities are concerned, popular governments responsible for their doings, in the transferred departments, through ministers to popularly elected legislative councils. Therefore it is clear that the old financial system which admitted almost unlimited control on the part of the Central Government over the financial and general administration of the provinces had to go. It has been shown that the " divided heads " were the most typical feature of the old system, and that these " divided heads " provided the Central Government with its most extensive opportunities for intervention in provincial affairs. Therefore the system of " divided heads " had to be abolished. Since the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms visualised the working out of responsible government for India primarily in the Provinces, the latter clearly had to start with some measure of autonomy, and this involved the separation of the sources of revenue into two separate groups—those belonging to the Government of India and those belonging to the Provincial Governments. On the other hand, the needs of the Central Government remained, and the abolition of the system of " divided heads " could not be accomplished merely by transferring all provincial resources to the Provinces,

for the sources of revenue which would still remain with the Central Government after the transfer had been made were not sufficient for the latter's needs. Thus the admission of the principle that "divided heads" must be abolished and replaced by a system under which the Government of India and the Provinces would have their own separate sources of revenue brings us up against the crux of the whole problem, namely, what heads of revenue should be left with the Provinces and what with the Central Government respectively.

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It is quite possible that the problem would have arisen even had there been no Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, for experience had shown that the revenues retained by the Government of India under the old settlements were in some years greatly in excess of their requirements and the resulting surpluses were given to the Provinces in the shape of recurring or non-recurring grants for specific purposes. The Reforms, however, by investing the Provinces with a new dignity, and with functions of the most vital importance, made it clear that no mere make-shift or temporary solutions would suit. The new arrangements had to be comprehensive and laid down on a plan whose main lines would be permanent whatever adjustments and alterations in detail might have to be made under the stress of circumstances and in the light of experience.

A tentative scheme for a financial settlement between the Government of India and the Provinces was sketched in Chapter VIII of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, which was presented to His Majesty's Government in 1918. In that chapter the complete separation of central and provincial revenues and the consequent abolition of "divided heads" were recommended. The scheme also comprised the complete separation of the Central and Provincial budgets and the enlargement of the provincial powers of taxation and borrowing. The greater part of the scheme outlined in the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms commended itself to the Provincial Governments since it was obviously calculated to increase their financial powers in a number of very important particulars, but, of course, the division of the revenues between the Central Government and the Provinces, with its inevitable corollary of deficit in the Central finances which must

be met by contributions from the provinces, obviously had to be the subject of further enquiry and arrangement between the parties concerned. In section 206 of the 1918 Report, certain exemplar figures are given as an estimate of the anticipated deficit of the Central Government and the contributions to be made by each individual province. The proposed basis on which the contributions were to be fixed was the difference between the gross provincial revenue and the gross provincial expenditure. Other possible bases of settlement had been examined and this had been chosen as being at once the most practicable and the least inequitable. The objections to it are obvious enough, since the provinces with the most liberal scale of expenditure were likely to fare better than those which had been more economical. But this and other objections were considered only to be dismissed. The conditions of the problem were given and the solution stated above was the one offered. The authors of the Report admitted that their scheme would, to some extent, affirm existing inequalities, and all that they could do to mitigate this was to recommend that the whole question should be reinvestigated by the Statutory Commission after ten years' experience of the working of the Reforms. In practice, however, it was found impossible to leave the question at this point, for the proposals aroused strong feeling and vehement opposition throughout India. From Madras, for example, nearly five times as much would be levied as from Bombay, and from the United Provinces nearly five times as much as from Bengal, while the Punjab and Burma would have to contribute far more than other and wealthier provinces. In the first despatch on Indian Constitutional Reforms which the Government of India sent to the Secretary of State in March, 1919, the strong opposition to the above proposals for the financial settlement was reported, and the Government of India stated definitely that they could not justify the permanent retention of the criterion for provincial contributions proposed in the report. The whole question, they said, required skilled investigation, and to this end they proposed that a committee on financial relations between the Central Government and the Provinces should be appointed either by themselves or by the Secretary of State to advise fully upon the subject. This view was endorsed by the Joint Select Committee of Parliament which sat on the Reforms Bill, and, accordingly, a committee consisting of

Lord Meston, Mr. Charles Roberts, and Lieutenant-Commander E. Hilton Young was appointed to enquire into this subject. The committee, which will henceforth be called the Meston Committee, was asked to advise on:

(*a*) the contributions to be paid by the various provinces to the Central Government for the financial year 1921-22,

(*b*) the modifications to be made in the Provincial contributions thereafter with a view to the equitable distributions until there ceases to be an all-India deficit,

(*c*) the future financing of the provincial loans account.

These terms of reference were increased at the instance of the Government of Bombay during the Committee's investigations in India so as to include the question whether the Government of Bombay should retain any share of the revenue derived from the income-tax. The significance of this addition to the terms of reference and its bearing on the subject of provincial contributions will be seen when we examine the reception which was given by the Provinces and the press to the Report of the Meston Committee.

The task of the Committee was in essence to arrange an ideal distribution of the deficit in the central revenues among the provinces, and to fix a standard scale of contributions to which the latter would work up by stages. A certain amount of spadework had been done for them by a conference of financial representatives of the different provinces which had been held in September, 1919. This conference had discussed the normal figures of revenue and expenditure of all the provinces and these were laid before the Meston Committee for review and confirmation or such alteration as its members thought necessary. The Committee first reviewed the proposals put forward in the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms for the allocation of heads of revenue between the Central Government and the Provinces, and found no reasons to alter them except in one very important particular, namely, the revenue head of general stamps. They reported that the arguments addressed to them on this part of their enquiry related mainly to income-tax and general stamps. Certain local Governments remonstrated against losing a share in these two heads of revenue, because they possessed greater possibilities of expansion

than perhaps any others. The plea for making income-tax receipts a provincial asset was pressed with far greater earnestness in Bombay than elsewhere.

The Committee re-affirmed the view expressed in the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms that income-tax should be credited entirely to the Central Government. That report pointed out the necessity of maintaining a uniform rate for the tax throughout the country and to the inconveniences, particularly to the commercial world, of having different rates in different provinces. It further laid stress on the case of ramifying enterprises which had their business centre in some big city and did not necessarily pay income-tax in the provinces in which the income was earned. The Meston Committee, indeed, carried the second argument still further and pointed to the case of public companies with shareholders scattered over India and elsewhere, and their decision, therefore, was that income-tax should remain a central receipt. General stamps, however, they found to be in a different case. The Reforms Report had argued in favour of crediting the receipts from general stamps to the Central Government, but the Meston Committee found that this argument had not the same force as those relating to the income-tax. By crediting the receipts from general stamps to the Central Government, and the receipts from Judicial stamps to the Provincial Governments, a divided head was still retained in the financial system, for both general and judicial stamps were controlled by the same agency and there was a good deal of miscellaneous work and outlay common to both. If the "clean cut" between central and provincial revenues, which the authors of the Reforms Report had regarded as imperative, were to be made absolute, then general stamps must be made a provincial receipt, and this, accordingly, the Committee recommended. There were other very strong arguments in favour of this recommendation. The task of the Meston Committee was to assess, if possible, some contributions on each province and yet leave it with a surplus. At the conference of September, 1919, it had been shown that Bengal and Bihar had normally no surplus but a deficit, while the Central Provinces had a surplus so small that no appreciable contribution could be taken from it. The task of the Committee, therefore, in the case of Bengal and Bihar was an impossible one, if the allocation of revenue, made in the Reforms Report, was to be confirmed. But by giving to the provinces the receipts from

general stamps, the task would at least be made possible. Most of the provinces naturally desired to have a growing head of revenue like general stamps, and its transfer would make the assessment of contributions much easier and, as between provinces, less invidious. But on the other hand the adoption of this recommendation would raise the deficit in the central revenues considerably and thus make the process of absorbing it more protracted. In view of the circumstances of India at the time when the Meston Committee was at work, the balance of advantage lay on the whole with the transfer of general stamps to the provinces. The financial settlement under the Reforms had to treat all the latter alike, and the fundamental principles on which the settlement was based forbade the grant of any subvention by the Central Government to any individual province. Clearly the Reforms could not be allowed to start in Bengal and Bihar, and possibly in the Central Provinces also, with a demonstrably inevitable deficit. Therefore, if subventions to individual provinces were barred, no other course was open to the Government of India and to Parliament except to increase the provincial sources of revenue. And yet there are many objections to the provincialisation of general stamps. It is obviously desirable, for example, to have a uniform stamp duty for such instruments as bills of exchange, the articles of association of a company, transfers, shipping orders, share warrants, and so on in a large number of other cases. Even under the present arrangement, it is possible for the Government of India to insist on uniformity of stamp duties for the instruments mentioned above, and in the general economic interests of India, therefore, it might be desirable to reconsider the transfer of general stamps when the financial position of the provinces permits reconsideration.

Apart from the allocation of the income-tax, in regard to which Bombay was the province most interested, the crux of the Meston Committee's problem was provided by the settlement of the contributions which the provinces were to pay to the Central Government. This part of the problem divides into two: first, the initial contributions for the year 1921-22, and secondly, the so-called standard contributions, *i.e.*, the ideal scale on which the provinces should equitably be called upon to contribute until the necessity for the contributions disappeared with the disappearance of the deficit in the central revenues. After carefully considering

the figures provided by the conference of September, 1919, and receiving representations the committee fixed the total sum which the provinces were required to contribute at 9,83 lakhs. After exhaustive consideration of the problems involved in the taxation of the initial contributions from the provinces, the Meston Committee decided that the fairest method of assessment was on the "Windfall" principle, that is, the Committee worked out the net increase in the total income, including general stamps, of all the provinces taken together, at the figure of 18,50 lakhs. This represented the amount which the provinces gained and the Central Government lost in the redistribution, and the Committee maintained that it was only reasonable that the provinces should forego some of this increased spending power in favour of the Central Government. Accordingly, they pressed to assess the initial contributions on this increase of spending power in the provinces in such a way as to leave each province a surplus to enable the new councils to be inaugurated without the necessity of resorting to fresh taxation. But even after they had adopted the "Windfall" principle, the Meston Committee found it no easy matter to settle the initial contributions. At first they considered the possibility of levying an even rate on the increase in spending power of all the Provinces, but they saw that even this apparently equitable arrangement would, in view of the unequal financial strength of the Provinces, cause hardship in some cases. Each province had to be considered on its merits, and the Committee drew up the following table which represents their proposed allotment of initial contributions to be paid by the provinces:—

Provinces	In Lakhs.		
	Increased spending powers under new distribution of revenue.	Contributions as recommended by the Committee.	Increased spending powers left after contributions are paid.
Madras	5,76	3,48	2,28
Bombay	93	56	37
Bengal	1,04	63	41
United Provinces	3,97	2,40	1,57
Punjab	2,89	1,75	1,14
Burma	2,46	64	1,82
Bihar and Orissa	51	*Nil*	51
Central Provinces	52	22	30
Assam	42	15	27
	18,50	9,83	8,67

Naturally this settlement did not please everybody and indeed, it pleased very few. A predominantly agricultural province like the Punjab gained appreciably by having the whole of the land revenue instead of only a portion as hitherto, but provinces like Bengal and Bombay, with considerable industries, were in a far less happy position. They provided the bulk of the Indian revenue from Income-Tax and yet they could not hope for any share of it. Madras, too, had special cause for complaint against the settlement. By far the heaviest initial contribution, namely, 3,48 lakhs, was demanded from her and her people, and the Madras Government felt this sacrifice all the more keenly since, if their standard of public expenditure had not been kept by them in the past at a comparatively moderate figure, their windfall under the reformed system of finance would not have been so great, nor consequently would their contribution. Bengal and Bombay, on the other hand, complained that they were now faced with the necessity either of reducing their standard of public expenditure or else of running into debt—a process which the Government of India was not likely to allow to proceed too far. However, the Government of India under the stress of its own over-riding necessity had no alternative but to adhere to the Meston Award, and so the Reforms opened with what some of the provinces regarded as a crippling levy on their revenues. The Joint Select Committee of Parliament, however, made certain modifications in the Meston proposals. The scheme of standard contributions was rejected, and it was pointed out that the provincial contributions should be wiped out at the earliest possible moment. Further, they directed that the provinces should be given a small share in the growth of income-tax. It must be admitted that the years immediately following the Meston Settlement brought little happiness to the provincial financial departments, but it must also be admitted that the payment of provincial contributions was only one contributory cause of this. India, like every other belligerent country, had had to divert her energies to the prosecution of the war, and therefore during these early post-war years there was much reconstruction and development work to be done. The greater part of this now fell to the lot of the Provincial Governments, which also had to incur large expenditure in increasing salaries to meet the increased cost of living and in adding new staffs and new departments in accordance with the expansion of

their activities and responsibilities. Thus the years following 1920 were years of financial leanness for the provinces as well as for the Government of India, and the circumstances of these years were such as to force the provinces into heavy expenditure, whilst leaving their revenues comparatively inelastic. Thus, Provincial Governments were forced to look for relief primarily to the remission of the provincial contributions, and the record of debates in the Central and Provincial Legislatures, and the output of newspaper articles and platform oratory shows how strongly the demand for remission was pressed during the years immediately succeeding the Meston Award.

According to the plan laid down for the abolition of provincial contributions certain provinces have priority over other provinces in the matter of remissions. The Meston Committee gave Madras, the United Provinces, the Punjab and Burma the first claim on remissions, and not until almost half of the total contributions had been remitted could any other province claim any relief. From that point onwards, however, every province in India was to share in a prescribed measure in any relief accorded by the Government of India until the contributions were altogether abolished. It was in his budget speech for 1925-26 that Sir Basil Blackett, after showing a surplus of 3,24 lakhs of rupees, made the welcome announcement that he proposed to employ Rs. 2,50 lakhs of this surplus in the permanent remission of provincial contributions. By this first remission, therefore, Madras received 1,26 lakhs of rupees, the Punjab 61 lakhs, the United Provinces 56 lakhs and Burma 7 lakhs. In the next Budget Statement, that for 1926-27, Sir Basil Blackett announced that a further sum of 1,25 lakhs would be permanently remitted to the same provinces and accordingly, of the 1,25 lakhs, 57 lakhs went to Madras, 33 to the United Provinces, 28 to the Punjab and 7 again to Burma. The next year again, in his budget speech delivered in the Legislative Assembly on February 28th, 1927, Sir Basil Blackett announced a net recurrent surplus of 3,64 lakhs. Again he decided that the most urgent claimant for the surplus was the remission of provincial contributions. The surplus was less by 1,81 lakhs than the amount required to make a clean sweep of provincial contributions. But an appeal for help had been received from Bombay, and as it was inexpedient to favour one province at the expense of others the Government of India had decided to divert a portion

of the current year's realised surplus from the usual debt redemption to the remission of all outstanding provincial contributions for the year 1927-28 only. The end of provincial contributions came with the budget for 1928-29, when Sir Basil Blackett announced that the portion of the contributions which he had remitted temporarily for 1927-28 would henceforth be permanently remitted. The section of the budget speech which announces the permanent extinction of provincial contributions occupies only 12 lines in the printed report, and thus curtly and inconspicuously was accomplished one of the greatest triumphs of the reformed system of government in India which to-day can be read in terms of hospitals, schools, dispensaries, wells and many other human necessities which it is the duty of every Provincial Government to provide for its people.

* * *

Let us turn now to the existing financial arrangements, other than those dependent on the Meston Award, between the Central and Provincial Governments in India. Under the pre-Reform order of things, the Secretary of State exercised a much closer control over Indian finances and expenditure than he does to-day. As at present, he prescribed limits of expenditure beyond which his specific sanction was necessary. As those limits were comparatively narrow, the arrangement entailed his intervention in a variety of matters, many of them unimportant or, even, the concern primarily of semi-official local bodies such as municipalities. The Reforms changed all this and bestowed wider powers of expenditure on the Provincial Governments. On the " transferred " side these were necessarily less restricted than on the " reserved " side, for dyarchy involved a radical alteration of the system of government and the surrender of complete authority over " transferred " subjects, expenditure on which is now controlled by the provincial legislatures. The Secretary of State in Council has, however, reserved to himself the control of expenditure likely to affect the all-India Services and still exercises some control over the purchase of military stores in the United Kingdom. On the " reserved " side, on the other hand, much less latitude is allowed, the power to sanction expenditure being subject to certain limits.

* * *

The Government of India also received wider financial power under the Reforms scheme, but as the dyarchical system was not extended to it, the changes were of degree, not of kind. The Secretary of State still approves of the Central Government's budget before it is presented to the Legislative Assembly, still sanctions new taxation, and still controls borrowings outside India, the gold reserve, the paper currency, the exchange policy, the pay, allowances and conditions of service of the all-India Services, and a host of other such matters.

* * *

The provinces now exercise practically full control over their own sources of revenue, namely the provincial balances, receipts from provincial subjects, provincial taxation (the power to impose which has been much enhanced by the Reforms), proceeds from loans and recoveries from loans, and, finally, a share of the income-tax realised in the province. Thus practically the entire revenues of a province are available for use on provincial subjects; but Provincial Governments are under obligation to repay amounts previously borrowed from the Government of India, to pay interest on capital expenditure previously incurred by the latter on irrigation works in the province, and to build up, by annual savings, a Famine Relief Fund.

Provincial Governments are free to draw on the first of these sources of revenue provided they give the Central Government notice at the beginning of the year. The latter may also, in an emergency, temporarily restrict the amount to be withdrawn. The power to impose provincial taxation has been much enhanced under the Reforms, but is subject to the previous sanction of the Government of India in certain cases. Also, whereas in pre-Reform days, Provincial Governments were not allowed to borrow in the open market, and were discouraged from borrowing otherwise, their enhanced control over provincial subjects, especially on the " transferred " side, has led to material alteration in this policy. Provincial Governments are now empowered (subject to the Secretary of State's sanction to loans raised outside India and that of the Governor-General-in-Council to loans raised inside India) to raise money in the open market " on behalf of and in the name of the Secretary of State in Council " on the security of their own revenues for certain purposes and subject to certain conditions. In addition, they obtain loans from the Provincial

Loans Fund, established by the Central Government with effect from 1st April, 1925, all the Provincial Government's liabilities on that date being transferred to it.

* * *

With the lessening of the Secretary of State's and the Government of India's financial control of the provinces has come greater control over the Executive (including the Ministers) by the Legislature. The former's proposals for expenditure are presented to the latter as demands for grants. These are considered and voted upon by the Legislative Council and may be accepted, curtailed, or rejected, but, following the English practice, the Legislature may not increase a grant or change its object. The Council's power over expenditure is restricted to " voted " heads, it having no control over contributions payable to central revenues, charges on loans, expenditure prescribed by law, the salaries and pensions of officers appointed by or with the approval of His Majesty or by the Secretary of State, the salaries of High Court Judges, and, in some provinces, expenditure on " backward tracts ". The Governor may, however, certify and demand as essential to the discharge of his responsibility if the demand relates to a reserved subject, and he has power in cases of emergency to authorise such expenditure as may be in his opinion necessary for the safety or tranquillity of his province or for the carrying on of any department.

In addition to the control of provincial expenditure by the Legislative Council, certain responsibilities in the same direction are exercised by the Finance Department of each province. The provincial Finance Department is the custodian of the Famine Relief Fund and must watch the provincial balances and advise on all important financial questions, such as proposals for new loans or taxation, the grant of new rights, assignments of land revenue, schemes for fresh expenditure and the creation or abolition of posts, and changes in their emoluments. It also prepares the budget, lays the Audit Appropriation Report before the Public Accounts Committee, and brings irregularities to its notice and ensures that audit is effective. All this constitutes very adequate machinery for apprising the legislature of the improper use of provincial revenues.

* * *

The provinces have benefited in several ways from the improvement in the Central Government's financial position, particularly in respect of their borrowings. A Provincial Loans Fund has been established, from which large sums can be borrowed by the provinces on comparatively easy terms. The terms, moreover, are such that the interests of creditors are not jeopardised and preference is given to the more deserving of the objects for which money is requisitioned. The provinces are thus afforded facilities for undertaking the schemes of development which they have most at heart. The subject of interest on loans has occupied a good deal of attention since the Reforms. A longstanding grievance of the provinces was that though they were charged interest when they overdrew their balances with the Government of India they were allowed no interest when they had credit balances. This grievance has now been removed and provinces pay no interest on overdrawals during the financial year but only on those outstanding at its termination, which are then regarded as loans. Another development is that Provincial Governments may place money in fixed deposit with the Government of India and receive interest thereon. Similar adjustments have been effected in several other matters between the Central and Provincial Governments. As the assignments made yearly to the latter on account of the sale proceeds of unified postage and revenue stamps were found to be increasingly inadequate they were suitably increased in 1924.

* * *

The possibility of separating central and provincial banking accounts has often been mooted, but as this is a matter in which it is necessary to move with all possible caution its settlement has been postponed. Experiments have, however, been undertaken in the United Provinces in the separation of audit from accounts, the former remaining the business of the Central Government and the latter being entrusted to the Provincial Government. These experiments were initiated in two departments only, Education and Police, but as they gave satisfactory results they were extended to all departments in April, 1926.

* * *

From the foregoing sketch it will be seen that if the position is reviewed over a number of years it is clear that, despite

financial stringency, serious economic dislocation, and heavy expenditure, the country as a whole has been steered gradually into an enviable state of prosperity, and practically all the provinces have passed through their worst financial crises. Economic condition has improved in stability, and the prospect is more hopeful everywhere. For this a good deal of credit must be given to the adjustments which have taken place during the past few years in the financial relation between the Central and Provincial Governments.

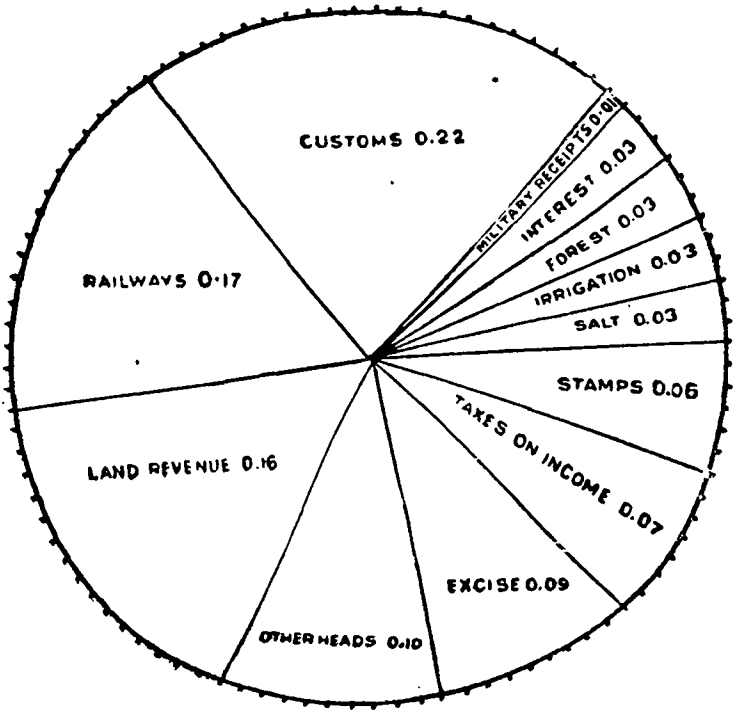
* * *

Before discussing the year's finances we may point out that in India two annual budgets, the Railway Budget and the General Budget, are presented to the Central Legislature. The separation of railway finance from the general finances of India sprang, in the first place, from the fact, forcibly pointed out by the Committee under Sir William Acworth which investigated the Indian Railway system, that the annual allotments for railway expenditure were determined from year to year with less regard to actual railway requirements than to the general financial position of India. The unhappy results of this arrangement from the railway standpoint were very clearly demonstrated in the Acworth Report. After investigating the matter fully, the Government of India came to the conclusion that the suggested separation would enable the railways of India to be financed as a business undertaking, and would also relieve the Government of many difficulties and doubts. When the general budget incorporated the gross receipts and working expenses of the railways, the difference between good and bad trading seasons and good and bad monsoons meant a difference of several crores of rupees in the budget figures. Accordingly a scheme was devised separating railway finance from the general finances of India and ensuring to the latter a definite annual contribution from railways which was to be the first charge on their net receipts. What was left of the profits after payment of this contribution was to be placed to railway reserves on the condition that if the amount available for transfer to the reserves should exceed in any year Rs. 3 crores, one-third of the excess should be paid to general revenues. This railway reserve is to be used to secure the payment of the annual contribution, to provide, if necessary, for arrears of depreciation and for writing

DIAGRAM.

How each Rupee of Revenue was made up in India 1927-28.

(Provincial and Central together.)



The Rupee of Revenue 1927-28.

[The basis of reckoning is the same as that on which the accounts and estimates are prepared; working expenses of the Railway, Irrigation, Posts and Telegraphs Departments, refunds and the like being deducted from revenue and not treated as expenditure.]

down and writing off capital, and to strengthen generally the financial position of the railways. The effect of this arrangement upon the finances of the country is that the Indian tax-payer is now assured of a regular and growing contribution in relief of taxation from his investments in railways; while the task of maintaining a continuous financial policy and of distinguishing between a temporary and permanent surplus or deficit in accounts is immensely facilitated.

* * *

Having prepared the way for an examination of the finances of the year we can now turn to the Railway Budget for 1929-30, presented by Sir George Rainy, Commerce Member of the Viceroy's Council, in the Legislative Assembly on the 19th February, 1929. The Budget disclosed a continuance of the prosperity that has characterised Indian Railway administration for several years past. In spite of the failure of the monsoon in parts of the United Provinces and the Punjab, and strikes and upheavals in the Bombay Presidency, the traffic receipts in 1928-29 were considerably in excess of those of the previous year. The anticipated surplus in 1927-28 of a little over Rs. 11 crores on the year's workings was almost realised, the actual surplus being about 24 lakhs less.

Dealing with the revised estimates for 1928-29 Sir George Rainy announced that the traffic in almost all classes of commodities had risen, and the quantity of goods transported was likely to increase by nearly 4 per cent. The traffic variations during the year showed no new features of interest except the result of the reductions in rates and fares made during the previous year. Those reductions were estimated to lead to a decline of Rs. 21 lakhs in passenger earnings, but actually the earnings were only Rs. 7 lakhs less and though the number of passengers carried was less by 4 millions during the first seven months of the year the passenger miles increased by 49 millions, which means that the average journey travelled was longer. The working expenses were expected to be about Rs. 2 crores higher and in excess of the actuals of 1927-28 by Rs. 1⅓ crores. About three-fifths of this excess is due to abnormal causes. The payment of special gratuities to the staff dispensed with on reduction of establishments in the workshops of the South Indian and Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway Companies is responsible for 35 lakhs, and a further Rs. 46

lakhs of the excess was due to special adjustments in the accounts of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. The remaining increase in working expenses is merely the natural result of the additional miles of line to be staffed and the larger volume of traffic carried.

Summarizing the financial results of the current year Sir George Rainy said: "The total receipts of the Commercial lines we put at Rs. 105¾ crores, which is nearly 2 crores higher than the receipts for the previous year. The total expenditure at Rs. 95 crores is up by Rs. 3⅔ crores, but of this sum more than Rs. 2 crores is accounted for by the increase in interest charges. The surplus of receipts over expenditure on the commercial lines is Rs. 10¾ crores against 12½ crores in 1927-28. Out of this surplus the loss on the strategic lines absorbs 1¾ crores, and of the balance Rs. 5½ crores goes to general revenues under the operation of the Convention and Rs. 3½ crores will be added to the Reserve Fund."

Announcing a reduction in rates and fares Sir George Rainy said: "Actually our financial position seems to us strong enough to justify four measures. There will be reductions in the rates for forest produce, such as timber, firewood and charcoal, on the Eastern Bengal and Great Indian Peninsula Railways, and substantial reductions will be made on three of the State-managed railways in the rates for fresh fruit and vegetables. After making allowance for the growth in traffic which is expected, the net loss in earnings is put at Rs. 7 lakhs for those two proposals together.

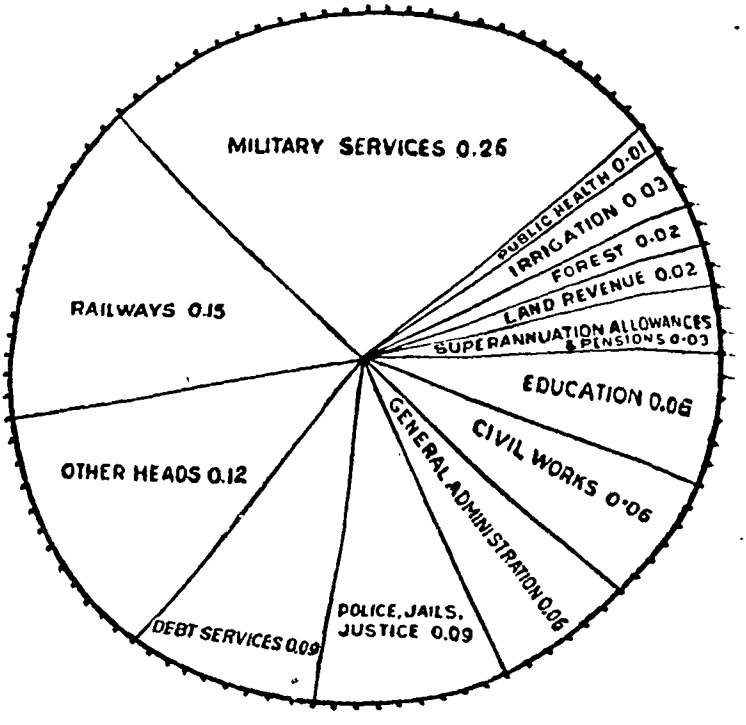
When the long distance fares on three of the State-managed railways were reduced last year, no change was made in the third class fares on the Eastern Bengal Railway, which remained at their present level of 3½ pies per mile for all distances. It has been decided to introduce on this railway a telescopic scale, the existing rate being retained for distances up to 150 miles, while for longer distances the rate will be reduced to 2½ pies per mile from 151 to 300 miles, and 1½ pies per mile for distances over 300 miles. It is believed that these reductions will stimulate passenger traffic appreciably, and allowance being made for that, the loss in earnings is estimated to be Rs. 5 lakhs a year.

The other important reduction is in the rates for coal. The last reduction in our coal rates was made in 1926, and the results have been such as to encourage us to take another step in the same direction. On the East Indian Railway the tonnage carried

DIAGRAM.

How each Rupee of Expenditure was made up in India 1927-28.

(Provincial and Central together.)



The Rupee of Expenditure 1927-28.

[The basis of reckoning is the same as that on which the accounts and estimates are prepared; working expenses of the Railway, Irrigation, Posts and Telegraphs Departments, refunds and the like being deducted from revenue and not treated as expenditure.]

for distances over 400 miles was 31 per cent. more in 1927-28 than it was two years earlier, and the earnings 33 per cent. more. It is a very significant fact that the earnings on the long distance public coal should show a greater increase than the tonnage, notwithstanding the reduction in charges, for it means that the average distance the coal was hauled must have increased substantially. The present rates for distances over 400 miles are calculated on the following telescopic scale, the rates being given in pies per maund per hundred miles:

15 pies for the first 200 miles.

7 pies for the next 300 miles.

6 pies for the portion of the journey in excess of 500 miles.

The new scale which we are about to introduce makes no change in the rate for the first 200 miles, but reduces the rate to 6 pies per 100 miles, from 201 to 400 miles, and to 5 pies per 100 miles for the portion of the journey in excess of 400 miles. I have had the new rates compared with the rates charged in 1913-14 to a number of centres, and I find that the increase over the pre-war rates varies from 8 per cent. in the case of Amritsar and Karachi, to 9 per cent. in the case of Delhi and Ahmedabad, 10 per cent. in the case of Bombay and Madras and 12 per cent. in the case of Cawnpore. I have every hope that the reductions will stimulate the traffic in long distance coal, and that it will do something to promote the development of industries in areas remote from the coalfields. The reduction in gross earnings, due to the lower rates for coal, is estimated to be Rs. 53 lakhs, but there will be a substantial set-off owing to the saving in the freight paid by railways for the conveyance of the coal they use."

Sir George Rainy next discussed the Railway Budget estimates for 1929-30, in which he said that the total receipts were put at Rs. 107⅓ crores, and expenditure slightly over 96 crores, producing a net gain from the Commercial lines of 11¼ crores. After setting aside 1¾ crores to meet the estimated loss on strategic lines and putting 6¼ crores to general revenues 3¼ crores will go to the Railway Reserve Fund. As regards capital expenditure during 1928-29, Sir George said that Rs. 28 crores had been set aside for those charges which include Rs. 4 crores as the purchase price of the Burma Railways, which were taken over by the State

on the 1st January, 1929, at the desire of the Burma Government and the Burma Legislative Council.

Referring to new construction in 1929-30 Sir George Rainy said: "The allotment for 1929-30 is Rs. 8⅓ crores. Much the greater part of this sum will be devoted to the completion of the new lines already under construction, and the allotment for new lines to be commenced during the year has been kept down to Rs. 35 lakhs.

It is expected that about 600 miles of new lines will be opened during 1929-30, leaving 2,100 miles under construction at the end of the year. The lines likely to be opened include 83 miles of the Raipur-Parvatipur line, which is to connect the Central Provinces with the new port at Vizagapatam, and about 127 miles of lines under construction by the Burma Railways. Of the entirely new projects much the most important is the Dacca-Aricha line in Eastern Bengal, which is expected to cost about Rs. 2 crores. A sum of Rs. 27 lakhs has been allotted for the commencement of this line in the estimates for next year."

Thereafter the main theme of Sir George Rainy's Budget Speech was a plea for the appointment of an additional member of the Railway Board, this officer to devote his whole time to Labour and Establishment questions. The Standing Finance Committee for Railways had previously rejected this proposal, but Sir George Rainy made a very convincing appeal for the sanction of the new appointment, and in view of the fact that railway employees in India now number nearly a million and that during the year with which this report deals there has been unprecedented unrest on the railways the proposal was by no means as unreasonable as the opposition tried to make it appear. After some considerable discussion in the Assembly the appointment of a fifth Member of the Railway Board was agreed to, and Mr. A. M. Hayman, O.B.E., was appointed to the post.

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In November, 1928, after an interregnum of 7 months during which the portfolio of Finance was held by the Hon'ble Sir Bhupendranath Mitra, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., C.B.E. (whose permanent portfolio was that of Industries and Labour) Sir Basil Blackett was succeeded as Finance Member by Sir George Ernest Schuster, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., M.C. In presenting his first Budget

to the Legislative Assembly in February, 1929, Sir George Schuster made a specially full and careful survey of the financial events of the preceding year and of the prospects lying immediately before him. For an official account of the financial situation of the period under report in this volume it would be impossible to improve upon Sir George Schuster's Budget Speech, and this is accordingly reproduced below practically *verbatim*.

"I think I can most fairly describe general conditions in the financial year which is now drawing to a close by saying that they have been bad in patches, but that it would be a mistake to assess the general position from a contemplation of these bad patches, and to say that, viewed as a whole, it gives ground for serious pessimism. During the months of June to September the monsoon was on the whole fairly active except in parts of Northern India, where a marked drought was experienced and just in these areas the recent exceptional cold wave and frost have produced serious losses of crops in certain localities. It is difficult as yet to estimate how far these will have any general effect on the balance of trade and the ways and means position. But these factors certainly give ground for caution in making revenue forecasts. The year was also disturbed by prolonged strikes in various parts of the country, and particularly in the cotton mill industry of Bombay. In spite of all this, the trade statistics so far available are, on the whole, encouraging. The visible balance of trade, including private imports of treasure, for the nine months ended the 31st December, 1928, was in favour of India by 39·77 crores against 33·07 crores in 1927 and 22·55 crores in 1926. Exports of Indian merchandise show an improvement of over 10 crores as compared with 1927. It is particularly satisfactory to observe that the exports of cotton have risen from 28 to 43½ crores, while those of jute and jute manufactures and of seeds also record an improvement of 5 crores and 3¼ crores respectively. Exports of rice, however, have gone down by as much as 7 crores, as a result mainly of Japan's temporary prohibition of imports of the commodity into that country and of the increasing competition of the rice-producing countries on the Mediterranean sea board. Wheat has been seriously affected by unfavourable climatic conditions, so much so that considerable quantities have had to be imported, while exports have fallen by about 2¾ crores.

The imports as a whole show a fall of about a crore—the result of a drop in cotton and cotton-yarn and manufactures, counter-balanced to a large extent by a rise in the imports of grain, machinery and vehicles. The two items last mentioned are particularly interesting. Imports of machinery show a rise of about 16 per cent. for which the recent abolition of duty is, no doubt, largely responsible. The number of motor-cars and commercial motor vehicles which came into the country during the nine months, also shows an improvement of as much as 38 per cent., although the amount of duty collected is still slightly less than the figure for 1926. I have every hope that the leeway will be made up and that our customs revenue will soon begin to benefit more largely from this source. Prices in general continued to remain fairly stable.

Money conditions have at times been difficult, and in the last weeks have been affected by world conditions which themselves have been largely governed by the situation in the United States. The enormous volume of speculation there has tended to force up rates for money in all countries engaged in internal trade, and this is the root cause to which the recent rise in the bank rate of the Imperial Bank to 8 per cent. must be attributed. I do not wish to enter into any detailed disquisitions on this subject now, but I would call attention to one point only which seems to have missed the attention of those who have criticised this action. It has been said that it was normally understood that the rate would not rise to 8 per cent. until expansion of currency against commercial bills had reached its full limit of 12 crores, and that, in the recent case, the rate was raised after only 9 crores of expansion had taken place. It must, however, be remembered that this year Government had expanded currency to the extent of 1 crore against sterling and 1 crore against created securities, and that there had been a further expansion of 2·4 crores against imported gold, so that the total expansion had really been well over 13 crores.

The net customs receipts for the year were taken at 50·18 crores, and I now put the revised estimate at 20 lakhs less. Larger imports of sugar and of mineral oils have increased the receipts by 70 lakhs and 28 lakhs respectively, while the land customs collections show an improvement of 70 lakhs, including the 40 lakhs thrown forward from last year. Excise duty on motor spirit is

also expected to yield an additional 29 lakhs. On the other hand, cotton piece-goods and protective special duties relating to iron and steel show a deterioration of 40 lakhs and 42 lakhs respectively, while matches, the export duty on rice, and the excise duty on kerosene have all been on the downward grade.

I have taken the revised estimate under Taxes on Income at 16½ crores against the budget figure of 17 crores. The reduction is mainly accounted for by certain large refunds which have had to be made as a result of legal decisions.

Owing to an unexpected and considerable amount of speculation at Sambhar, the estimate of salt revenue, which was originally taken at 7 crores, will probably be exceeded by about 65 lakhs in the current year. But as I do not think it safe to calculate on an average revenue of more than 7 crores, I am forced to treat the extra 65 lakhs which we expect to collect in the current year, as being gained at the expense of next year, the estimate for which must be reduced accordingly. This unexpected factor seriously disturbs the distribution of revenue as between the current year and next year, and I shall have to refer to this point again.

The only item which needs comment is that of interest receipts, which shows an improvement of as much as 66 lakhs, but this should really be set against a counterbalancing increase in interest payments to which I shall presently refer.

The gross payments on account of interest on ordinary debt have exceeded the budget figure by 1,33 lakhs as a result mainly of the larger magnitude of our borrowing operations and a small increase in our borrowing rate. But the net payments, after deducting recoveries from the Commercial Departments and the Provincial Loans Fund, show a deterioration of 65 lakhs only, which as I have already stated is covered by the increase in interest receipts. I would take this opportunity of explaining to the House that the net payments would have been considerably larger but for a change which I have introduced in the method of calculating the interest chargeable to Commercial Departments in respect of capital outlay incurred after the 31st March, 1917, whereby they are required to share the loss which the general revenues suffer through the tax-free concession attached to certain portions of our rupee debt. This alteration has increased the recoveries from the Railways to the extent of 59 lakhs under this head, although

it has had the simultaneous effect of reducing the railway contribution otherwise receivable by about 20 lakhs. The former method of calculation was really erroneous, as it meant that Government did not actually recover from the Commercial Departments the interest which they were in effect themselves paying. It is reassuring to know that in spite of the additional payment which the correction of this error involves, the actual rate of interest to be paid by the Commercial Departments for the forthcoming year will be less than it was two years ago. For 1926-27 the rate was 5·43 per cent., for 1927-28, 5·38 per cent., and for 1929-30 it will be 5·32 per cent.

The only important variations from the original estimate are a saving of 22 lakhs in opium expenditure, which has resulted from short deliveries and poorer outturn, and another of 21 lakhs under Civil Administration, which includes 7 lakhs on account of a carry-forward of the expenditure on India House to next year.

As the House is already aware, the railway contribution is now estimated at 5·46 crores, which is only a little less than the budget figure of 5·48 crores. The present estimate includes 23 lakhs, being one-third of the excess over 3 crores available for transfer to the Railway Reserve Fund.

The working of the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department is now expected to show a loss of 29 lakhs, which is very disappointing considering that a year ago it was expected that a surplus of a few thousands would accrue. The deterioration is mainly accounted for by the facts that the reduction in the rate for foreign telegrams has not been counterbalanced by a corresponding growth in traffic, and that the effect of the numerous revisions of pay and other concessions granted to the staff in recent years was, to some extent, under-estimated. The Indo-European Telegraph Department does not show any appreciable variation on the whole, and will involve a loss of about 7½ lakhs.

The net military expenditure has been taken at 55·10 crores as in the original budget. I shall give a fuller explanation of the military expenditure item when dealing with the budget estimates for 1929-30.

The main variations may now be summarised as follows:—

	(In lakhs of rupees.) Better.	Worse.
Revenue from Customs	...	20
Revenue from Taxes on Income . . .	...	20
Revenue from Salt	65	...
Revenue from Interest . . .	66	...
Expenditure on account of Opium . .	22	
Expenditure on account of Interest on Debt	...	65
Expenditure on Civil Administration . .	21	...
Loss on the working of the Posts and Telegraphs Department	...	29
Other heads	15	...
Total .	1,89	1,64
Net .	25	

We thus expect to close the accounts for 1928-29 with a surplus of 30 lakhs instead of 5 lakhs previously estimated, and I propose that this sum should be credited to the Revenue Reserve Fund, the balance to the credit of which will then stand at 1,04 lakhs.

I must preface my detailed account of the budget proposals for 1929-30 with certain preliminary explanations. For a proper understanding of the present position, I think one must go back to the remission of the provincial contributions which really became effective from the beginning of 1927-28, and one must consider the three years 1927-28, 1928-29 and 1929-30 together.

The way in which I would present the picture is this. As Hon'ble Members will recollect, the actual result for the year 1926-27 showed a surplus amounting to 2,96 lakhs, and on the strength of this it was decided to remit (provisionally in the first place) the whole of the remaining provincial contributions, amounting to 2,58 lakhs per annum. It was recognised that if Government sacrificed this permanent revenue, there might at the outset be a deficit, but the intention was that the surplus of 2,96 lakhs in 1926-27, which was transferred to a special Revenue Reserve Fund, would provide a sufficient sum to bridge the gap until the normal growth of revenue had built up receipts to the requisite level. It was thought that the gap would not continue for more than one year, and that by 1928-29 equilibrium would have been attained. On the revised estimates for 1928-29, which I have just dealt with, it might be said that this exception has

been fulfilled; but on a closer examination, it will be seen that the figures for 1928-29, taken by themselves, are really misleading. In fact, the revenue for 1928-29 has been fortuitously increased at the expense both of 1927-28 and of 1929-30. As I have already explained, it so happened that 40 lakhs of customs revenue which ought to have been received in 1927-28 were actually received only after the close of that year, and were thus credited to 1928-29. Further, as I have also already explained, owing to speculation in salt, the revenue from that source for 1928-29 is likely to receive 65 lakhs which, in normal circumstances, would not have been received until after the close of the year and thus properly belongs to 1929-30. If, therefore, the true nature of the results for 1928-29 is revealed, it will be seen that, eliminating these two exceptional items totalling 1,05 lakhs, the year would have closed not with a surplus of 30 lakhs, as our revised estimates show, but with a deficit of 75 lakhs. The gap left by the remission of the provincial contributions had not therefore really been filled in 1928-29, and the question which I have had to ask myself in settling the policy for the forthcoming year is whether the time has now come to decide that the original expectation cannot be realised, and that it will be necessary to find some new source of revenue. To answer this question we have to take account both of the revenue and expenditure sides, for it would be impossible to say that the gap had been satisfactorily filled if that could only be done at the cost of cutting out all items of beneficial expenditure which are really essential if the needs of the country are to be met.

What then is the answer to this question? Will it be necessary to impose new taxation now?

Sir, I believe it has been sometimes customary to keep the secret of the budget proposals as regards taxation till the closing paragraphs of the speech, so as to maintain the minds of Hon'ble Members on the tip-toe of expectation till the end, and thus avoid the natural tendency to sleep which a dreary recital of figures is apt to stimulate. I do not propose to have recourse to those adventitious aids for maintaining your attention. I will reveal my secret at once. The sum and substances of the position as regards normal revenue and expenditure, which it will be my business now to describe to you in greater detail, is that we can make both ends meet in 1929-30 without recourse to increased taxation and without

denying money to any urgent beneficial expenditure, provided that we use the Revenue Reserve Fund, first, to correct the artificial disturbance in the normal course of receipts from salt revenue, and, secondly, to meet certain special items of expenditure of a non-recurring nature.

I have decided to recommend this course for several reasons:

First, I do not think that it would be justifiable to impose new taxation until it is more clearly demonstrated that there is a permanent need for it. With reasonably favourable conditions, some of our normal sources of revenue should be capable of considerable expansion, and I think it is fair to give the plan on which the remission of provincial contributions was undertaken the chance of another year in which to achieve its realisation.

Secondly, before imposing new taxation, I want to have a fuller opportunity of reviewing the expenditure side of the budget than has been possible in the limited time since I took over office.

Thirdly, before imposing new taxation if that should prove necessary, I want to have ample opportunity for studying conditions throughout the country, so that I may be able to formulate proposals in the light of full knowledge of facts and opinions in such a way as to ensure that whatever is done is done in a way most beneficial to this country's interests.

But I wish to leave Honourable Members in no misapprehension on this matter. If additional taxation proves to be necessary in the following year the need will have to be boldly faced. My present action is governed not by any fear of doing this, but by the desire to defer taking any step until I am quite certain, first, that it is necessary; and, secondly, what is the best direction in which to take it.

Having thus told you the general plan of the budget, I must explain in detail how the various pieces in the puzzle are to be fitted in.

Any comparisons which I make will be throughout with the revised estimates for 1928-29. In view of the abnormally large imports of sugar during the current year, it would not be safe to place the estimate of revenue from that source at more than 7 crores, which, in present conditions, may be considered a normal figure. This means a deterioration of 80 lakhs under this head

alone. Further, the land customs figure will also show a reduction of 36 lakhs owing to the disappearance of the special factor which increased the revised estimate this year. On the other hand, I am budgeting for appreciable improvements under cotton piece-goods, protective special duties, excise duty on motor spirit, etc. On the whole I have assumed an improvement of 40 lakhs.

I have taken the estimate for next year at 16·60 crores—an improvement of only 10 lakhs. Owing to the absence of the specially large refunds, which were the main causes of the deterioration in the current year, the figure should actually have been appreciably larger, but I have had to allow for the effect of the industrial strikes, particularly in Bombay and at Jamshedpur, which will make itself felt on the next year's collections.

As I have already indicated, the element of speculation which has brought in a windfall of 65 lakhs in the current year will lead to a corresponding reduction in the next, and I have therefore assumed a receipt of 6·35 crores only as compared with 7·65 for the current year.

As the House is aware, the revenue from opium is gradually diminishing as a result of the Government of India's self-denying policy whereby exports of provision opium are to be extinguished not later than 1935. We shall accordingly lose 42 lakhs next year under this head.

The only item which shows any important variation is that relating to currency receipts, which are expected to go up by 36 lakhs. This, of course, merely means that we get back a portion of the rather high expenditure in the current year under Interest on Debt.

The net payments of interest on ordinary debt show a reduction of 1,33 lakhs, accounted for mainly by larger recoveries from Commercial Departments and from the Provincial Loans Fund. On the other hand, there is an increase in the charges for interest on other obligations of 95 lakhs, and an increased provision of 34 lakhs under Reduction or Avoidance of Debt. The latter includes the normal increase due to the increase of debt itself and also a larger sum for Reparation payments to which I shall refer again. As regards the other heading, namely, Interest on other Obligations, 50 lakhs of the increase represents growth in the provision for bonus on cash certificates, and as Government's liability in regard

to these certificates was made a subject of keen interest in last year's budget debates, I propose to go to some length now in explaining the position. The total provision to cover the bonus on the discharge of certificates which we anticipate for next year, is 1,10 lakhs, against a revised estimate of 60 for the current year and an actual payment of 23 lakhs in 1927-28.

This is a large increase, but is it enough? I have no doubt Honourable Members will ask me: "What is our full liability? Are we meeting it? If not, why not?"

I think I can explain the realities of the position most clearly in the following way. Government, by issuing cash certificates, obtain the use of large sums of money; but, inasmuch as interest is payable not year by year but in a lump sum when the certificates are discharged, Government get the use of the money in the earlier years practically free of interest. One can see how this position has worked out by following the figures in past years.

In 1926-27, the average amount of money held by Government against cash certificates was 23·82 crores. The amount of bonus paid was 16 lakhs; so that the effective rate of interest paid for the use of money was only 2/3 per cent. Similar figures for 1927-28 were:

average money held, 28·69 crores;

bonus paid, 23 lakhs, equivalent to 4/5 per cent. interest;

and for 1928-29,

money held, 31·50 crores;

bonus paid, 60 lakhs, thus giving an effective rate of interest of under 2 per cent.

Now I wish to make it quite clear that the course hitherto followed has been strictly according to the normal system of Government accounting, for, as these accounts are made up on a cash basis, it is only the actual cash receipts and disbursements which need be taken into account each year. The system cuts both ways. Thus, in the case of cash certificates which we have been considering and which are repayable with a bonus which really represents deferred interest, the earlier years benefit at the expense of the later. On the other hand, when treasury bills are issued the discount really represents prepaid interest and is all debited to the year in which the bills are issued, so that if they fall due for repayment in a later financial year it is the later year which benefits at

the expense of the earlier. If transactions are on a very large scale and not all of one kind, the net result might be expected to even itself out by the balancing of one sort of transaction against the other.

But, in our own case, it cannot be said that there is anything of sufficient importance to counterbalance the very large transactions in cash certificates. There is, moreover, a particular danger in continuing the present practice as regards this obligation, because, if certificates are renewed, the bonus payable at the end of five years is not actually disbursed but is carried forward, with the result that the real liability may be concealed for a further five years.

If we turn to consider what we ought to do in the present situation, I think we may say that there is a two-fold obligation. First, we ought to provide from revenue each year a sum equivalent to a fair rate of interest on the money of which we have the use. That is our normal recurrent obligation, the meeting of which will prevent the further accumulation of arrears. Secondly, we have now weighing upon us a further obligation, that of providing for the accrued liability which is made up of the amount by which the sums paid in the past by way of bonus have fallen short of the interest which was really accruing during that period.

Let us see what this means as applied to the forthcoming year. I calculate that, if all the outstanding certificates are held till maturity, the interest accruing for 1929-30 on the money actually in our hands would amount to about 1,50 lakhs. Against this, we estimate that the bonus which we shall actually have to pay out in that year will be 1,10 lakhs, or 40 lakhs less. Therefore, in order to meet the double obligation to which I have referred, we ought really first to set aside this 40 lakhs from revenue and, secondly, to provide something towards wiping off the arrears of interest which have accumulated in the past. Although it has in fact proved impossible, without extra taxation, to provide in the next year's budget for more than 1,10 lakhs—and we are thus doing something short of meeting our full current liability—I think there are two mitigating factors in the situation. In the first place, on the basis of our present estimates, we shall have left over in the Revenue Reserve Fund at the end of next year a sum of 14 lakhs, and I have in mind the possibility that this sum or any other balance that may ultimately be available should be trans-

ferred to a Suspense Account against the liability on cash certificates. In addition to this, I think we are entitled to take into account that the provision for reduction or avoidance of debt includes a sum of 30 lakhs on account of Reparation payments. This is a later accretion to the original provision for reduction or avoidance of debt which was settled on its own merits without allowing for the possibility of this windfall. Taking these two factors into account, I think we may be satisfied that our accruing liability is, if Government's position is viewed as a whole, being fairly provided for; and I am left to consider the second part of the obligation: to make some provision to wipe off the accumulated arrears.

I think it is fair to say that this obligation should be considered together with the general obligation of Government to make provision for the writing off of their total debt. As Honourable Members are aware, the provisions for the existing debt redemption scheme were outlined in the Finance Department Resolution of the 9th of December, 1924, and in paragraph 33 of my predecessor's budget speech of the 28th February, 1925. This scheme is to be in force to the end of the year 1929-30, and will accordingly have to be reviewed before the estimates for the following year are framed. I have, therefore, thought it justifiable and indeed fairer to this Assembly and to the country, that any provision for amortising the accrued obligation in respect of cash certificates should be considered together with the general debt redemption scheme and not super-imposed in advance upon it. Proposals, therefore, for dealing with this provision will be worked out before the presentation of the next budget.

The group head Civil Administration shows a very large increase of 1,18 lakhs, a matter which demands a special explanation. This head includes a great number of items of a non-recurring nature, and I have already explained that it is certain of these items which can justifiably be met, for this year at least, by a draft on the Revenue Reserve Fund.

It is, I think, liable to be misleading that items of non-recurring expenditure of this kind should be shown without distinction, or at any rate without some concurrent explanation in the statement of the financial position presented to the Legislature at the time of the budget, and I propose to consider for next year whether we cannot give a clearer picture of the situation by separating out, in some way, extraordinary or non-recurrent from ordi-

nary or recurrent expenditure. It is, of course, true that expenditure of the former kind is in one sense recurrent, because there will always be a normal flow of demands for these kinds of expenditure. But it is always possible, in a case of grave financial difficulty, to call a halt to the admission of new items of this nature, in a way which is not possible with the normal recurrent cost of the existing establishment. I shall, during the forthcoming year, devote consideration to a different method for dealing with this kind of expenditure.

For the present, I will call attention to certain special items which are included:

First, we have to find as much as 29 lakhs for India House in London, which is expected to be completed next year, so that it will not appear again.

Again, we are providing 16·4 lakhs for agricultural research, of which only 1·4 lakhs represent normal recurrent expenditure and 15 lakhs represent the initial grant towards a total Endowment Fund of 25 lakhs. I hope to be able to provide the remaining 10 lakhs in 1930-31. But in the event of financial stringency, it may be possible to postpone this, and in any case these payments represent initial payments which will not recur. As Honourable Members are aware, the Agricultural Commission recommended an initial Endowment Fund of 50 lakhs, but, in substitution for this, the Government of India propose to create an Endowment Fund of 25 lakhs and to supplement this with an additional voted endowment of 5 lakhs each year. Normal recurrent charges on account of staff are estimated to amount to 2·25 lakhs, so that when the full scheme is going, the normal recurring charge will be 7·25 lakhs as against the provision of 16·4 lakhs made in 1929-30.

The next item for special consideration is 20 lakhs for additional expenditure on civil aviation. This again represents very largely initial expenditure of a non-recurring nature on the preparation of ground organisation, though I feel bound to point out that if an active policy of Government encouragement to the development of civil aviation is to be carried out, there will be recurring charges under this heading. The exact amount of these recurring charges cannot be estimated until the amount of subsidy that has to be paid to the parties undertaking the service is known. The point, however, which I wish to make at present, is that, so far as concerns the present programme, it includes nothing except the estimated sub-

sidy for six months for an overland service from Karachi to Delhi, and Government retain complete liberty of decision as regards further extensions. Our financial commitments, therefore, at the moment are still under control, and a substantial part of the item of 20 lakhs, now provided for, need not necessarily be recurring.

Apart from the above items the head with which I am now dealing includes votes for general beneficial expenditure, such as 5 lakhs for the additional grant to the Benares Hindu University; 2 lakhs for the Bose Research Institute; 4 lakhs for reclamation operations in the Andaman Islands; and 1¾ lakhs for special grants to the Pasteur Institute of India.

All these items to which I have referred are special items, and they account for no less than 78 lakhs. It is relevant to mention that there are other items of non-recurring expenditure of a beneficial character elsewhere in the estimates, *e.g.*, 6 lakhs for general measures for the improvement of the conditions of the poorer population of Old Delhi, and 8½ lakhs for irrigation and other development projects in the North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan and other minor administrations.

The future efforts of Government to provide money for beneficial and constructive purposes, such as I have specially mentioned, must, of course, depend on the financial position, but I should like to take this opportunity to emphasise my own view that it would be unworthy of this country if Government did not take steps to provide themselves with revenue for meeting obligations of this nature.

The contribution payable by the Railways to General Revenues will be 6·25 crores, inclusive of 13 lakhs on account of the one-third share of the excess over 3 crores of the amount available for transfer to the Railway Reserve Fund. The total contribution is 79 lakhs more than the revised estimate for the current year.

The prospects of the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department for next year are more hopeful than is indicated by the revised estimates for 1928-29. Now that the outstanding grievances of the staff in the matter of pay and other conditions of service have been redressed, it is no longer necessary to make heavy provisions for new measures of this kind. With a moderate improvement in the revenues of the Department it is expected to work at a loss of not more than 8 lakhs. The position is thus more satisfactory, but I regret that it still falls far short of anything which would make a reduction in postal or telegraphs rates justifiable.

The Indo-European Telegraph Department is expected to show a loss of 5¾ lakhs against a loss of about 7½ lakhs in the current year. The loss in working the two Departments together will thus be about 22 lakhs less than in 1928-29.

Lastly, I have to inform this House of the position as regards military expenditure. Apart from the grant of 10 lakhs to cover the Shea Committee measures in connection with the Territorial Force, to which I shall not refer again, the net demand is 55 crores. Honourable Members will not be surprised to see this figure, as it was indicated by Sir Basil Blackett, in introducing the budget last year, that there was no prospect of reduction for some time to come. The general situation which Government had to face in connection with the Army was also explained to this House at length in a statement and in a memorandum laid on the table by my Honourable friend the Army Secretary on the 5th of September last. I need not therefore enter into an exhaustive examination of the details of this question; but I wish to give this House a short explanation of the present position in my own words.

It will be remembered that in the year 1922-23, when Lord Inchcape's Committee conducted their enquiry, the actual net expenditure on Defence amounted to 65¼ crores. As a result of that enquiry, the Committee recommended that, in the following year, the scale of military expenditure should not exceed 57¾ crores and that, in subsequent years, the estimates should be reduced to about 57 crores. They urged that a close watch should be kept on the details of military expenditure with the object of bringing about a progressive reduction in future, and indicated that, provided a further fall in prices took place, it might be possible to reach the figure of 50 crores.

The Committee's recommendations were accepted, subject to certain well-known reservations by Lord Rawlinson, and resulted in a reduction from an actual expenditure of 65¼ crores in 1922-23 to 56¼ crores in the following year. Slight further reductions have since been affected, and during 1927-28 and 1928-29 the expenditure has been about 55 crores. The substantial fall in prices which the Committee envisaged when they contemplated the possible reduction to 50 crores after some years has not yet been realised, while Army expenditure to-day includes considerable additional charges due to causes which the Retrenchment Committee could not foresee—principally the necessity of improving the pay

of the officers of the Army and granting passage concessions on the scale of civil officers of Government in accordance with the recommendations of the Lee Commission. Further, the Army now pays customs duty on imported stores, and also pays the cost of all stationery and various other services rendered by other Departments of Government. These additional charges amount to approximately one crore of rupees, and were referred to by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in his speech in this House last March.

By 1926 it became evident that stringent curtailment in expenditure had produced deficiencies in certain essential equipment, and also that the Army in India was failing to keep pace with modern developments adopted by the British and other armies. For this reason, my predecessor, in introducing the budget for 1927-28, warned the House that only the strictest economy and vigilance would prevent a rise in the military budget. The House will also recollect the situation as regards the efficiency of the Army, as explained to the Public Accounts Committee in 1927. Again, in introducing last year's budget, Sir Basil Blackett reiterated his warning of the previous year.

The programme for the modernisation of Army equipment which was ultimately worked out was explained in the statement made by the Army Secretary to this House on the 5th September, to which I have already referred. This programme included the expansion of the Air Force by two squadrons and a provision for the modernisation of the equipment of that Force in India; also a provision for measures in connection with anti-aircraft and anti-gas regulations, and for the mechanisation of the transport and of fighting units, together with the repletion of the Reserves. The total cost of the full programme was estimated at 10 crores, made up of 8 crores for the specific measures defined above and 2 crores to cover subsidiary requirements not yet exactly defined.

The revelation of these needs created a difficult financial problem. Government decided that the military budget could not, in any case, be allowed to exceed the figure of 55 crores, and that the special expenditure required must be found within the limits of that sum. Certain automatic savings were in sight, principally those due to the reduction in the pay of British troops, amounting altogether to a saving of more than one crore; and over and above these savings the Army authorities undertook to carry out a special economy campaign in order to provide the additional money that was required.

Accordingly, it was possible to devise a plan which provides that if the Army budget is maintained at a figure of 55 crores for four years—starting with the year 1928-29—then, apart from any abnormal or unforeseen circumstances, the necessary special expenditure will be found within the limits of this sum. As it is impossible to forecast exactly the rate at which the new equipment will be provided and as it is important to avoid fluctuations in the military budget from year to year, it is proposed to adopt the procedure of transferring to a Suspense Account any sum within the limit of 55 crores not spent in any particular year, on the understanding that this Suspense Account can be drawn upon in subsequent years. This is really a logical corollary to the system of net grants with liberty to re-appropriate savings to meet expenditure on essential new services—a system the advantage of which, as a temporary arrangement at any rate, was recognised by the Public Accounts Committee in 1927.

Provided that a close check is kept throughout by the Finance Department on all expenditure, it may be claimed that there are considerable advantages in an arrangement on these lines, for it has the effect of removing all inducement to the Army authorities to rush through expenditure before the end of a financial year in order to avoid the lapsing of a particular grant. I think, indeed, that in the carrying out of such a programme of re-equipment as I have explained above, it is essential to have some provision of this nature for equalising the actual appropriations over a period of years. A further advantageous result which, according to my information, the experience of the working of the arrangement since last summer has demonstrated, is that it results in the whole-hearted co-operation between the Army authorities and the Finance Department in the search for all possible economies, for the Army authorities know that the completion of the programme of re-equipment is dependent on the discovery of such economies. I am glad to be able to take this opportunity of testifying to the helpful attitude adopted by the Army authorities in this matter.

In order to show how the arrangement is actually working out, I may state that for the current year, 1928-29, the expenditure on normal standing charges of the Army will be 53½ crores, leaving approximately 1½ crores which will have been devoted to the special programme. It is further estimated for 1929-30 that the ordinary maintenance charges in the Army will amount to 52·94 crores,

leaving a margin of 2·06 crores for expenditure on the special programme.

The normal cost of the standing military charges is thus being steadily cut down, and it is, therefore, possible to hold out a very definite hope that when the four years' programme of re-equipment is completed, that is to say, after the year 1931-32, the total military budget will, apart from any circumstances which cannot at present be foreseen, be substantially reduced. It would be unwise for me at present to commit Government to promising a definite figure, but I can assure the House that the Finance Department will exercise the closest scrutiny of the execution of the programme.

Although these ultimate savings are in sight, I am fully conscious that the House must share with me, as a Finance Member on the threshold of his term of office, a feeling of disappointment that no immediate relief for the budget can be obtained from the economies which are really being effected in the standing military charges of the Army. It will, however, at least be something of an achievement if an important programme for modernising the equipment of the Army, costing about 10 crores, can be carried through in 4 years without an increase in the budgetary provision. Moreover, it can be definitely stated that when the programme is completed, the country will be provided with a more efficient force at a smaller cost. To give the country better value for its money must indeed be the key-note of our policy. To this extent at least, I hope that all can agree that the programme which I have outlined is a move in the right direction—a direction in which future progress must constantly and energetically be sought.

I wish to make it clear that, in giving the explanation which I have just completed, my object has been to lay the facts as fully as possible before this House and to indicate to them the programme which Government have in mind. At the same time, there will be no change in the existing system of financial control, while Government are under no binding obligation in the matter. Unforeseen circumstances, such as an acute financial crisis, or constitutional changes occurring before the programme is completed, might modify its execution. If, however, circumstances remain normal, it is the settled intention of Government to work upon the lines which I have explained.

The more important variations from the revised estimate may now be summarised as follows:—

	(In lakhs of rupees.)	
	Better.	Worse.
Revenue from Customs . . .	40	...
Revenue from Salt	...	1,30
Revenue from Opium . . .	...	42
Revenue from Currency . . .	36	....
Expenditure on account of Civil Administration	...	1,18
Net contributions from Railways .	79	...
Loss on the working of the Posts and Telegraphs Department . .	22	...
Other heads	...	7
TOTAL .	1,77	2,97
Net .		1,20

The net result for 1929-30 is therefore 1,20 lakhs worse than for 1928-29, or in other words, instead of the surplus of 30 lakhs, which the revised estimates show for the current year, we shall have to make up a balance of 90 lakhs in 1929-30 from other sources.

If it had not been for the fact that 1928-29 has gained 65 lakhs from salt revenue at the expense of 1929-30, the latter would actually have shown, on balance, an improvement of 10 lakhs over 1928-29, and the amount required to balance next year's budget would have been no more than 25 lakhs. Taking this into consideration, and in view also of the fact that the Civil Administration estimates this year contain a number of special items, to which I have already referred and some of which need not necessarily be repeated, I have, as already explained, thought it justifiable to provide the necessary balance from the Revenue Reserve Fund and to defer any question of imposing new taxation. The Revenue Reserve Fund, as already explained, is expected to stand at 1,04 lakhs on the 31st March, 1929, so that, by providing from this source the sum of 90 lakhs which is required to balance the budget for 1929-30, there will still remain a balance of 14 lakhs left in the Fund at the close of that year.

I have dealt so far with the normal budgetary situation and have left one particular proposal till the end. The Finance Bill, which I shall very shortly beg leave to introduce, contains a provision, necessitated by the recommendations of the Indian Road Development Committee, for the increase, from 4 to 6 annas per gallon, of the import and excise duties on motor spirit. The addi-

tional revenue expected to be realised on this account is 6 lakhs in the current year and 83 lakhs in the next. These amounts have, accordingly, to be added to the estimates of customs revenue which I have already mentioned to the House. But there will also be a corresponding addition to the charges under the Civil Works head, representing block grants of the same amounts, which will be credited to a Road Development Fund from which disbursements will be made from time to time to Provincial Governments and others on the general lines recommended by the Committee. I have to make it clear that this is a measure of taxation which is not designed for the advantage of the general revenues of the Central Government but for a specific purpose which has been unanimously recommended by the Committee, and which, I have no doubt, will be welcomed by this House. The Committee, as I might remind Honourable Members, was appointed in consequence of a resolution moved in the Council of State. It consisted of 14 members of the two Chambers, including representatives of all parties and of the Government, and it was presided over by my Honourable and learned friend Mr. Jayakar, to whom I should like to take this opportunity of expressing my sincere admiration for the manner in which he accomplished his task. The subject is of great importance for the economic, social and political progress of the country generally and of the rural population in particular. It is a subject on which many divergent views are held, and it is complicated by the constitutional relations of the Central and Provincial Governments. Nevertheless, the Committee has submitted unanimous recommendations which appear to be generally acceptable, practical in their immediate application, and charged with far-reaching possibilities of future development.

The report has an added, though indeed a sad, interest in that it was signed by the late Lala Lajpat Rai, who gave much time and labour, in co-operation with representatives of all other parties and of Government, to this constructive effort for the welfare of the country.

The main figures of the budget, after allowing for the transfers to and from the Revenue Reserve Fund and for the additional taxation and its disposal just referred to, stand as follows:—

	(In crores of rupees.)	
	Revised.	Budget.
Expenditure	1,31·20	1,34·06
Revenue	1,31·20	1,34·06

I must now turn to a review of the ways and means position, and before I give any detailed account of the probable results for the current year and of my forecast of requirements for the forthcoming year, I wish to attempt some general review of the situation. It would be natural for me to do this at the commencement of my term of office. But, quite apart from this, I think the time has arrived when it is necessary to take stock of our position—to stand back and take a view of the progress over the past years and of the course upon which we are set.

The dominating feature that strikes the eye when one turns to review the course of past years is the great amount of capital development which has been achieved with a comparatively small increase in the public debt of Government.

Let me give certain figures illustrating the position. In the five years from the 1st April, 1923, to the 31st March, 1928, Government undertook capital expenditure amounting to about Rs. 1,20 crores and about £49½ millions. As against this sum, they raised, by way of loans to the public, a net amount (by which expression I mean the net proceeds of the new loans less the amount of old loans and treasury bills paid off) of about Rs. 12 crores, and about £13 millions. That is to say, during these five years, sums of no less than Rs. 1,08 crores and £36½ millions were provided from sources other than an increase in what is generally known as the public debt. Of the total amount of the capital expenditure to which I have referred, by far the greater part is accounted for by expenditure on the railways, the amount here being Rs. 69 crores and £48¾ millions. Other capital works account for Rs. 12 crores and about £¾ million; and Advances to the Provincial Loans Fund, Rs. 39 crores.

The question which Honourable Members will naturally ask is, from what sources the rest of this money has been provided and whether it is possible to rely on these sources to the same extent in the future.

To give figures which are exact in every detail would involve a very long and complicated statement. It will be sufficient for my present purpose to give approximate figures of the main headings, which I may state as follows:

	Crores.
Post Office Cash Certificates and Post Office Savings Bank deposits	37
Other Savings Bank deposits	19¼

	Crores.
Revenue surpluses (including those in Revenue Reserve Fund)	12
Provision for reduction or avoidance of debt	22½
Other appropriations from revenue	3
Reduction in opening cash balance in India	16¾
Depreciation and Reserve Funds	25½
Provident Fund balances from Railway companies	9
Gain by Exchange	7¼

These items together amount to 1,52¾ crores, and out of this sum the balance of 1,08 crores to which I have already referred, has been found, leaving a surplus of 44¾ crores. The balance of sterling capital expenditure of £36½ millions, to which I have already referred, has been found by the remittance of this surplus of 44¾ crores supplemented by a reduction of £4¼ millions in the sterling balances.

These results indicate a remarkable achievement and a very great strengthening of the intrinsic position of the country and the security which it can offer for future loans. The provision which has been made from revenue, and even the utilisation of the Railway Reserve and Depreciation Funds, to which I shall have occasion to refer again, represent a process which, to use a commercial expression, amounts to the "putting back of surplus earnings into the business" which is the process by which most sound and prosperous undertakings are built up.

At the same time, an examination of the figures which I have quoted does force one, in giving consideration to the future, to ask whether the resources which have thus been relied on in the past to supplement borrowing, will be available in the same measure in the future. It is clear that, to some extent at least, this cannot be the case. Government balances have been reduced to the lowest reasonable level; budget surpluses for the future can hardly be counted on to the same extent; the sale of cash certificates shows a progressive diminution year by year, though, as far as this is concerned, the result does not necessarily indicate that the money that was provided through this channel may not be available for investment in Government securities in some other form, now that the yield on such other securities has improved relatively to that on cash certificates. As regards the use of Railway Reserve and Depreciation Funds, and the maintenance of the accretions to the funds on the same scale, this of course raises debatable issues into which I cannot fully enter now, but which must be further dis-

cussed during the examination of the Railway Convention which is to take place this year.

For my present purpose, it is sufficient to draw, from the review which I have given, the conclusion that Government must be prepared in the future for having to raise a larger proportion of their capital expenditure in the form of public loans. There is an obvious corollary to this, *viz.*, that we must keep our capital expenditure under effective control and be watchful to limit it in accordance with the amounts which we can provide without overstraining the credit of Government in the open market.

I shall have something more to say later on the general policy affecting Government loans, but before doing this I wish to explain the ways and means position for the current year and next year. An examination of the position for these two years confirms the conclusion to which my survey up to this point has led me.

In 1928-29, it was already necessary to resort to borrowing on a larger scale, and the forecast that was presented with the budget for the year proved to have under-estimated the needs in this direction.

I have prepared a summary, in the usual form, of the ways and means position for the current year and next year:—

	(In crores of rupees.) Revised. 1928-29	Budget. 1929-30
Liabilities.		
Railway capital outlay (construction)	26·0	26·5
Purchase of Railways	4·0	7·0
Other Capital outlay	1·7	2·1
Provincial Governments' transactions	12·1	7·2
Discharge of public debt (net)	19·9	3·9
Other transactions (net)	·4	1·4
TOTAL	64·1	48·1
Resources.		
Rupee loan (net)	33·8	18·0
Sterling loan (net)	12·1	7·0
Postal Cash Certificates and Savings Bank	3·7	5·3
Other unfounded debt	4·9	4·9
Debt redemption	5·6	6·0
Depreciation and Reserve Funds	6·3	5·8
Reduction of cash balances	—2·3	1·1
TOTAL	64·1	48·1

Dealing with the current year, the following are the main items of interest. The opening balance, taking India and England together, turned out to be 4 crores less than estimated a year ago. This was because actual issues of treasury bills in March last were 1½ crores less, and railway capital expenditure was 2½ crores more, than contemplated. The position during the year has also worked out worse than was anticipated. First, railway capital expenditure again threatened substantially to exceed the original estimate, and, in spite of an application of the brake in August, is likely to amount to 26 crores instead of 24 crores as estimated; secondly, the net receipts from cash certificates have latterly shown signs of falling off as I have already explained; lastly, the weather conditions referred to at the outset of my speech have resulted in considerably larger drawings by certain Provinces. All these factors combined made it necessary to strengthen the position temporarily by the issue of sterling bills in August for £6 millions and eventually to provide for a more permanent reinforcement by the issue of a 4½ per cent. loan in January last in London for £10 millions at 91. The proceeds of this loan will be directly used to pay off the sterling bills and to meet the purchase price for the Burma Railways.

Apart from this transaction, events followed closely the course anticipated. The rupee loan issued in July was successfully launched in the form of a 4½ per cent. 1955-60 Loan and 4½ per cent. 1934 Bonds, which brought in 9·06 crores (nominal) and 25·98 crores (nominal) respectively, or a net total of 33·8 crores. It will be seen from what I have said that the current year has already provided an illustration of the need for increased borrowing, if a programme of capital expenditure on the present scale is to be continued. But there are certain special points to which attention should be called.

First, the capital expenditure included 4 crores for the purchase of the Burma Railways, which may be regarded in a sense as an artificial addition to normal needs; secondly, even for this year with its larger sterling and rupee loans, the net amount borrowed from the public in India and England together in the form of loans and treasury bills, after allowing for discharges and conversions, has only been 26 crores as against an aggregate capital outlay of just under 44 crores for Central Government's capital expenditure and drawings by Provinces. The treasury bills outstanding with the public, which according to the budget estimates of

the current year, should have stood at 9 crores, are now expected to be reduced to 6·95 crores at the close of the current year. It will be my endeavour further to reduce the outstandings of treasury bills so that these do not remain a permanent feature in the local money market conditions.

On the whole, it may, I think, fairly be claimed that Government, in spite of difficulties, find themselves at the close of the current year in a stronger position than they held at the beginning.

I can now turn to consider the prospects for 1929-30. The task with which I found myself faced was this. The Railways—our chief consumers of capital—were in the course of executing a large programme containing many projects. Their organisation for carrying out new construction had been developed to a point at which they could get on expeditiously with all the work in hand, in fact so expeditiously that for the current year and the two preceding years they had substantially overspent their allotment. On top of this, notice had been given that Government would exercise their right to purchase the Southern Punjab Railway on the 31st December, 1929, which meant finding £5¼ millions in sterling payments. Further, the Provinces were likely to require their normal ration of capital, with a prospect that this might have to be increased in order to provide for loans to cultivators in those areas where the crops had failed. The chief question which those responsible for the finances of the country had to ask themselves in these circumstances was whether it was desirable to attempt any sudden and drastic restriction in the capital programme of the Railways. A close examination of the position revealed that this would be, on almost every ground, undesirable. A programme of railway development, once it has got under way, cannot suddenly be interrupted without great waste. One commitment leads to another. New branch lines bring more traffic and this means that trunk lines have to be strengthened. Heavier trains must be drawn, which means relaying with heavier rails, rebuilding or strengthening bridges, purchasing heavier locomotives. The heavier locomotives bring the need for remodelling or rebuilding repair shops. And so it goes on. If the programme is not carried to completion, the full economic value of the work in the first stages is lost.

Apart from this, it seemed to me very undesirable that, at a time when the general state of industry and trade in the country

is at least somewhat below par, public expenditure on work which gives a great deal of local employment should be suddenly and drastically cut down.

On the other hand, I have kept constantly before me the conclusions which my earlier review of the situation has revealed, and, in framing a programme for next year, my guiding rule of policy has been this—that, while avoiding hasty action or serious dislocation of current work, we must get the course of capital expenditure well under control so that its pace can be regulated according to financial conditions, and so that, in case of difficulty, it can be slowed down without involving any damaging jar to the machine.

In the end, we have provided, as has been indicated in the figures which I have already given, for a capital expenditure of 26½ crores on the railways—a substantial sum—but the real feature in the programme is this; that the bulk of the money is to go on the execution of current work and that new commitments have been cut down to a minimum. There could thus, if necessary, be a substantial reduction in 1930-31, while measures have been adopted to ensure that the allotment for 1929-30 will not be overspent. On the other hand, work is being continued on a scale which avoids the necessity of any general dismissal of construction staff, so that, if at the beginning of 1930 prospects are not unfavourable, new projects can again expeditiously be put in hand. The working off of old commitments which is taking place this year will mean that, if anything like the same amount of capital can be provided next year, a far larger proportion will be available for taking up fresh projects for new lines.

The result of the whole programme as now settled is that, allowing for a reduction in Public Debt of just under 4 crores—in treasury bills and sterling obligations—we shall require to raise a total new loan of 18 crores. On top of this there is the £5¼ millions to be found for the purchase of the Southern Punjab Railway, and as this represents the taking over of a sterling obligation which is already in existence, I have shown in my forecast that it will be met by a sterling loan. The situation, however, as far as concerns next year, is really better than I have shown, because, according to the agreement with the Southern Punjab Railway, although the purchase price becomes due on the 31st December, 1929, the actual payment can be postponed for another four months at 3 per cent.

interest. It is therefore not at all improbable that this obligation will not affect our ways and means position until 1930-31. As regards the 18 crores to which I have referred, the question whether the whole of this sum will be found by the issue of a rupee loan in India or whether a part, large or small, will be raised in the form of a sterling loan in England is one which will be settled in the way which best suits India's interests, having regard to the conditions which are found to prevail. If there has been any apprehension lest Government's needs for borrowing next year might have a seriously disturbing effect on the market for Government securities, I think this forecast should allay it. The raising of a total sum of 18 crores, either here or in London, should, with normal conditions, offer no difficulties. These considerations bring me to the much larger question of the whole borrowing policy of Government, on which I feel it important to make some general remarks in order to clear away misunderstandings.

But before embarking on this wider issue, I will complete my account of the particular transactions for the current year and for next year.

A year ago it was estimated that we should require to remit £36 millions to London in 1928-29. Imports of sovereigns from South Africa, which were presented at our Currency offices between the 15th November, 1928, and the 15th January, 1929, amounted to about £1·8 millions, and, apart from this, imports of treasure have, on the whole, been on a somewhat larger scale than during last year. This has affected our power to remit the full amount by means of sterling purchases in the open market. The raising of a sterling loan in January, which I have already referred to, has reduced the amount which must be remitted in the current year to £29¼ millions, of which up to the 28th of February we have succeeded in remitting just under £27 millions. On the assumption that the sterling payment for the Southern Punjab Railway will be met by means of a sterling loan next year, the amount required to be remitted to London in order to enable the Secretary of State to close with a normal working balance is now estimated at £35¼ millions.

I must now revert to a general review of Government's borrowing policy. I have recently read numerous press criticisms on this matter and many exhortations from well-wishers who have offered me guidance as to my tasks and opportunities. I read all these

with interest and some with gratitude, for even those that are couched in unpleasant language are at least stimulating. But when I am told that the Government of India must abstain altogether from borrowing, I can only feel that such advice ignores realities.

In considering policy on this matter there are two main questions to answer. First, are Government to continue to encourage an active policy of economic development? Secondly, how is the necessary money to be raised?

I can hardly imagine that any one could answer the first question with unqualified negative. Capital expenditure which has been undertaken in the past five years, particularly on railway development or irrigation, has proved remunerative and greatly to the benefit of the country. Such a policy, provided the schemes are wisely chosen and well executed, must help towards the result which we all desire and on which the prosperity of India can be most firmly founded, namely, the improvement of the power of production and of the standard of life for the vast rural population of this country, which must be the basis and foundation for prosperity in the industrial centres also. Quite apart from this, as I have already said, it would be particularly unfortunate if works of this kind had to be drastically cut down during the present period of depression, of which we have heard so much in debates during this session. But, while I would press forward a wise development policy with the greatest keenness, I must also recall the words of warning which I have already used and avoid any course which might overstrain the credit of the country. The future requires the difficult combination of enterprise and caution; enthusiasm and self-control.

On the second question, as to how the necessary money should be raised, I entirely agree in principle with the policy which was advocated by my predecessor, that Government finance should be based as far as possible on attracting rupee capital in India. It is only in so far as money cannot be raised from the investing public in India that I should ever consider having recourse to sterling borrowing. I wish to leave no shadow of doubt on this matter. How far it is possible to follow out this policy depends almost entirely on the people of India. If all the money which now goes to the import of treasure was to be made available for investment in productive undertakings, India's needs for foreign capital might

well disappear. Even in the forthcoming year, with a large capital expenditure programme, we need to raise only 18 crores from the public, against which may be set the fact that the average net imports of treasure since the War, excluding the abnormally high figures for 1924-25, have been more than twice as large in value.

This is a well-worn subject and I do not wish to dwell on it further. It calls for action rather than words. I fully recognise the difficulties, and that Government cannot expect to get the small men all over India to invest their savings except as a result of a steady course of education and the provision of better facilities. This is a matter on which I hope our Banking Enquiry will throw light. In any case, it is one of our main tasks for the future. If I can do anything in this respect I shall only be following in the footsteps of my predecessor and, if I might pay him a tribute, I would say that perhaps his greatest work in a wonderful record of achievement was the stimulus which he gave to the fruitful employment of the savings of the Indian public in the development of India's resources. But however enthusiastic one may be about this idea, one must face practical realities. Conditions cannot be changed in a day, and if there are times when the whole capital required to continue a reasonable policy of development cannot be raised in India, then I can see no valid reason for refusing to have recourse to moderate loans abroad. It would, in my opinion, be a far greater evil to hold up the proper development of the country merely for the sake of avoiding all sterling borrowing, however moderate the amount. It seems to me, judging by comments which have appeared in the press and from remarks which have fallen from Honourable Members opposite in the course of debates during this session when the general condition of the country was under discussion, that there is a good deal of misapprehension on the subject. It has been implied, for example, that the policy involves India in borrowing at ruinous rates for the sole advantage of England. There could be no greater misapprehension. We can still borrow at very reasonable rates, while, so far as advantage to British interests is concerned, it must be remembered that the total amount that can be raised on the London market is strictly limited, so that, if India did not appear as a borrower, her place would easily be filled. In fact, the difficulty lies rather on the other side, namely, how to find room, in the limited number of issues that can be permitted, for all those who want to provide themselves with funds.

In all business relations it is desirable that there should be mutual advantage; but I am quite certain that in this particular relation, the balance of advantage lies on the side of India in that she has so privileged a position among the borrowers who seek funds in the London market.

A second misapprehension which also appears prevalent is that it is derogatory to the dignity of a country, or evidence of a weakness of its position, that it should have recourse to external loans. But this is an essential condition of any country in the early stages of its development, and, in this sense, India still is in the early stage of her economic development.

Even a wealthy and highly-developed country like the United States, until the Great War, got large sums of investors' money from the London Market for financing railway development projects and other enterprises of this kind. It has been estimated that in 1914 British investments in the United States, chiefly in railways, amounted to something like £760 millions. Moreover, all the great Dominions are constant borrowers in the London market. A large proportion of the railways of South America have been built with capital raised in England, while Japan, whose political and economic progress is ever held up as an example, has been a large borrower both in London and in New York, and, I might add, has her loans quoted on a 6 per cent. basis in London, and a 6½ per cent, basis in New York, as compared with the 5 per cent. rate at which India gets her money.

Further, I think that there is a good deal of misapprehension as to the extent to which India's sterling indebtedness has had to be increased during the past years. In an earlier part of my speech, I gave some figures as to borrowings in the five years ending the 31st March, 1928. Let me carry these figures down to the end of the current year, so as to include a year of comparatively heavy borrowing. In the six years ending with the 31st March, 1929, capital expenditure abroad will have amounted to £60 millions. Against this, loans producing net amounts of £18 millions in 1923-24, of £6,862,500 at the end of 1927 and of £9,100,000 in the last loan issued in January have been raised on the London market. But on the other side, permanent sterling debt has been discharged regularly each year over this whole period in the form of railway annuities and otherwise. The final result is that, although according to the figures which I have just given a capital expenditure

of £60 millions has been undertaken, the net balance raised by the increase of sterling funded debt has only been just under £20 millions. This sum must be still further reduced when it is taken into account that the sterling expenditure includes the purchase of the Burma Railways at £3 millions. By this transaction sterling securities were cancelled so that the net amount of foreign capital on which India as a whole has to find interest in foreign currency has really only been increased to the extent of the loans necessary to raise £17 millions.

In order to complete the picture, it is necessary also to take into account any reduction which has taken place in sterling resources. Sterling treasury balances were reduced during this period by about £4¼ millions, while transfers of sterling from the Paper Currency Reserve amounted on balance, during the same period, to about £3¼ millions.

I think it is no small achievement, and demonstrates the strength of the rupee exchange position that this very large amount of capital expenditure abroad has been effected with so small an increase of external indebtedness.

I must also add a few words on one more heading in connection with this matter. Even if the amount of our borrowing had been much larger, it would not have been out of proportion to the undertaking for which the Government of India are responsible, seeing that they have to finance practically the whole railway and port system of this vast continent which contains one-fifth of the population of the world, and also to provide money for irrigation and other development projects. Government borrowing may cover many purposes, and in some cases it may be a sign of weakness. But the borrowing by the Government of India, of which I have been speaking, and which we have to contemplate for the future, indicates rather an increase in strength. For whatever is borrowed will be more than covered by sound productive investments producing a larger revenue than is required to meet the interest charges. This leads me to the consideration that it may be desirable for the future to devise some means for so presenting our demands for new money as to demonstrate more clearly to the public the purposes for which the money is to be applied and the inherent strength of the position.

While this may indicate one important line for future consideration, our main task must still be to seek for every possible means

to educate and provide opportunities for the people of this country so that they may let their savings flow into productive channels. There is room for much effort still in this direction, and even a moderate success may eliminate the need for external borrowing. But if, before this goal is reached, some such borrowing is necessary, I trust that Honourable Members will help me in this matter by taking a view of the situation uncoloured by political prejudices.

I have only a few more words to say as to the debt position. Following the practice of previous years, I quote the market prices of certain typical securities of the Government of India in India.

Market price on the 20th February.

—	1923.	1924.	1925.	1926.	1927.	1928.	1929.
	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.
5 per cent Tax-free loan, 1945-55.	89 8	97 12	97 15	101 4	107 2	106 11	103 15
3½ per cent rupee loan. .	58 0	65 14	66 9	71 6	77 7	76 1	72 6

Prices, of course, are now much lower than the peak figure of 1927. But they are still substantially higher than in 1926 or the earlier years, and I think the review which I gave earlier in my speech will show that prices which ruled in 1927 and the beginning of 1928 were, in a sense, an artificial result of the abnormal abstention from borrowing which had been possible in the preceding years. The process of decline is always unpleasant, but there is at least this to be said, that the higher prices of two years ago drove some investors to seek better yields abroad, and that, taking a broad view, we may be now on a healthier level.

I must also refer to debt statistics. My predecessor used to embody in his budget speech a statement showing the debt of India outstanding at the close of a series of years. I find, from the general discussions which took place in this House last year on the budget, that a desire was expressed that the figures might be shown in a somewhat different form, and I have this year endeavoured to produce a statement of a more comprehensive nature. To the list of obligations I have added the depreciation and reserve funds and those portions of provincial balances which bear interest. To

the list of productive assets shown in previous years I have added the interest-bearing loans made to the public. At the same time, in order to give as complete a picture as possible, I have added the amounts of cash, bullion and securities held on Treasury account. Although I have tried to meet Honourable Members' wishes in this matter, I must warn them that it is extremely difficult to compile any statement which gives a complete picture of the situation. The statement which I have given makes no claim to be a complete balance-sheet. Moreover, there are many special factors which tend to confuse the picture. For example, if a loan to raise £9,100,000 is brought out on a 4½ per cent. basis at 91, the figure for our obligations in the table is shown as £10 millions. Had a loan to raise the same amount taken the form of a 5 per cent. loan brought out at par, the increase in our debt would only have appeared as £9,100,000. Further, although I have now included among Government's obligations the balances which they hold from the Railways on account of the Reserve and Depreciation Funds, these are, in reality, obligations of a different type from Government's obligations on account of loans raised from the public. Although the Railways can be regarded as something separate from Government nevertheless, in the case of the Reserve Fund, for example, this is really, in a sense, held for the benefit of Government in order to ensure the payment of the railway contribution in bad years.

I mention these facts merely to show Honourable Members that it is difficult to provide a statement which is not open to some criticism on one side or the other. I can only say that it is my desire that they should be provided with the fullest possible information; and if there is any difficulty in understanding the tables which I have given or in reconciling the particular table to which I am referring with the summaries which I have given in the earlier part of my speech, I should be willing to give further explanations. The table, as is stands, at least reveals that behind the public debt of India there is being built up an ever-increasing backing of valuable security.

Sir, my course which, I fear, has been a very long one is nearly run. I have only one more obstacle to negotiate and then I can take a straight run home. I feel that Honourable Members would think I was shirking a part of my task if I did not refer to the ratio question, for I must do those who have raised the question in recent

debates in this House at least the honour of taking them seriously. At this late hour I want to be brief and I wish also to avoid saying anything which will provoke controversial retorts. Therefore, I leave unsaid much that I could say with force and conviction and will confine myself to one simple aspect of the matter.

I am fully conscious that there are those in this Assembly who honestly and honourably advocated the view that the rupee ought to be stabilised at 1*s.* 4*d.* when the issue was still an open one, and the country in a sense had a free choice before it. I do not seek to convince any of those who took this course that they were wrong,—though this involves no admission on my part, and is, as the lawyers say, entirely " without prejudice ". I would put to them a much simpler question: Can it seriously be proposed, as a practical course, that after working on a basis of 1*s.* 6*d.* for several years—a basis actually fixed by statute since 1927—that this Government could deliberately decide to devalorise their currency by 11 per cent.? I shun all forms of over-statement, but I can hardly conceive the possibility of any more disastrous course. It would cause injustice to thousands of individuals who had entered into previous contracts, among whom perhaps the most important are the workers, manual or otherwise, whose wages and pay have been fixed on a different basis, and it would strike a blow at the credit of India in the eyes of the world from which it could hardly recover. For what guarantee would other countries have that a word once broken would not be broken again? All the arguments which are used for advocating a drop from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 1*s.* 4*d.* could be used with equal force for further inflation and further depreciation of the currency.

I have never seen any practical suggestion made as to how such a change could be brought about; but I feel sure that any man who really understands the working of these matters will realise that whether it were to be done by a stroke of the pen over-night, or allowed to take place as a result of a long period of weakness on the part of Government, the results would be equally dislocating and disastrous.

I sympathise whole-heartedly with those who, like my Honourable friend, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, have expressed, in terms of great eloquence, their burning desire to improve the economic condition of the people. But I would say to him that the only way in which that can be done is by the constant and combined

effort of Government and all those who can influence public opinion, directed to the extension of education and credit facilities, to the encouragement of hard work and thrift, and to an increase in real wealth by the introduction of improved methods of cultivation and communications. Anything else is no more than a quack remedy.

I do not deny that if Government were to adopt a deliberate policy of inflation and depreciation of the currency that might act as a temporary stimulant, for it would induce a period of rising internal prices which is always encouraging to trade and it would also bring about a reduction in real wages which would benefit employers of labour making goods for export. But experience in many countries since the War is available to illustrate how dangerous is the use of such a stimulant and what disastrous reactions it may produce. For it cannot go on for ever, and it is only during the period when currency values are falling that the stimulant works. When a fixed level is reached again, prices must eventually adjust themselves and the plodding task of normal business has to be resumed once more.

Some of those who have spoken on this subject have likened the present financial conditions of India to the state of a sick man who needs some remedy. It may be said, I suppose, that upon myself as directing to some degree the finances of the country there falls the heavy responsibility of the doctor. The doctor's calling is a noble and difficult one and perhaps its duties have never been better put than in the words of the oath which Hippocrates, the Greek philosopher and scientist, who lived more than two thousand years ago, made his disciples swear. Let me repeat some of its words:—

> "I swear by all gods and goddesses that I will, according to my power and judgment, make good this oath and covenant that I sign. I will use all ways of medical treatment that shall be for the advantage of the sufferers, according to my power and judgment, and will protect them from injury and injustice. Nor will I give to any man, though I be asked to give it, any deadly drug; nor will I consent that it should be given; but purely and holily I will keep guard on my life and my art."

Sir, I would willingly accept no less binding vows, but, if I were to listen to those who advocate inflation and depreciation of the currency as a remedy for the present state of this country I should be untrue to such an oath. Then, indeed, should I be administering a deadly drug.

But let me ask: Is the country really suffering from any sudden and new disease? Are we not really in danger of exaggeration when such words are used? Judged by all ordinary standards—figures of foreign trade, railway returns, etc.,—India is more than keeping her place in comparison with other countries. Depression in trade is prevalent throughout the world, and I venture to say that there is distress in other countries to-day equal to, or greater than, that which is felt in India and attributable, like much of India's trouble, to world causes. I fully accept the statement which I have heard in this House that the standard of living among the rural population of India is miserably low, and I yield to no Member on the other side in my keenness to take a hand in a joint effort to remedy it. But this is no sudden and new phenomenon. No one can point to the particular date when the rupee was stabilised at 1*s.* 6*d.* and say truthfully: "This is the date when it began; before this we all lived in a golden age."

Sir, there is one condition above all others which is requisite for commercial prosperity, and that is a condition of security. If this talk about reducing the ratio is taken seriously it can only produce a feeling of uncertainty and insecurity and, amongst other unfortunate results, it must tend to induce those who can do so, to invest their money abroad.

I cannot believe that it really is taken seriously by the bulk of the business world, but still, talk by responsible Members of this House cannot be without some effect. Therefore, I would appeal to those who have urged a contrary course and say to them: "You have done your best for what you thought right. Whether the course actually taken was right or wrong, it would be a far greater evil now to alter it and Government are bound to use all the resources at their command to prevent its alteration. The time has come therefore to look to the future in which the interests of the country demand, above everything, that we should pull together to work out our salvation on the present level." Response to such an appeal would bring honour to all who accorded it.

There is another ground on which I would urge on all those that have the public interest at heart to make an end of this talk which ascribes every evil to the 1*s.* 6*d.* rupee and holds out a 1*s.* 4*d.* rupee as the magic remedy which would bring prosperity to all. Such talk is harmful because it diverts men's minds from efforts to pursue the hard path to any real improvement. Let us rather unite to forge our way along this path, and, for my part, I promise to spare no effort and to reject no sound suggestions which can help to clear it.

Sir, I have tried to present to-day a plain and unvarnished statement of facts—disguising none of the difficulties and exaggerating none of the favourable features. The note which I have wished to strike in my speech and to embody in my budget proposals is that we must look at the state of the country with a broad vision and not rush into sudden measures on the influence of what may be only a temporary condition.

If one looks back over the past six years, one cannot fail to be struck by the great inherent strength exhibited in the position. On the side of capital expenditure I have quoted figures to show how enormously the productive assets of the country have been increased in proportion to the loan liabilities incurred. A broad view of the revenue position is also encouraging. When one considers all the revenue which has been sacrificed by the Central Government in the past six years in order to give greater latitude to the Provinces or to provide some economic advantage to the country—nearly 10 crores of provincial contributions given up, and in taxation 1¾ crores on cotton excise, 85 lakhs on machinery, 1½ crores on opium, to mention only the most important cases—and when one then realises how the other sources of revenue have moved towards filling the gap, I think one is justified in feeling confidence as to the future. It might perhaps be said that the rate of capital expenditure has recently shown tendencies to acquire too great an acceleration or rather, to put the matter in another way, Government have not increased their fixed capital (that is to say, money at their disposal from long-term loans) quite sufficiently in proportion to the expansion of the business. Possibly also, sacrifices of revenue have been based on expectations which, for the moment, may prove too optimistic. With these possibilities in mind, I would say that we are passing through a period which needs a steady hand on expenditure and the careful conservation of our credit and that, com-

bined with this, there is also needed some broadening of the basis on which the capital, which is required for the development of this vast continent, is to be provided. These objects will be my chief concern, and I shall pursue them with all the more confidence and enthusiasm because of my firm conviction that the financial position of this country is fundamentally sound and that there can be no country in the world which has better security to offer for its loans.

Sir, I have only one more word to say. I have expressed in my last sentences the confidence which I feel in the economic foundations of this country. But there is one thing on which those foundations must rest, and that is political stability. I have deliberately refrained from disturbing my account of the economic position up to this point by any extraneous considerations, nor do I wish to appear as preaching to this Assembly on a subject which might be held to be outside my sphere. But I have set myself the task of describing the situation exactly as I see it, and this task I must complete. India till now has had one priceless possession in her credit with the outside world. I believe, for such reasons as I have tried to make clear to-day, that the economic advancement of the country depends on the maintenance and use of this credit both within and without. Fears of political disturbance cannot but shake it, and to do this is to endanger the structure on which the material welfare of the millions of this country depends. I pray that this vital consideration may not be forgotten. Having said this, let me close, as I began, on a personal note. Though it is my fate to deal with finance and the production of wealth, I do not, any more than many Honourable Members opposite, place materialistic objects above all other ends in this world. Nevertheless, an adequate measure of material well-being is a necessary condition of happiness in any state. I trust that even those whose thoughts are mainly concentrated on political objectives which may range them at times against the Government of which I am a Member will not forget this fact, and will find in the economic sphere some common ground on which we can co-operate for the material advancement of the Indian people. Is it too much to hope that such co-operation may have its reactions also in wider spheres? The money with which I have to deal suffers from the material limitation that what is spent is gone, but goodwill is inexhaustible and the more that is expended, the greater will be the supply."

Sir George Schuster's budget proposals met, on the whole, with a very favourable reception. Considerable delay, however, occurred in the passing of the Finance Bill, but this was due rather to the selection of the Finance Bill as a medium for the employment of obstructionist tactics than to any serious opposition to the financial proposals themselves. In the course of the discussion of the Bill an amendment was carried reducing the salt duty from Re. 1-4 to Re. 1 per maund. The duty was, however, eventually restored to the former figure by the Legislative Assembly itself, on a recommendation made under section 67B of the Government of India Act by His Excellency the Governor-General. Owing to the delay which had taken place in the Legislative Assembly, it was necessary for the Finance Bill to be introduced and passed in the Council of State in a single day, the Council of State agreeing, in the first instance, to this unusual procedure being followed.

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The only financial events of special importance relating to 1928-29 other than those mentioned in the Budget speech were the inauguration of the Currency Note Press of India and the setting on foot of a very comprehensive enquiry into banking conditions in India. The inauguration of the Currency Note Press took place on the 14th April, 1928, at Nasik, the inauguration ceremony being performed by Sir Bhupendranath Mitra, who then held the portfolio of Finance. Prior to 1869, currency notes were not in use in India, and till 1862 India's postage stamps were printed by the Survey of India from plates made at the Calcutta Mint. In 1861 the Bank of England printed the first currency notes for India, and they were issued for the first time in March, 1862. In the same year Messrs. Thomas de la Rue and Company first printed postage stamps for India, and they continued to hold the contract for this work until 1924. The decision that India should print her own currency notes resulted from an investigation into the cost of printing them in England, which was undertaken in 1914. The war arrested progress in the matter, and it was not until 1922 that it was revived. Further investigations were then made, and the Government of India decided to establish their own Stamp Press and also to set up a Currency Note Press, the latter to be brought into use when the Bank of England's contract for the supply of currency notes terminated in 1929. The Stamp Press was completed in 1926, and shortly afterwards the Bank of England said that an earlier termination of their contract than the due date, 1929, would

be convenient to them. Accordingly, the scheme to establish a Currency Note Press in India was put in hand in August, 1926. Nasik Road, between Poona and Bombay, was selected as the site of the Press because of the suitability of its climate, which is not subject to sudden or large changes of humidity and temperature. The Press is equipped with machinery of the most up-to-date kind, and the success of the scheme, which seems already assured, is largely due to the enterprise, energy and ability of Sir George Willis, now Master, Security Printing in India, and formerly Senior Mint Master in India, who has been associated with the scheme from its inception, has supervised the construction of the buildings and the installation of the machinery, and is now in charge of the current operations of the Press, both in regard to the manufacture of stamps and the manufacture of currency notes.

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Proposals for an enquiry into banking conditions in India had been under consideration since 1925, but the Government of India had first held that it would be preferable to postpone an enquiry of the kind until the Royal Agricultural Commission had reported. They also hoped to gain important experience of banking conditions in India if the Reserve Bank were established as recommended by the Hilton-Young Commission. With the publication of the report of the Agricultural Commission and the failure of the Reserve Bank Bill the question was revived, and the Government of India came to the conclusion that such an enquiry would be valuable, among other things, in instructing public opinion in India as to the main requirements of the country and possibly providing a new line of approach for the revival of the Reserve Bank scheme on safe and sound lines. Accordingly a Central Committee and a number of Provincial Committees to deal with the special requirements of the different provinces have been set up. Although it strictly falls within the scope of the next year's Report, it is convenient to add that it is expected that the Provincial Committees will be able to submit their reports by the end of March, 1930, and that the Central Committee will submit its final report to the Government of India by April, 1931. The Government of India propose to appoint, later on, a small Committee of Experts selected from England and other countries with well developed systems of rural credit and industrial banking who will hold a joint discussion with the Central Committee and assist the latter in making its final recommendations to the Government of India.

CHAPTER VIII.

External Relations, Military, Aerial and Naval Affairs.

For years after the establishment of British Rule, India remained an essentially isolated, self-centred political and cultural system. With the affairs of the outside world, and even with those of the rest of the British Empire, she had no concern, and it was not until after the assumption of the Government of India by the Crown in 1858 that her educational system and the growth of a habit of over-seas travel by her people gradually broke down some of the barriers to mental and spiritual intercourse with the western world. Of the forces which have shaped the events of Indian history and determined the conditions of Indian life during the past half century, the two most vital have been, first the process of mechanical invention, which by making travel and communications between the West and the East speedy and certain, has brought India within the orbit of western ideas, and second, India's reaction to this process with many results political, cultural, racial and economic, to trace which will be the task of some historian of the future. And of this process no part is more important than the steady growth of India's interest in affairs, particularly political affairs, outside her own borders. In a sense she has been concerned with the external affairs of the United Kingdom and the British Empire ever since her government passed into British hands, but this concern was only remote and accidental. Until recently the people of India could not feel that they had any living interest in such matters since they had no voice in them and were not even in direct contact with them. Since the war, however, her improved international status, her growing economic stake in the world, and her representation in the Imperial Conferences have provided her with both the incentive and the need for taking a close interest in world politics and affairs. Further, her international status is different now from what it was in 1914, for she attained original membership of the League of Nations as one of the signatories of the Treaty of Versailles. In these negotiations His Majesty King George V was represented for India by the late Right Honourable Edwin Samuel Montague, M.P., His Secretary of State for India, and Major-General His Highness Maharaja Sir Ganga Singh Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., K.C.B., A.D.C., Maharaja of

Bikanir. India thus obtained separate representation and became an original member of the League of Nations as a result of her services during the war. Again, the presence of large numbers of her nationals in various parts of the British Empire has forced her to take an interest in the domestic politics of the Dominions and Crown Colonies, and in Imperial politics in general, especially when these are concerned with the Near East and Asia. Thus, as one of the members of the British Commonwealth, and now as a member of the League of Nations, India has found her interest insensibly widened and attracted outwards until very few parts of the world are left in which she has no interests of any kind.

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To-day India has her own external interests which are peculiar to herself and which fall broadly into two classes sharply distinguished from each other. There are first her relations with her immediate neighbours on her landward side, and secondly her guardianship of the interests of her people overseas, most of whom are living in some part or other of the British Empire. The problems raised by this second class, as already indicated, are ultimately problems of Imperial politics, whilst the former resolve themselves primarily into problems of defence. This latter dictum does not mean, of course, that India constantly apprehends danger from all her neighbours across her land frontiers. Such a notion is far from the truth as the following brief description will show.

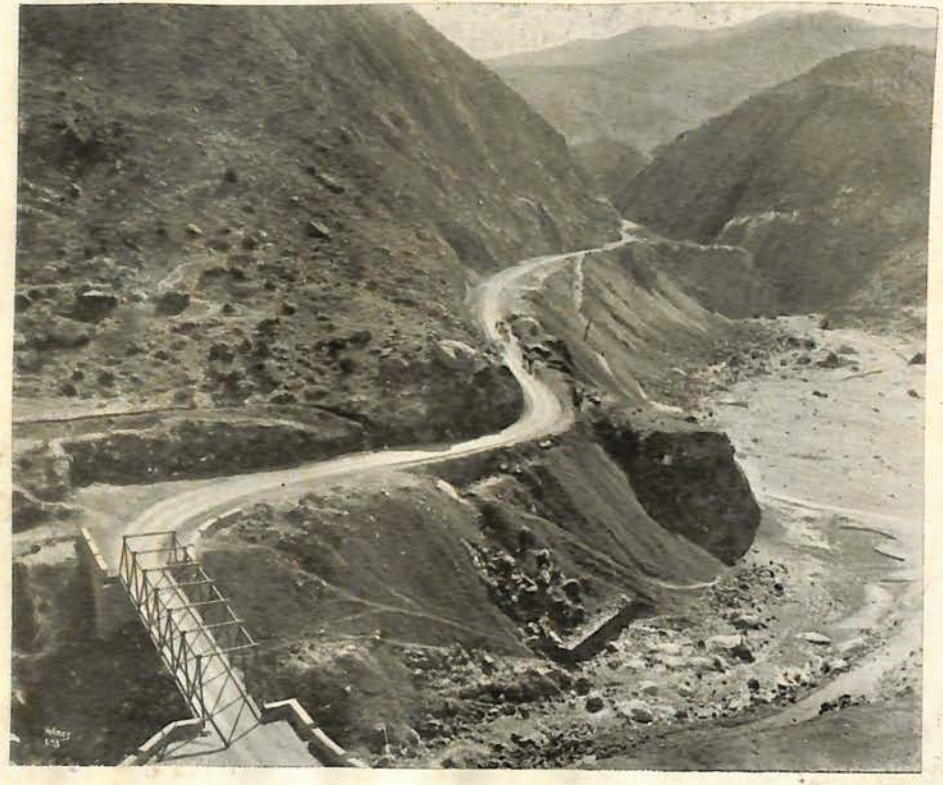
The land frontiers of India are about 6,000 miles in length. The boundary of Indian Baluchistan marches with Persia on the West and with Afghanistan on the North, the three countries meeting at the famous mountain of the Black King (Koh-i-Malik-Siah) the most westerly point of India. From this lonely peak starts the Durand line, which, leaving Baluchistan at the Gumal river, runs some hundreds of miles north by east demarcating the boundary between Afghanistan and India, and for a considerable distance bordering the well-known belt of Pathan tribal territory which since 1894 has been formally included in India. Tibet borders about 1,500 miles of India's frontier, and beyond Burma, our frontier divides us for about a thousand miles from Chinese territory. South of the Chinese frontier, Burma touches part of French Indo-China for a hundred miles and then marches for 600 miles with Siam.

Any study, however brief, of North-West Frontier history and policy will show the North-West Frontier problem becoming more

and more complex and difficult as communications improve and weapons of precision are perfected. It is usual to regard the North-Western Frontier problem as being concerned only with the relations between the Government of India and the war-like tribes who inhabit the stretch of difficult mountain country between the administrative border and the Durand Line, but, in truth, these are nothing more than one factor in a problem of far wider scope. Leaving aside the domestic question of the most desirable form of Government for the North-West Frontier Province, a question about which there has been some controversy since the inauguration of the reformed constitution in the other provinces of India and which, as we have already seen, is now a factor of much importance in the Hindu-Muhammadan problem, there is also the international aspect of the problem and the vital military problem with which the other aspects of the frontier policy are intimately bound up.

From the dawn of history the North-West Frontier has been the gateway into India through which have poured Persians, Greeks, Scythians, and Muhammadans. Before the keys of the gate passed into British hands with the conquest of the Punjab in 1849, the threat of an invasion by Napoleon Bonaparte and the ambitious schemes of the Emperor Paul of Russia had caused the British to look anxiously to the North-West and begin their North-West Frontier policy untimely with embassies to Persia and Afghanistan. Malcolm and Elphinstone were the forerunners of a long line of distinguished "politicals" who for the past three or four generations have been both the instruments and the makers of British policy on the North-West Frontier. The maintenance of a sound policy on the North-West Frontier in India must always hold a foremost place among the pre-occupations of any Indian Government.

The day-to-day frontier problem is provided by the relations between the Government of India and the tribes who live between the administrative border and the Durand Line, and is a problem partly diplomatic, or, as it is called in India, "political", and partly military. The political officers guide the tribes as far as they can along the path of peace and friendliness with India, whilst the various armed civil forces on the frontier, supported when necessary by the troops, stand by to repel raids or more serious aggressive actions by the tribesmen. The military history of the frontier has been adequately written more than once, but its "political" history still remains unchronicled as a whole. A



WANA—JANDOLA SECTION—NEAR SHAHUR TANGI.

ruthlessly compressed summary of this history is given below, but first it will be as well to describe briefly the physical features of the North-West Frontier.

The North-West Frontier, as the term is commonly understood, means the whole tract of country which runs from the Hindu Kush in the north down to the Arabian Sea, including the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan. This territory lies mainly to the West of the Indus. The Hazara District, it is true, lies east of the river, but geographically and ethnically it belongs partly to Kashmere and partly to the Punjab, and the tribes on its border, who are mostly somewhat backward off-shoots of the great Yusafzai tribe, do not present such a formidable problem as do the warlike and well-armed people on the borders of the four trans-Indus Districts. In this large area we distinguish the five settled districts of the frontier province and the so-called trans-border, that is, the stretch of mountain country between the administrative border and the Durand Line, whose inhabitants provide what we have called the day-to-day problems of the frontier. Stretching all along the administrative border and thrusting forward into the hills here and there, as in the Malakand, and in the Khyber, Kurram, Tochi, and Razmak valleys, and along the Zhob Road which runs through the Sherani country, south of Waziristan, are military cantonments, or posts held by regulars, militia, Frontier Constabulary, or Khassadars, whilst at the north and south respectively of the long line stand the two great bastions—Peshawar and Quetta.

The trans-border tribes are linked to each other from North to South, and military operations against any one of them are apt to produce sympathetic effects among the others. These tribes are among the hardest fighters in the whole world, and only picked and highly trained troops can compete with them on any thing like equal terms in their own hills. They are believed to number nearly three millions, of whom at least half are males, and of the latter close on three quarters of a million are regarded as adults and fighting men. Their armament has vastly increased within the last few years, and as long ago as 1920 there were believed to be not less than 140,000 modern rifles in tribal territory. The Mahsuds alone can arm effectively about 12,000 men, out of a total of 16,000, whilst the Wazirs can similarly arm 10,000 out of a total of 23,000 fighting men. The difficulty of the military problem presented by the frontier tribes can thus be appreciated.

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It is possible to distinguish two different parts of the trans-border which presents two somewhat dissimilar sets of conditions. One part is the territory which stretches from north of the Kabul River to Waziristan, whilst the second is Waziristan itself. The relations between the Indian Government and the tribes inhabiting the first of the above divisions have in recent years been satisfactory on the whole. North of the Kabul River are great chiefs like the Mehtar of Chitral, the Nawab of Dir, and the Wali of Swat. These may fight among themselves, but they all desire friendly relations with India. Trade between this section of the trans-border and India is active, and the Swat River canal finds employment for many hardy spirits who might otherwise make a living by committing crime inside British India. South of the lands of these great chiefs are the Mohmands, Afridis, and Orakzais, all of whom have far too many connections with India to fight except on any but the most serious grounds. Waziristan, however, until very recently presented a very different face. Its people are fanatical and intractable to a degree, and had until a few years ago come less under British influence than any other of the great trans-border tribes. The Indian Government have conducted seventeen active operations against them since 1852, and four since 1911, the latest of which provided the most desperate and costly fighting in all the history of the North-West Frontier. Also, as one goes from north to south of Tribal Territory, one finds that the constitution of tribal society grows steadily more and more undisciplined as one approaches Waziristan, where, until the last few years, a state of chaotic license prevailed in which every man was a law to himself and a well-aimed bullet was more effective than any consideration of right and justice.

From the Sikhs, the British inherited only a haphazard, unscientific, and ill-defined frontier line. They took over no policy or system of understandings or agreements, and for a whole generation the Indian Government limited its frontier policy to abstention from interference in the troubled affairs across the administrative border, tempered by fleeting punitive expeditions against individual tribes when necessary. But the advance of Russia in Central Asia and the ambiguous behaviour during the seventies of last century of an Amir of Afghanistan emphasised once again the importance of the latter country to Indian frontier policy, whilst the long and mostly scholastic dispute between the supporters of the rival "forward" and "close border" policies had at any rate made

clear the importance of the trans-border tribes in the event of India's having to conduct military operations west of the administrative border. These things, fortified by Major Sandeman's striking success in conciliating the hitherto hostile Baluch tribes to the south, a success which had already become evident by the end of the seventies, brought about a change in the Government of India's views on frontier policy. They began to realise that they ought at any rate to know something of what was happening in the frontier hills and that they ought if possible to try to keep friendly relations with the tribes. The establishment of the Khyber Agency at the end of the seventies was the first step in a new policy which has arrived, *viâ* Lord Curzon's memorable Frontier settlement, at the policy which is now being followed in Waziristan, that is, in the most intractable and difficult part of the Frontier. This policy is a development of Lord Curzon's policy, which, in its turn was an adaptation of Sandeman's methods in Baluchistan to the different conditions of the North-West Frontier. The essence of Sandeman's system was friendship with and support of the tribal chiefs so long as they behaved well, and the provision of employment for the tribesmen in levies, police, and other forms of service. Sandeman, in fact, gave both the Baluch chief and his followers material incentives to good behaviour, and a stake in peace and order. A part of Baluchistan was taken under direct British control, and British influence was established throughout the rest of the country. Lord Curzon's settlement has been well described as a mixture of the Sandeman and " close border " systems. The tribesmen were paid to protect their own country and the Indian border, and regular troops were withdrawn from advanced positions and replaced by tribal militias. But there was no occupation of tribal country and no attempt at any administration, however loose, up to the Durand Line except in the Wana, Tochi, and Kurram Valleys, where an informal administration on lines suitable to tribal conditions met with much success. Thus the North-West Frontier was not " Sandemanised " by Lord Curzon. Until the outbreak of the Great War, this policy served its purpose admirably, but during the great unrest from 1914 onwards, the Curzon system, like so many other older and more majestic institutions, broke under the mighty pressure. All through the War it was a question, at any rate on the Waziristan side, of holding on grimly and waiting for better days. The third Afghan War in 1919 sent along the whole frontier a new wave of unrest which broke in Waziristan in the

bitterest and most determined fighting which the Government of India have ever had to undertake on the North-West Frontier. When peace was restored once more it was realised that the time had come to try to settle the " political " part of the Frontier problem once and for all, and that the attempt should begin in the old frontier storm-centre Waziristan.

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The new policy is essentially positive and constructive in character. It is a forward policy in the very best meaning of the word, for it is not a policy of military conquest, but of civilisation. Its central features are the opening of Waziristan to civilising influence and giving to the tribes a stake in the administration of law and order. Since 1920, fine high roads have been driven through the hills of Waziristan linking the trans-border posts with military posts in the rear, and tribal levies, or Khassadars, finding their own rifles and ammunition, have been enrolled to police the country. Thus the spirit of self-government among the tribes of Waziristan and their sense of responsibility will be kept alive, whilst British influence and economic forces will work steadily to destroy the causes which for centuries have kept these virile people as murderers and robbers. We shall see shortly what measure of success has already attended this policy, but first we may glance quickly at the existing system of border defence in order to complete this part of our survey of frontier policy.

The Civil Defence forces of the North-West Frontier Province fall into two main categories—those which are established on the settled side of the border and those which are definitely a trans-frontier corps. Of the former, there are first the village pursuit parties, or *Chighas*, who are obliged both by law and by custom to turn out for defence or pursuit whenever a raid occurs. Government provides each village in the raiding area with a certain number of rifles for the use of the *Chighas*, but these are otherwise entirely unorganised and are not in the service of the Crown. To co-operate with these *Chighas* when more prolonged operations are necessary, selected members of the village communities were organised into levies, drawn from the same sources as the *Chighas*, but pledged to full or part time service, and receiving arms, ammunitions, and pay from the Indian Government, either directly or through the local Khans who often act as both officers and organisers of the corps.

The District Police, of course, exist on the border just as in every other part of British India, but the unsettled conditions there render it necessary for them to be better armed than other civil police forces; otherwise their work differs little from that of the District Police in other provinces. But the back-bone of the defence organisation on the administered side of the border is the Frontier Constabulary. This force stands between the Police and the regular military forces, and its main function is the prevention of raids and the capture of raiders and outlaws. It patrols the border and ensures the safety of roads and communications generally. The British officers are members of the Imperial Indian Police seconded from their own service. Its posts are mainly on the edge of administered territory, but many of its operations take place across the border.

The Trans-Frontier Civil Corps are three—the Kurram Militia, the Tochi Scouts and the South Waziristan Scouts. The Kurram Militia is a force mainly raised locally to preserve order in the Kurram Valley, which is only a semi-administered area and contains no other forces of the Crown except those connected with a small air base at Arawali near Parachinar. The Tochi Scouts and the Waziristan Scouts are intended to maintain British political control in North and South Waziristan respectively and to prevent raiding through Waziristan into the settled districts. They recruit only a very small proportion of local tribesmen. All three corps are officered by British officers seconded from regiments of the Indian Army.

The Khassadars are tribal levies raised for the Agency tracts to act as tribal police and to protect communications through their tribal territory. They are much more highly paid than either the Levies or the Police or Constabulary, partly because they have to find all their arms, ammunition and equipment, and partly in order to attract the best men to the service and to secure the good behaviour of themselves and their fellow tribesmen through fear of loss of a considerable income. Hitherto, they have been employed only in the Khyber Agency, where they number nearly 1,400 men, in the Kohat Pass, through which runs the road from Peshawar to Kohat, the next British district to the south, and in Waziristan, where the length of the new communications and roads makes it necessary to employ over 3,500 men.

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Up to the close of the year 1927-28 the Shiah Orakzais, who had been expelled from part of their lands in Tirah in the circumstances described in last year's report, had not succeeded in recovering their " Irredenta ". From time to time there were rumours that Mullah Mahmud Akhunzada contemplated attempting to drive the Shiahs out of their remaining lands also, but no attack materialised.

There was less raiding and counter-raiding along the Kurram border during 1928-29, but on the 4th July, 1928, an incident of some importance occurred. A Jaji Lashkar, estimated at 400 men, crossed the border into British territory, took up a position covering Walai China village, and drove off about 450 head of cattle. A Kurram Militia party, which turned out from a neighbouring post, was fired on by a covering party of Jajis posted just inside Afghan territory. Representations were made to the Afghan Government at Kabul and the necessity for the early assembly of a commission for the settlement of Jaji-Turi disputes was pressed upon them. There is, however, now no prospect of this until the general situation in Afghanistan improves.

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Any historian of Indian North-West Frontier affairs in these days is justified in regarding Waziristan as still the most important part of the subject, and our introductory account of Frontier history and affairs will show the reason why. It is, therefore, particularly gratifying to be able to report that the great civilizing and pacifying policy which the Government have been carrying on for some years in this ancient storm-centre is still proceeding steadily towards its goal. On the whole, the year under report has been peaceful except for two incidents. In North Waziristan certain sections of the Madda Khel, at the instance of Malik Zangi Khan, proved recalcitrant, chiefly in the matter of carrying out their tribal engagement not to harbour outlaws. However, as the result of a blockade, the sections came in in the middle of January and reaffirmed their old agreements, which they had been showing a growing tendency to ignore.

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In October the conduct of three minor sections in South Waziristan, *viz.*, the Giga Khel, Nekzan Khel and Kikarai, was unsatisfactory. They were warned to come in and settle the kidnapping and the other cases against them, but they refused and adopted a

truculent attitude. Action was taken against them by the Royal Air Force on 15th and 16th November, and resulted, with practically no casualties, in complete compliance with the Government's demands, of which the principal one was for the return of some kidnapped British Indian subjects.

There was no marked activity in the matter of education in tribal country during the year under review, but the Government of India have sanctioned an extensive scheme which, it is hoped, will be put into effect without delay for a five-year programme for the opening of schools in tribal territory. All accounts point to a growing demand in these areas, and particularly in the previously backward Waziristan, for the benefits of education.

There is nothing of particular interest to mention in connection with the five settled districts of the North-West Frontier Province.

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On the 15th March, 1929, in the Legislative Assembly, a member of the Central Moslem Party moved a token cut in the North-West Frontier Province Budget to mark the wish of the Assembly for the introduction of constitutional reforms in the Province. The Foreign Secretary, Sir Denys Bray, gave a brief history of the case in illustration of its communal difficulties and stated that the policy of deliberate delay adopted by Government had been signally vindicated by events, adding that it was at last possible to discuss the question in the Assembly without raising a communal storm. He added that the Government now awaited the recommendations of the Simon Commission. The motion was carried by a majority of 67 to 34 votes.

Cordial relations continued to be maintained with the neighbouring kingdom of Nepal during the year under review.

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The year was one of chequered fortunes from the economic point of view in Baluchistan, but satisfactory as to administrative conditions. Both the spring and the autumn sowings had to be restricted owing to lack of rain, whilst a severe plague of locusts did immense damage in the autumn. Many cultivators were hard hit, and Government advances had to be made somewhat freely in order to enable them to purchase seed, grain and cattle and improve their sources of water supply. Law and order was not, however,

affected by these calamities, and although the usual incidents associated with a wild and nomad population living on a sparsely inhabited border were not entirely absent, their number was far from excessive.

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The grave occurrences in Afghanistan which ensued with startling rapidity on King Amanullah's efforts to enforce far-reaching social reforms after his return from Europe are a matter of common knowledge, and are in any case not the direct concern of India. In view of the peril to which the British Legation and Indian residents in Kabul were exposed and the danger of the disorders on the Afghan side of the border spreading to the tribes under British control, the dramatic course of the civil war was followed in India by Government and people alike with grave anxiety, and much sympathy was evoked by the vicissitudes of the Royal family. Though the tension on the frontier was great, the frontier administration succeeded in restraining Indian tribes from participating in the fighting. The story of the gallant behaviour of the British Legation (the British and Indian personnel of which, from the Minister, Sir Francis Humphrys, downwards, was found from the Indian Services) and of the magnificent work of the Royal Air Force in evacuating from Kabul large numbers of British Indian subjects, many foreigners, and finally on the 25th February, 1929, the Legation itself, has passed into history. His Excellency the Viceroy, at the opening of the Legislative Assembly on the 15th January, 1929, in referring to these stirring events spoke as follows:—

"In external affairs everything has been dwarfed by the upheaval in Afghanistan. Of the drama that has unfolded itself during the last few months in Afghanistan, I shall say nothing save this, that the policy of the Government is, and has been throughout, one of scrupulous non-intervention, and it is our earnest hope that there may be an early restoration of peace and order throughout the length and breadth of that country, and that India may again have on her North-Western border a peaceful, strong and united country for her neighbour. During this critical time we in India could not but be proud of the gallant bearing of the British Legation, of the firm control of our tribes by the Frontier Administrations and of the fine work accomplished by the Royal Air Force over the evacuation of women and children from Kabul."

The work of the Royal Air Force was concisely described in a speech by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in the Council of State on 6th March, 1929. His Excellency said:—

"The situation which arose in Afghanistan on December 17th, when the British Legation was definitely cut off from communication with the outside world—a situation fraught with deep anxiety for the safety of our countrymen, British and Indian, and of other foreign residents in Kabul—has happily been relieved by successful evacuations from Kabul, which were completed on February 25th, by the Royal Air Force. I wish particularly to refer to this unique achievement because, in my view, it is one of historical importance. This new arm of our Service has already proved its value in all forms of operations of war, but hitherto it has never been afforded an opportunity in peace such as arose during recent events in Afghanistan.

From the first day up to the conclusion of the evacuations the Royal Air Force has, in a most efficient manner, competed with the various stages of the situation. I would draw attention to the fact that this operation of the Royal Air Force was from every point of view a task of peace, involving risks willingly undertaken for purely humanitarian purposes and caried out with the consent and co-operation of the Afghan authorities at a time when they were involved in a difficult and dangerous situation.

From the very first day to the last our pilots went up to Kabul without a single weapon of any sort. The machines employed were Service machines, but everything in the nature of offensive weapons was stripped off; and the same applied to the pilots themselves, who carried no arms whatever—not even pistols.

I am glad of this opportunity to be able to convey to the Air Ministry and to the Air authorities in Iraq our grateful thanks for the promptitude with which they at once and unhesitatingly sent their heavy transport machines—Victorias such as the Honourable Members saw at the Air Force display in Delhi the year before last—to our assistance; indeed, the speed and punctuality with which these were despatched and arrived at Karachi is an outstanding feature of these evacuations. Later on, one of these machines was forced to land in very hilly country in Afghanistan during the process of evacuation. Fortunately, it was on its outward journey to Kabul and carried only its crew, Flight Lieutenant Chapman and Flying Officer Davis. They landed under the most difficult

conditions in a very mountainous area, and although the machine became unserviceable, these two officers were subsequently rescued by the Royal Air Force.

During the period from the 18th to the 23rd of December, our machines were constantly fired on by the tribesmen and struck by bullets; in fact, the first machine that arrived was shot down, but fortunately it made a successful landing on Sherpur aerodrome. The pilot, Flying Officer Trusk, who later rendered valuable assistance in the evacuations and remained throughout with the British Legation at Kabul, was assisted on landing in these difficult circumstances by the Afghan and Russian pilots located at Kabul, whose friendly co-operation I am glad to take this opportunity of acknowledging.

I would draw attention to the three chief aspects of these remarkable events. The first phase, which lasted from the 18th to the 22nd of December, was the period of the opening up of communications by the lighter type of machines with which the Royal Air Force is equipped. I have already stated that these operations were carried out under tribal fire; and during this period a total of eleven machines was used. They flew 3,630 miles.

The second phase consisted of the evacuation period, which started on the 23rd December and continued until the 25th February. During this period, both light and heavy transport machines were used. In all they made 86 journeys from Peshawar to Kabul and back, and flew a distance of 28,000 miles. These evacuations were carried out at a height of 10,000 feet under every conceivable climatic difficulty in one of the severest winters on record. When the final evacuation took place on the Sherpur aerodrome, there was a depth of 17 inches of snow on the ground.

The third aspect of these events was that connected with the rescue of Flight Lieutenant Chapman and Flying Officer Davis, whose Victoria machine, as I have already mentioned, was unfortunately compelled to make a forced landing. These officers were throughout treated well, not only by the villagers in whose area they landed, but also by Ali Ahmad Jan, who did everything possible to facilitate their onward progress to Jelalabad. They were received by the Naqib of Charbagh, who gave them every facility and hospitality. Due to his good offices and the active assistance of the British Consul at Jelalabad, and also to the fact that these two young officers, once they landed, used their brains and discovered an area of ground on which our machines could

land, messages were sent to Air Group Headquarters, Peshawar, stating that, provided machines were sent on a certain day to a certain place at a certain time, these officers would be permitted to return to India by air. Flying Officer Hancock, of No. 20 Squadron, was the officer selected to carry out this evacuation. At the first attempt his machine, in landing, hit a boulder and wrecked the undercarriage, rendering the machine unserviceable. This did not in any way deter the three young and keen officers—Chapman, Davis, and Hancock. They set at once to repair the damage, and in about three days time, Flying Officer Hancock arrived at Peshawar with Flying Officer Davis. There still remained Flight Lieutenant Chapman, and Flying Officer Hancock returned on a certain date and brought him away by air.

Thus the Royal Air Force not only completed the evacuation of men, women, and children from Kabul, to a total of 586 souls, but also evacuated their own pilots who had been unfortunately compelled to land. The House will realise in what an entirely impartial spirit the evacuation was carried out, when I mention that the British, French and Italian Legations were safely brought away; and the numbers included 343 Indians, 57 Germans, 49 Turks, 25 Persians, 23 French, 23 British and 19 Italians. The Nations concerned have tendered their grateful thanks for the care and help given to their Legations. The story of these evacuations is indeed unique. Except for the one machine that was forced to land, the Royal Air Force have carried out these evacuations without any loss of material. In referring to the successful completion of these evacuations, I must say how deeply grateful we all are to Sir Francis Humphrys for the part he took during those troubled and anxious days at Kabul. (Applause.) Had it not been for his personality, insight, tact, and diplomacy, which made it possible for the machines of the Royal Air Force to land at Sherpur, these evacuations could hardly have taken place.

It is, perhaps, invidious to mention names when all who took part did so well. I often wonder if, when one hears of successful operations carried out like this, one realises the extent of the efficiency which must necessarily be involved—in this case from the Air Officer Commanding down to the latest joined mechanic. A single weak link in the chain—a single error or neglect on the part of an officer or workman—might well have resulted in disaster and heavy casualties. And though, as I say, it may seem invidious to mention names, yet I feel I must take this opportunity of con-

veying to Air Vice-Marshal Sir Geoffrey Salmond, the grateful thanks of the Government of India for all that the Air Force have accomplished. (Applause.) Also, I cannot refrain from paying a tribute to Group Captain Mills; Squadron Leader Maxwell, who commanded the Victorias from No. 70, Squadron; to Flight Lieutenant Anderson, who was in charge of the great Hinaidi Transport machine; to Flight Lieutenant Prendergast and Smetham, who took a notable part in the opening up of communications; to Flying Officer Trusk, who, with Leading Aircraftsman Donaldson, was shot down and did such good work in Kabul; and to Flight Lieutenant Chapman and Flying Officers Hancock and Davis, to whom I have already referred.

As a matter of interest, I might mention that a Pathan accompanied each machine as an interpreter, one of these being a barrister who gave up his practice temporarily for this work. (Applause.)

The grand total of journeys carried out by the Royal Air Force on this great errand of mercy is 107, and they flew in all 33,930 miles, making a grand total of 57,430 miles, including the mileage flown by the Victorias on their journey from Iraq to Risalpur. I think I may say without fear of contradiction that the Royal Air Force undertook a great task on the 18th December, and that they have done it well.

I feel confident that I shall have the whole House with me when I emphasise that by no means the least important aspect of this achievement, culminating as it did in the withdrawal of the British Legation, was the practical demonstration to the world of the policy of scrupulous non-intervention in Afghanistan which Government have set steadfastly before them from the outset, and have consistently maintained."

* * *

In the course of anti-slavery operations on the North-Eastern Border of Burma last cold weather 1,398 slaves were released in the Triangle and adjoining area. With the exception of a very few slaves who live in a remote area beyond the scope of these operations, the abolition of slavery in the Kachin Hills is believed to be complete. A pleasing feature of these operations is that over 25 per cent. of the emancipated slaves have, in this comparatively short space of time, taken good advantage of their newly bought freedom.

Expeditions are again visiting the affected areas to consolidate the work of the previous year's operations.

* * *

India's relations with Persia remained friendly throughout the year. The arrest on the charge of smuggling of an Arab "protected" dhow and crew at the Arab island of Tanb, to which Persia has from time to time made claims which the Arabs, and His Majesty's Government on their behalf, have consistently repudiated, caused feeling to run high among the Arabs of the Trucial coast, who threatened reprisals on the numerous Persian residents in their territory. Diplomatic representations at Tehran, however, procured the release of the vessel and crew, and relieved the tension.

During the year under review Dost Mohammad, of Bampur, the most powerful chief of south-east Persia was subdued by the Persian Government. Though nominally the Governor of Persian Baluchistan, he had been practically independent for many years and refused to pay any taxes. In these operations the Government of India co-operated with the Persian Government by providing war material and giving railway facilities. They also took steps to restrain the tribesmen on their side of the frontier from assisting Dost Mohammad. Operations started in October, 1928, and were brought to a successful conclusion about the middle of November with the occupation of Bampur and the flight of Dost Mohammad.

* * *

The negotiations with the Persian Government regarding the aerial route to Karachi were successfully concluded during the year, and the through air service to Karachi has since been inaugurated.

On the 4th August 1928, the administration of the quarantine arrangements on the Persian littoral of the Persian Gulf was handed over to the Persian Government.

* * *

The outstanding event of the year, so far as the Princes of India are concerned, was provided by the deliberations of the Indian States Committee. After spending the cold weather of 1927-28 in India, during which they toured extensively in several of the States, the Committee continued their activities in England. A number of Ruling Princes attended their sessions, and expressed their views on questions of import engaging the attention both of the States and of His Majesty's Government.

The report of the Committee was laid before Parliament on April 16th, 1929.

* * *

Before turning to the second aspect into which Indian external affairs are divided, namely, the affairs of Indians overseas, we may profit by a review of the salient features of Indian emigration. Generally speaking this has been of two kinds. Unskilled labour has for very many years gone abroad either under the now obsolete system of indenture to Natal, the West Indies, Fiji, and Mauritius, or under some special system of recruitment such as was adopted for emigrants for Ceylon and Malaya. The second kind of emigration, which naturally followed the first when it had attained sufficient dimensions, is the emigration of skilled workmen and members of the professional classes. The whole emigration policy of the Indian Government was altered during 1922 by the Legislature and embodied in a new Emigration Act, which proclaimed assisted emigration of unskilled labour to be unlawful, except for such countries, and on such terms and conditions as may be specified by the Governor-General-in-Council. Any notification made by the Governor-General-in-Council under the Act must be laid in draft before, and approved by, both Chambers of the Indian Legislature. A Standing Emigration Committee composed of 12 members of the Legislature is appointed every year to advise the Government of India on all major emigration questions. Thus the Indian Legislature can now effectively control the organised emigration of unskilled labourers, whose conditions have markedly improved since the passing of the Act.

The number of Indians now settled abroad is approximately 2,400,000, of which no fewer than 2,300,000 are in the British Empire. It will be seen, therefore, that such problems as arise in connection with the settlement of Indians overseas are largely inter-Imperial problems, and of these the most thorny have arisen in certain parts of the Empire out of the question of the status of Indian settlers in the country of their adoption. In British Guiana, Trinidad, and Jamaica, Indian settlers have exactly the same status as any other British citizen. In Ceylon and Mauritius also, under their present constitutions, there is no discrimination against Indians on the ground of race. So far as Crown Colonies and Mandated Territories are concerned, the place where the interests of Indian emigrants and those of other settlers have come most into

conflict in recent years is Kenya, but perhaps the most delicate and difficult of all the negotiations which the Government of India have lately had to undertake on behalf of their nationals overseas have been those with the Government of South Africa.

It would be idle to deny that there are some parts of the British Empire where the treatment of Indians is not consistent with the position of India in the Empire or with their own status as British subjects. Naturally enough this is peculiarly irritating to proud and sensitive people like the Indians, and its re-actions on the internal politics of India have been serious in the past. The self-governing Dominions, of course, are themselves responsible for the way in which Indians within their confines are treated, but the people of India can hardly be expected to appreciate this fact dispassionately, and their irritation at the grievances of their fellow-countrymen in the Empire is apt to be expressed against Great Britain and the Indian Government. More particularly is this so when grievances arise among Indian settlers in the Crown Colonies, whose governments occupy a different position from those of the Dominions *vis à vis* His Majesty's Government. The importance to the whole Empire of the problems which have arisen in connection with Indian emigration has received recognition in successive Imperial Conferences from 1921 onwards, and a rapid survey of the recent history of Indian emigration affairs as far as they concern other parts of the Empire will help towards an appreciation of their present state.

The denial of their right to franchise, and the conditions under which they are allowed to immigrate, and obtain and retain domicile, and, in certain parts of Africa, their right to hold land, to enjoy trading facilities, and to escape from compulsory segregation, have been some of the principal grievances of Indian settlers in other parts of the Empire. As far as the Self-Governing Dominions are concerned, the Reciprocity Resolution passed at the Imperial War Conference of 1918 affirmed the right of each community of the British Commonwealth to control by immigration restrictions the composition of its own population, and this position has been accepted by reasonable Indian opinion, although it is not prepared to accept the policy of exclusion from those territories which have not yet attained Dominion status. Apart from the grievances referred to above, Indian opinion has of late protested against certain specific disabilities such as inadequate representation upon Legislative bodies, exclusion from the Municipal franchise

based upon a common electoral roll, and the non-payment to Indians of a minimum wage proportionate to the cost of living, to all of which Indian settlers have for long been subjected in some part or other of the British Commonwealth. The delegates to the Imperial Conference of 1921 agreed, South Africa dissenting, to a resolution, which admitted in principle the claim of Indians settled in other parts of the Empire to equality of citizenship, and the important suggestion that India should negotiate direct with South Africa in regard to the existing position, was also registered. Subsequent to the Conference, the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., visited Canada, New Zealand, and Australia in order to consult with those Governments as to the method of putting the resolution into effect, and he achieved much success in directing the attention of those Governments to the disabilities to which Indians resident in those Dominions were subject.

* * *

We have seen that in most of the Crown Colonies the position of Indian settlers is satisfactory. In the Fiji Islands certain grievances of the Indian settlers formed the subject of negotiations between the Government of India and Fiji, as a result of which the position of Indians in Fiji has been appreciably improved since 1924, notably by an increase of their representation in the Fiji Legislative Council and by the appointment of a special officer possessing Indian experience and language qualifications to act as Advisor to the Governor on matters affecting Indians in the colony. He is now given a seat in the Fiji Legislative Council.

* * *

In Kenya, relations between the European and Indian settlers have, on the whole, improved since 1923, when His Majesty's Government announced their general policy towards this colony. The question of franchise and the prohibition of Indian settlement in the Kenya Highlands, around which the bitterest part of the fight rages, remained untouched after the announcement, but the Ordinance restricting immigration was held in abeyance, though the right was reserved of enacting it if native African interests came to be threatened by the influx of immigrants. The policy thus enunciated was far from satisfying Indian opinion, either in East Africa or in India, but it did something to ease the situation, which was still further improved when the Indian community relinquished their attitude of non-co-operation and selected five members for the Legislative Council.

The question of the position of Indians in Kenya was again brought prominently to the fore in 1927 by the issue of another White Paper in July which announced that His Majesty's Government had authorised the Secretary of State for the Colonies to send to Africa a special commission to investigate the possibility of securing more effective co-operation between the Governments of Eastern and Central African Dependencies, and to make recommendations on this and cognate matters. This announcement excited serious apprehensions in India in regard to the future position of Indians in the colonies named in the paper. At the beginning of the Autumn Session of the Indian Legislature, the adjournment of the Legislative Assembly was proposed in order to discuss the situation which had arisen. A deputation drawn mainly from both houses of the Indian Legislature also waited on His Excellency the Viceroy on the 17th September, 1927, and represented the position of Indians in East Africa. One of the suggestions made by the deputation was that permission might be given for a small deputation appointed by the Government of India to go to East Africa in order—

(*a*) to make a general survey of these territories in relation to Indian interests therein, and

(*b*) to help the resident Indian community in preparing their evidence for the Commission.

The Government of India readily accepted this suggestion and, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, sent Kunwar Maharaj Singh, C.I.E., and Mr. R. B. Ewbank, C.I.E., I.C.S., to East Africa. These officers visited Kenya, Uganda, Zanzibar, and Tanganyika, and their services are understood to have been greatly appreciated by the resident Indian communities.

The personnel of the Commission was announced by the Secretary of State for the Colonies on November 14th, 1927, and was as follows:—

The Right Hon'ble Sir Edward Hilton Young, P.C., G.B.E., D.S.O., D.S.C., M.P. (Chairman).

Sir Reginald Mant, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Sir George Schuster, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., M.C.,
G. H. Oldham, Esquire.
} Members.

H. F. Downie, Esquire (Secretary).

The Commission left England on December 22nd, 1927, and travelled *viâ* the Nile to Uganda, and thence to Kenya, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Nyasaland, and Northern Rhodesia, visiting the chief centres and hearing the views of representatives of different sections of the community. The Commission also visited Salisbury for the purpose of conferring with the Government of Southern Rhodesia. They returned to London on May 7th, 1928, and their report was published on the 17th January, 1929. The report contains fifteen chapters and is signed by the whole Commission, the Chairman, however, signing "subject to additional recommendations," which are set out. There are also two reports on the Central African territories, one signed by the Chairman, and the other by the majority of the Commission. A summary of recommendations made by the Commission is reproduced in Appendix III to this review. The report is under the consideration of the Government of India at present, and they are fully alive to the importance to Indian interests of the decisions which His Majesty's Government may eventually decide to take in this connection. In his address to the Legislative Assembly on the 28th January, 1929, His Excellency the Viceroy announced that His Majesty's Government had agreed that before any decision was taken they would give the fullest consideration to the views of the Government of India on all matters affecting India.

* * *

Another matter which engaged the attention of the Government of India and the public in India during the year 1927 was the report of the Local Government Commission appointed by the Government of Kenya in July, 1926, to make recommendation as to the establishment or extension of Local Government in Nairobi and Mombasa and their environs, and such settled areas as the Commissioners may consider to be suitable for the establishment of Local Government.

In particular this Commission was asked to advise upon the constitution, duties and powers of the local governing bodies which should be deemed suitable for the different areas concerned, the desirability or otherwise of establishing a co-ordinating authority at the headquarters of the Government, the relations of such authority, if created, with the local governing bodies, and the basis of the contribution to be paid from the Central Government's funds towards the expenses of the local governing bodies. The

report of the Commission was submitted to the Government of Kenya in February, 1927. A number of recommendations relating to Indians were made, including proposals involving a decrease in the proportion of Indian representation on the local bodies at Nairobi and Mombasa, and the creation of European elected majorities in these places. This caused much resentment among Indians in the Colony, and resulted in the abstention from the Legislative Council of four out of its five Indian members. The Government of India submitted representations to His Majesty's Secretary of State for India on this subject. On the question of unofficial representation on the Councils of Nairobi and Mombasa, a Committee consisting of European and Indian political leaders was appointed by the Governor of Kenya to discuss such clauses of the Local Government Bill as involved a difference of opinion between the European and Indian communities and to endeavour to arrive at an agreement. The amendments proposed as a result of the Conference which was held were all incorporated in the Ordinance enacted in October, 1928, but the Indian community in Kenya has decided for the present not to take advantage of the increased representation offered to it on these two municipal bodies until the question of introducing a common electoral roll has been settled.

* * *

We said above that some of the most difficult problems which have faced the Government of India in connection with their nationals overseas during recent years have arisen in South Africa. For some years after 1919 the position of Indians in the Union gradually worsened owing to a series of Legislative enactments dealing with Asiatics in the Union. In 1919, a Commission appointed by the Union Government recommended the retention of a law prohibiting the ownership of land by Asiatics in the Transvaal and the withdrawal of the right of acquiring and owning land in the Uplands of Natal. In 1923 the Class Areas Bill was introduced permitting the compulsory segregation of Asiatics in urban areas, but this lapsed in consequence of the unexpected dissolution of Parliament. In 1924 the Governor-General assented to the Natal Boroughs Ordinance, which prevented the further enrolment of Indians as burgesses. In 1925 the Mines and Works Act was proposed to be amended authorising the refusal of certificates of proficiency to Asiatics in certain occupations. The position of Indians in South Africa was thus being gradually worsened, which provoked anger and resentment in India. The Government of

India accordingly made representations to the Union Government and also sent a deputation under the late Sir George Paddison to South Africa. A better understanding between the two governments resulted from the work of the Paddison deputation, and on its return to India in May, 1926, the Government of India agreed with the Union Government that a conference on Indian questions should be held in South Africa in December, 1926. They, however, invited a deputation from the Union to visit India prior to this conference and study Indian conditions at first hand. The invitation was accepted, and a South African deputation paid a highly successful visit to India during September and October, 1926. Thereafter, an Indian delegation, selected so as to command public confidence in India and carry weight in South Africa, was warmly welcomed in the Union. The Conference was held in December, 1926—till January, 1927, and resulted in the attainment of a provisional agreement, which was later ratified by the two Governments. Under this agreement both parties reaffirmed the rights of the Union Government to provide for the maintenance of Western standards of life within its boundaries, and the Union Government recognised that Indians domiciled in South Africa and wishing to conform to Western standards of living should be enabled to do so. Those Indians who wished to leave South Africa were to be assisted by the Union to emigrate to India or elsewhere, but those who desired to return to the Union within three years were to be allowed to do so on a refund of the amount of the assistance received by them. Union domicile was to be lost after three years' continuous absence. The Government of India on their part recognised their obligations to look after such emigrants on their arrival in India. Wives and minor children of Indians permanently domiciled in the Union were to be admitted under the conditions agreed upon at the Imperial Conference of 1928. These conditions were (*a*) that not more than one wife and her children should be admitted for each such Indian, and (*b*) that each individual so admitted should be certified by the Government of India as being the lawful wife or child of such Indian. The Union Government further agreed not to proceed with the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill. The Government of India were asked to appoint an Agent to secure continuous and effective co-operation between the two Governments. This agreement was well received in both India and South Africa, though a certain section of European opinion in the latter viewed the agreement

with suspicion, and some even with unconcealed hostility. On the whole, we are justified in regarding it as a valuable contribution towards the solution of a highly complicated problem.

The friendly relations which were happily established between the Government of India and the Union Government of South Africa not only continued during the year under review, but grew in warmth and sincerity. Undoubtedly, one of the main contributory factors to this satisfactory state of affairs is the readiness displayed by both Governments to furnish proofs of their determination faithfully to fulfil their obligations under it. The Government of India lost no time in devising and setting in motion the machinery required in India to provide for the reception of those Indians who should decide to return to their homes under the scheme of assisted emigration, to protect their savings and bonuses, and to settle them in suitable occupations in this country. As a further proof of their earnestness to give effect to the terms of the agreement, the Government of India decided to send out as their first Agent in South Africa under its provision, the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., a member of the Government of India's Delegation to the Cape Town Conference of December, 1926. His appointment was received with universal approval both in India and South Africa, and the Union Government, as a mark of their satisfaction at Mr. Sastri's appointment, extended an amnesty to all Indians illegally present in the Union.

On their part, the Union Government lost no time in introducing legislation to give effect to their undertakings under the agreement, and when Mr. Sastri arrived in South Africa in June, 1927, all that remained to be done was to take action under Part III of the agreement, that is, the part relating to the measures required for the general uplift of the Indian community in the Union. Most of the provisions of this part of the agreement concern the province of Natal, where the bulk of the Indian population in the Union is located, and the Union Government were not slow in moving the provincial administration to appoint a Commission, to enquire into the condition of Indian education in that Province, and to devise means necessary for its improvement. Co-operation with this Commission on the part of the Government of India was provided by the deputation from India of two educational experts—Mr. K. P. Kichlu, I.E.S., Deputy Director of Education in the United Provinces, and Miss C. Gordon, of the Madras Educational Service, to advise and assist the Commission in its investigations and deli-

berations. The help given by these experts has been much appreciated by the Commission, whose report has been published and whose views regarding the inadequacy of existing facilities for Indian education and the necessity for their expansion mark an important advance in the desired direction.

A notable feature of the present situation is the marked spirit of friendliness and good-will which now animates the Union Government in dealing with all problems affecting the domiciled Indian community. An example of this occurred in the year 1927, when a measure was introduced in the Union Parliament known as the Liquor Bill, of which one clause purported to prohibit the employment of Indians on any licensed premises—hotels, clubs, breweries, etc. The appearance of this clause, which threatened the livelihood of no less than 3,000 Indians engaged in such occupations, caused consternation, and it was no small relief both to these persons and their fellow countrymen in South Africa when it was announced by the Minister in charge of the Bill that it had been decided to drop the clause in question.

Much of the credit for the salutary measures referred to and the spirit of friendliness which they denote is due to the Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri, the Agent to the Government of India in South Africa, whose consummate tact and transparent honesty of purpose earned for him the confidence of the European community, official and non-official alike, and an increasing measure of their sympathy and assistance in furtherance of the Indian cause. He not only brought about an improvement in the feelings existing between Europeans and Indians in the Union, but succeeded in rallying responsible Indian opinion in favour of working the agreement, a development the importance of which cannot be exaggerated. To illustrate his personal influence with the members of the Indian community it is only necessary to point to the most gratifying response which was made by them to his appeal for £20,000 for the purpose of opening a combined Teachers' Training and High School in Durban, an institution which will meet an urgent need and considerably ease the problem of Indian education in the province. The institution will, when it is erected and equipped, be handed over to the Government of Natal for management. The land for it has been provided by the Borough Council. Mr. Sastri deserves great praise for these results, which indicate a substantial advance towards the improvement of the condition of Indians in the Union of South Africa. Mr. Sastri handed over

charge of the office of Agent to Sir Kurma Venkata Reddi on the 28th January, 1929, and sailed the same day for India.

* * *

The affairs of British Guiana during the year hold some interest for us. In October, 1926, the Secretary of State for the Colonies appointed a Commission composed of Messrs. Roy Wilson and Snell, Members of Parliament to visit British Guiana and " to consider and report on the economic condition of the Colony," the causes which have hitherto retarded its development and the measures which might be taken to promote development. The Commission, among other matters, examined the effect of the present constitution of the Colony on its financial and economic condition, and came to the conclusion that the existing divorce of responsibility from power resulted, among other things, in bad trade and unsound finance. They, therefore, recommended that a strong local Commission should be appointed by the Governor to suggest ways and means for the revision of the constitution of the Colony of a kind which would ensure that the authorities finally responsible for the government of the Colony should have power, in the last resort, to carry into effect measures which they considered essential for its well-being.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies accepted this recommendation, and a local Commission was accordingly appointed in July, 1927, " to advise upon the steps which should be taken to confer power upon the Governor to carry into effect measures which he and the Secretary of State consider essential for the well-being of the Colony, whether by an alteration in the relative powers and in the composition of the Court of Policy and the Combined Court, or by the substitution of a new Legislative Council in which the Crown would possess powers of effective control over financial as well as other matters; and generally upon any other improvements, such as those suggested by the British Guiana Commission, which might be effected in the constitution." This Commission presented their report in September, 1927, in which they recommend certain substantial changes in the existing constitution of the Colony. In March, 1928, a Bill was introduced in the House of Commons empowering His Majesty's Government to alter the constitution of British Guiana by Order in Council. The Government of India consulted the Standing Emigration Committee of the Indian Legislature in this connection. They obtained full particulars as to the changes proposed in the constitution and examined them with great

care. They satisfied themselves that these changes did not involve any differentiation against Indians, and did not in any way infringe the provision of the special declaratory Ordinance which was passed by the Colonial Government in 1923, and which confers equality of status on all persons of East Indian race resident in the Colony.

* * *

As stated in last year's report legislation to give effect to the agreement which had been reached between the Government of Ceylon and the Government of India on the subject of a standard minimum wage for Indian estate labourers was passed by the Ceylon Legislative Council towards the end of 1927 as the Indian Labour Ordinance No. 27 of 1927. The various provisions of the Ordinance are in full operation now, and are expected greatly to improve the condition of the labourers.

* * *

In regard to Malaya, the Colony has, for the purpose of the standard wage enquiry, been divided into two classes or areas, *viz.*, (1) " fairly healthy and easily accessible " and (2) " somewhat unhealthy, and not easily accessible areas ", and the following standard rates of wages have been fixed and brought into force in the province of Wellesley (Straits Settlements) and the inland districts of Pahang (Federated Malay States), which were selected as the key areas to represent each of the two classes of areas referred to above.

	Adult Male Labourer. (Malayan dollar cents.)	Adult Female Labourer. (Malayan dollar cents.)	Working Child. (Malayan dollar cents.)
Category I.—Fairly healthy and easily accessible areas.			
(*a*) Province Wellesley (Straits Settlements).	50 a day.	40 a day.	..
(*b*) Districts of Klang, Knala Langat and Knala Selangur in the State of Selangur, Federated Malay States.	50 a day.	40 a day.	20 a day.
Category II.—Somewhat unhealthy and not easily accessible areas.			
Inland districts of Pahang (Federated Malay States).	58 a day.	46 a day.	..

The rates in question have been accepted by the Government of India as fair and reasonable, and their extension to the corresponding areas in the rest of Malay is now under consideration.

* * *

We may now conveniently turn to a review of Indian Military and Marine affairs during the year 1928-29. All who take more than a passing interest in Indian affairs are familiar with Indian aspirations in the matter of the military policy of the Government of India, and therefore it is unnecessary to go over ground which has been extensively covered in previous reports. Indian aspirations with regard to military policy are centred around two definite demands. The first is for the increased Indianisation of the commissioned ranks of the regular army, and the second is for the extension of the facilities which now exist for training Indians in the use of arms in the Territorial Force. Taking the latter demand first, the Indian Territorial Force now consists of:—

	Establishment.
18 Provincial Battalions	13,284
4 Urban Units	1,776
11 University Training Corps Units . . .	5,050
Indian Territorial Force Medical Branch . .	94

The Urban units and 3 new University Training Corps units were raised and one University Training Corps unit was expanded as a result of the recommendations of the Auxiliary and Territorial Force Committee.

Provincial battalions are each provided with 5 British officers of the regular Indian Army, and carry out all their training in camp, being embodied for this purpose annually. Urban and University Training Corps units are provided with one regular officer each (holding the appointment of Administrative Commandant or Adjutant), and carry out their training by periodical parades with a short annual camp.

The Provincial battalions are apportioned to Provinces as follows:—

Punjab and North-West Frontier Province . . .	5
United Provinces	4
Madras	4
Bengal (Bihar and Orissa)	1
Bombay	1
Delhi	1
Burma	1
Ajmer-Merwara	1

The headquarters of Urban and University Training Corps Units are:—

Urban.—Bombay (2 Units), Madras, Allahabad.

University Training Corps.—Bombay, Calcutta, Allahabad, Lahore, Madras, Rangoon, Patna, Delhi, Nagpur, Karachi and Dacca.

The Provincial Battalions are intended to form a second line to the regular Indian Army, and their liability for military service is, therefore, a general one, (*i.e.*, they may be employed anywhere within the limits of India, and in an emergency beyond those limits by a special order of the Governor-General in Council). The liability of Urban units is confined to the Province in which they are located, while the University Training Corps units are purely educational, and have no liability for military service. Urban units were formed for the first time during the year under review. Recruitment in the case of University units has been satisfactory, but the response in the case of Urban units has, so far, been extremely poor, the enrolments being under ten per cent. of the establishments.

The recommendations of the Auxiliary and Territorial Force Committee, in respect to the introduction of a revised form of commission for officers of the Indian Territorial Force in lieu of the dual form of commission previously granted, have been given effect to. The Committee recommended that, as units of the Indian Territorial Force would, under the new organization, be administered on exactly the same lines as regular Indian Army units, platoon commanders should receive commissions granted by His Excellency the Viceroy in the ranks of Jemadar, Subadar, etc., but not honorary King's Commissions in addition. It was further recommended that officers of the higher grades in the Indian Territorial Force should hold commissions as 2nd-Lieutenants, Lieutenants, Captains, etc., these commissions to be granted by His Excellency the Governor-General in the name of His Majesty the King. Officers of the Indian Territorial Force have, with effect from the 1st September, 1928, been classified in the following two grades:—

(*a*) Senior grade officers, holding commissions with British designations of ranks; and

(*b*) Junior grade officers, holding Viceroy's commissions with Indian designations of rank.

Actually no higher grade commissions were granted in the period under review, but these are now being granted.

* * *

Since the publication of our last report important developments have taken place in carrying out the policy of the Indianisation of the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army. Twenty vacancies are now offered annually for Sandhurst, and a maximum of six each for Woolwich and Cranwell. Indian cadets, on being commissioned from Woolwich, will be posted to a selected company of Indian Sappers and Miners, a battery of Mountain Artillery or an Indian Signal Unit, and those from Cranwell to a unit of the Indian Air Force, which will be created at the time when the first Cranwell Indian cadets graduate. Up to five additional vacancies at Sandhurst are open to young Viceroy's Commissioned Indian Officers specially selected by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. These correspond to young non-commissioned officers of the British Army who are selected for training at Sandhurst in order that they may qualify for the grant of commissioned rank.

* * *

The examination for admission of Indian and Anglo-Indian gentlemen to the Cadet Colleges in England is now held twice annually in Delhi, in June and November, on the same dates as the corresponding examination in England. The examination papers are set and corrected by the Civil Service Commissioners in London. The Indian boys taking the examination compete among themselves for the vacancies reserved for Indians, and certain special papers suited to Indian conditions are included in the examination. The first examination under these new conditions was held in Delhi in November, 1928. The results were not altogether satisfactory. Fifty-seven candidates took the examination, but only five qualified for Sandhurst and one for Cranwell, while none qualified for Woolwich. The candidate who qualified for Cranwell also qualified for Sandhurst, which he had given as his first choice. In addition, two Indian boys qualified for Sandhurst by taking the examination in London. At the June examination this year, thirteen vacancies were to be offered for Sandhurst and six each for Woolwich and Cranwell. The examination is open to all suitable candidates in India and is not restricted to boys from the Prince of Wales Royal Indian Military College, Dehra Dun. This college, by the way,

is flourishing and will reach its maximum number of 120 cadets by the year 1932.

It is anticipated that the number of Indians competing for the vacancies in Cadet Colleges in England will steadily increase, and it is hoped that both the type and the standard of education of those who present themselves for examination will, as time goes on, reach the level required to fill all the vacancies reserved for Indians.

In accordance with the recommendation of the Indian Sandhurst Committee wide publicity is being given to the possibilities of a military career afforded by these openings. The various Universities and educational bodies addressed on the subject have undertaken to form Information Bureaux for the purpose of disseminating the information which will be supplied to them from time to time by the Government of India.

* * *

During 1928-29 troops were required to stand to in aid of the civil power on 28 occasions, chiefly as a precautionary measure on days of religious festivals, when inter-communal disturbances were expected. The only serious disturbances of the year happened in Bombay in February, 1929, when extensive rioting took place. Military picquets were compelled to open fire on more than one occasion, but the degree of force found necessary was small and few casualties resulted. A reference to these disturbances has already been made in the section dealing with strikes and riots in India. The Light Motor Patrol provided by the Auxiliary Force (India) was of considerable value during these disturbances.

* * *

An important decision which will be specially welcomed by that section of Indian politicians who are constantly complaining of the high military expenditure in India was made by the military authorities during the year. For a period of four years, beginning with the year 1928-29 and ending with the year 1931-32, the military budget will be stabilised each year at a figure of 55 crores, to which will be added the amount required to give effect to measures arising out of the recommendations of the Shea Committee on the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces. Any savings which may accrue within the total of 55 crores will be carried to a suspense account which may be drawn upon for expenditure in later years. This

arrangement has been adopted in order to enable the military authorities firstly to carry out a programme of mechanisation and modernisation of equipment necessitated by recent developments in military organisations, and secondly to repair certain deficiencies in equipment which are mainly due to the policy of retrenchment.

The progress made in the re-organization and mechanization of the Army in India, including the financial aspect, was explained fully in a statement made by the Army Secretary in the Legislative Assembly on the 5th September, 1928, which is re-printed in this book as Appendix No. IV.

* * *

On the 15th February, 1929, an important resolution moved by Dr. Moonje (Swarajist), was passed at the Delhi Session of the Legislative Assembly upon which there was a great deal of discussion. The resolution, as amended and finally passed, read as follows:—

> "This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council, that with a view to remove the defects in the character training of Indian youths, as emphasised by the Skeen Committee, steps should be taken as early as possible to provide compulsory physical training, games, and drill, for Indian boys attending schools and colleges between the ages of 12 and 20, and to provide and encourage the use of miniature rifle ranges."

Amongst those who participated in the debate was Mr. G. M. Young, the Army Secretary, who defined the attitude of the Army towards the resolution in a statement from which the following extract is taken:—

"The attitude of the Government of India on the military side may be illustrated by quoting the recommendations on this subject by the Shea Committee, which the Government of India accepted."

"The University Training Corps and the Indian Territorial Force should be regarded as existing primarily for the purpose of spreading military training and the inspiration of military service among the manhood of India, in order to lay the foundations upon which a national army can be built up. Such a national army could only be created by gradual stages, and by a steady process of education extending over many years. This education should com-

mence wherever possible in schools; it should be continued in the Universities and colleges by means of the University Training Corps, and should be concluded in the units of the Indian Territorial Force. The growth of a national military spirit should not be forced by the application of any measure of compulsion."

" That is the attitude of the Government on the subject. With the aims and objects underlying this resolution we are entirely in accord. Where we differ is as regards the practicability of what is being proposed, and its utility as compared with the measures which are now in force.

As regards physical training, there is nothing to be said from the point of view of the Army Department. Then we come to military training. It is possible that if a measure of this kind were introduced there might be a wave of enthusiasm at the start which would carry a certain way. But sooner or later I think you would find a spirit of grave discontent fostered among students, and the measure of compulsion would either gradually peter out, or else it would culminate in something in the form of a strike—a strike, I may note, of students armed with rifles, bayonets and ammunition! My Hon'ble friend, Mr. Aney, wanted to limit the experiment when he found that the Government of India were not constitutionally capable of enforcing this measure in the provinces. He said " Let them start in their own territories." Well, Sir, if we carried out that plan and introduced compulsion in the University of Delhi, the only result would be that we would deplete that university, and neighbouring universities would profit by the measure."

Dealing with the question of expense Mr. G. M. Young said, " Who is going to provide the money? It is a question of supplying rifles in enormous numbers, uniforms, presumably, and all the equipage of camps. This expenditure, which the Army cannot possibly afford, could be spent far more usefully on what we regard as essentially the main purposes of defence. We could certainly not afford these amounts on what Honourable Members opposite themselves admit to be merely an experiment. There is also the question of custody, on which the Shea Committee laid great stress. If we are to have rifles disseminated in anything like the quantities postulated by this resolution, we should have to spend almost twice as much again as the value of the rifles in guarding them. We are entirely in sympathy with the objects underlying this

resolution. I do not think Honourable Members fully realise what has actually been done by the Government of India, both before and after the recommendations of the Shea Committee. The Shea Committee recommended that there should be no arbitrary limit fixed for the University Training Corps. Subject only, they said, to financial considerations, they should be allowed to expand up to their natural limits. In other words this means that we should provide facilities for any students who wish to undertake military training: not merely military drill, but military training. We have recently, as a result of the recommendations of the Shea Committee, started University Training Corps in three places where they did not exist before. We have expanded one company in one university, and we are engaged in expanding a company in another. We have added a new section, a Sapper and Miner Section, to the University Training Corps. Wherever we can see any signs of enthusiasm and desire to make use of these corps, we are prepared to consider favourably the provision of further facilities, subject only to financial considerations. Our object is gradually to build up an enthusiasm for national military service. The success of the movement varies in different universities. I should like to quote to the House an extract from a speech by Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency, when he was speaking as Finance Member in the Punjab Legislative Council last year. He said: 'The sanctioned strength of our Punjab University Training Corps unit is 637. I have gone into its present conditions with the officer commanding the corps. Enrolments at the beginning of the season are usually very satisfactory, but there is a tendency as the training season goes on for the numbers to dwindle down by about 400 more or less. For example, at the beginning of the present training year which has just passed, the officer commanding informs me that he recruited 280 men. These were sufficient to fill all the existing vacancies, but by March he had been obliged to strike 60 students from the rolls owing to their not attending the parades and drills. More had to be dropped out later. The results, therefore, fall somewhat short of what we desire. At this present moment although ten colleges, that is eight colleges of Lahore and two colleges in the muffassil, contribute numbers to the unit, the actual numbers of the unit are 469 against the sanctioned strength of 637.'

I submit, Sir, that the object of this movement would be altogether defeated by the introduction of the element of compulsion. The spirit is there, but it is not at present strong. It is weak.

We are trying to foster it; we are trying to coax it; we are trying to persuade students to undertake these national duties. If we are to apply now the element of compulsion I believe the thing would be ruined."

* * * *

It will be recalled that the Royal Indian Marine was re-organised on a combatant basis with effect from the 1st April, 1928, and a reference was made to this in our last report. The enrolment of personnel was carried out under the provisions of the Indian Marine Act, 1887, during the year under review, and they are now being trained in the duties of the new force. Rear-Admiral Walwyn, of the Royal Navy, was appointed to command the reconstituted force, with the designation of Flag Officer Commanding and Director of the Royal Indian Marine, and arrived in India in November, 1928.

The three existing sloops were equipped with the necessary guns and mountings, while the fourth sloop, to complete the initial strength of the force, is expected from England by about the middle of 1930. It was decided that the officers, midshipmen and warrant officers of the re-organised service should wear the same uniform as that worn by similar ranks of the Royal Navy with distinctive buttons of the Royal Indian Marine, which bear the Star of India as well as the crown and anchor. Another important decision taken regarding the Royal Indian Marine by His Majesty's Government was that the ships of the re-organised service should use in peace time the same flags as in war, *viz.*, the Blue Ensign with the badge of the Star of India at the bow and the White Ensign at the stern. The new flags were flown for the first time on Armistice Day, 11th November, 1928. This compliment to the service does not, however, signify that the title and status of the force, or the powers of command of its officers, have been raised to those of a Dominion Navy. Full effect to such a development can only be given by legislation in India.

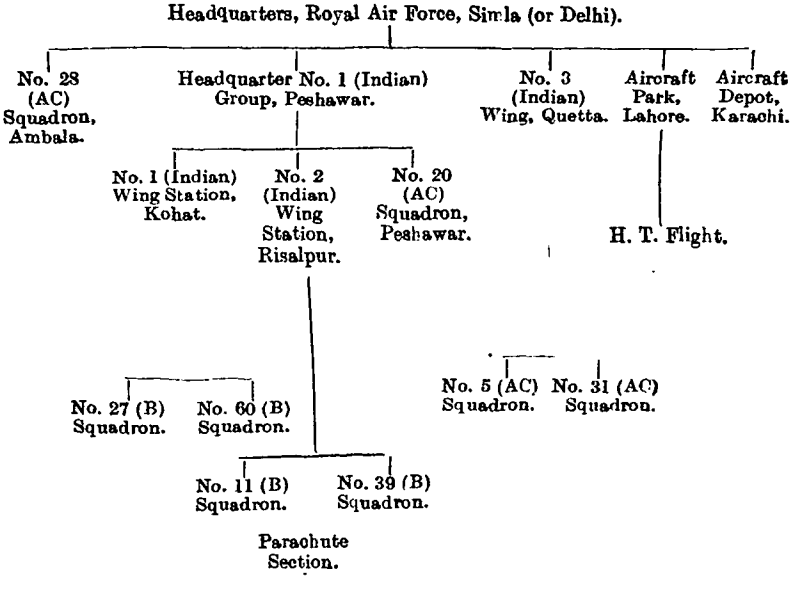
The first open competitive examination for the recruitment of Indians for the commissioned ranks of the new force takes place during 1929.

* * *

Important changes have taken place in the organisation of the Royal Air Force in India during the past year. On November 1st

Headquarters No. 1 (Indian) Group came into being at Peshawar and, simultaneously, No. 1 (Indian) Wing at Peshawar and No. 2 (Indian) Wing at Risalpur were disbanded and reformed as Nos. 1 and 2 (Indian) Wing Stations at Kohat and Risalpur respectively.

On January 19th two additional bombing squadrons, Nos. 11 and 39, arrived in India from England, as a permanent addition to the strength of the Royal Air Force in India. These squadrons are equipped with Westland Wapiti aeroplanes, and have been located at No. 2 (Indian) Wing Station, Risalpur. No. 27 (Bombing) Squadron left Risalpur and joined No. 60 (Bombing) Squadron at No. 1 (Indian) Wing Station, Kohat, No. 5 (Army Co-operation) Squadron was moved from Risalpur and attached to No. 31 (Army Co-operation) Squadron in No. 3 (Indian) Wing, Quetta. The new organisation of the Royal Air Force in India is now as follows:—


Headquarters, Royal Air Force, Simla (or Delhi).
No. 28 (AC) Squadron, Ambala.
Headquarter No. 1 (Indian) Group, Peshawar.
No. 3 (Indian) Wing, Quetta.
Aircraft Park, Lahore.
Aircraft Depot, Karachi.
No. 1 (Indian) Wing Station, Kohat.
No. 2 (Indian) Wing Station, Risalpur.
No. 20 (AC) Squadron, Peshawar.
H. T. Flight.
No. 27 (B) Squadron.
No. 60 (B) Squadron.
No. 5 (AC) Squadron.
No. 31 (AC) Squadron.
No. 11 (B) Squadron.
No. 39 (B) Squadron.
Parachute Section.

On October 14th, Sir Phillip Sassoon, Under Secretary of State for Air, accompanied by Air Commodore Longmore, Director of Equipment, Air Ministry, arrived at Karachi from Iraq in the "Iris" Flying Boat. The Under Secretary of State was met by the Air Officer Commanding, and an extensive tour was carried out by air embracing all Royal Air Force units in India. Two days

were spent in Simla, where Sir Phillip Sassoon and Air Commodore Longmore were the guests of His Excellency the Viceroy. After leaving Simla, the Frontier stations were all visited, and the party finally arrived back at Karachi on October 23rd, leaving for Basra in the " Iris " Flying Boat the following day.

* * *

It has only been necessary to undertake one minor bombing operation during the past year, namely against the Giga Khel and Nekzan Khel tribes. Bombing was carried out on November 15th and 16th, resulting in the complete submission of the tribes and acceptance of the terms imposed by the Government of India.

* * *

The most important feature of Royal Air Force operations during the past year, which may well rank as one of the most interesting achievements ever carried out by Air Forces, has been the evacuation of the British and other Nationals from Kabul during the Afghan rebellion. Operations commenced on December 18th, 1928, when normal communications between the British Legation and the outside world being cut, permission was obtained from the Afghan Government for a daily aeroplane to fly between Peshawar and Kabul. It was eventually decided to evacuate British, Indian and other Nationals from Kabul by air and, as only one Heavy Transport aeroplane, a Handley Page Hinaidi, was available in India, Vickers Victorias were flown over from Iraq to assist in carrying out this task.

On December 23rd, the first evacuation was successfully carried out, and 20 women and children of the British Legation were brought safely to Peshawar. On the following day 28 further women and children of different nationalities were similarly evacuated, and up to the middle of February, 1929, evacuations were carried out almost daily.

The operations were completed on February 25th, 1929, on which date 7 Vickers Victorias and 1 Handley Page Hinaidi evacuated 39 persons, including the British Minister in Kabul, Sir Francis Humphreys.

The grand total of men, women and children evacuated from Kabul to Peshawar during the period December 23rd to February 25th, was 586, a magnificent achievement which drew forth un-

stinted praise from Sir Samuel Hoare and others in the House of Commons a few weeks later.

The task undertaken and successfully carried out by the Royal Air Force is unique in the history of the world, and should do much to convince those who regard aircraft as purely destructive weapons that there are many and varied uses of a peaceful nature in which they can be utilised for the succour of human life and the salving of valuable property.

CHAPTER IX.

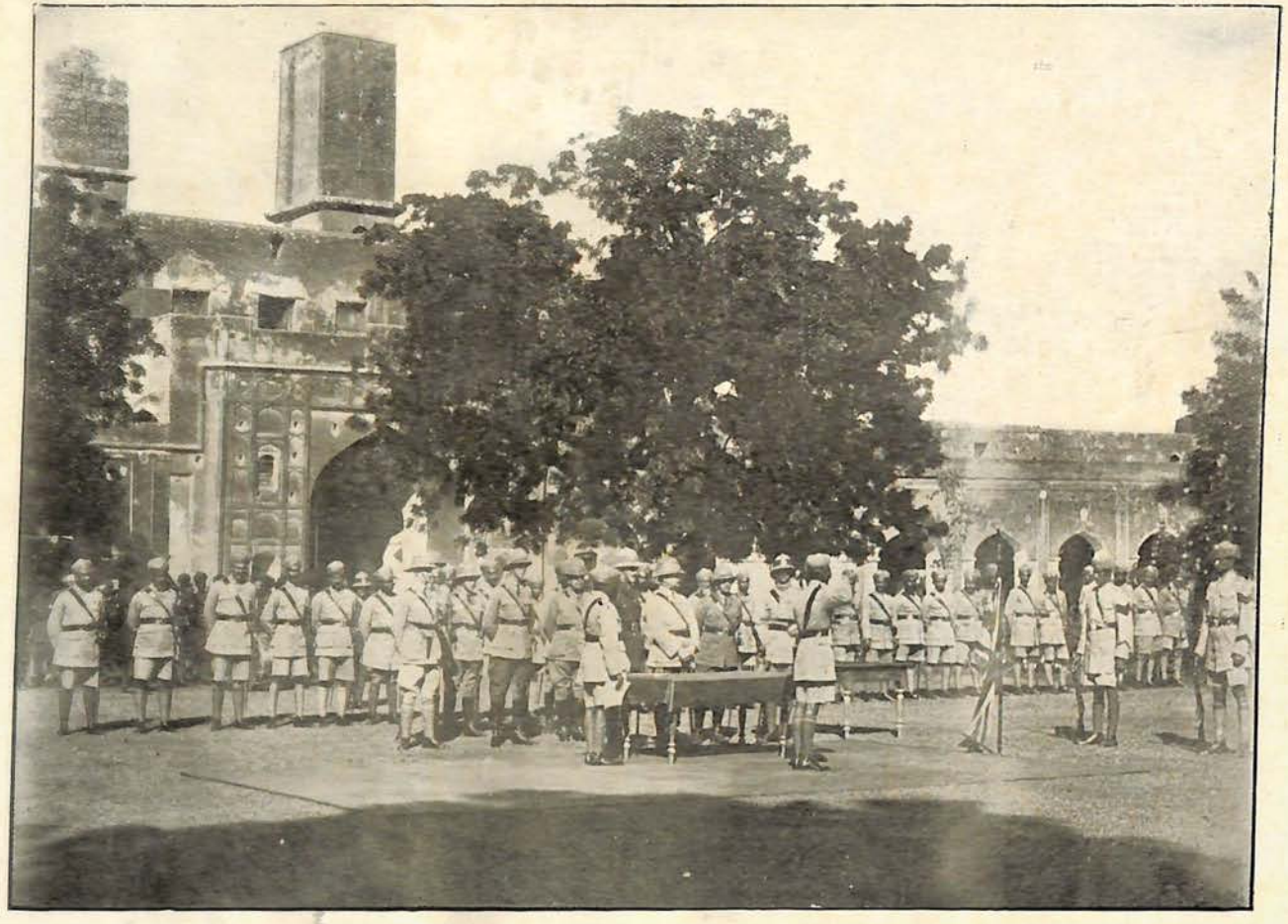
The Provinces.

(*i*) Law and Order.

The reader is by this time well aware of the fact that the present constitution of this country is based on the Government of India Act of 1919, a Statute of the British Parliament. The object of the Statute is to implement the historic declaration of August 20th, 1917, which announced the intention of His Majesty's Government to guide India in measured progress towards responsible self-government. The Act of 1919 was meant to take India along the first stage of this progress, and its provisions were formulated after enquiry into all the conditions of the problem, both in India and in England. Here we are concerned only with the division of functions under the Act of 1919—that is, the division between the Central and Provincial Governments, and, more particularly, with the arrangements according to which the provincial sphere is divided between the Governor acting with his Executive Council and the Governor acting with his Ministers.

By rules known as the Devolution Rules, made under the 1919 Act, the different subjects of administration were divided up between the Central and Provincial Governments. The division of work between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments follows certain broad and easily comprehensible lines. To the former belong Military and Foreign affairs, Tariffs and Customs, Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, Income-Tax, Currency and the Public Debt, Commerce and Shipping and legislation relating to Civil and Criminal Law—in short those subjects which must by their nature be administered by the Central Government. Practically all other important subjects of administration are within the sphere of the provinces.

The subjects of administration listed as Provincial subjects in the first schedule of the Devolution Rules underwent a further division into reserved and transferred. It is in this division that we find the principle now familiar to everybody under the name of dyarchy. Under the reformed constitution, therefore, the provincial executives now consist of two parts. The first part is



PASSING OUT CEREMONY AT THE POLICE TRAINING SCHOOL, PHILLAUR.

the Governor working with the Executive Councillors appointed by the Crown. The second is the Governor working with Ministers selected from Members of the Provincial Legislature. The first half of the Provincial Government administers the reserved subjects, and is responsible for them to the Government of India, and, ultimately, to Parliament through the Secretary of State. The second half of the Government deals with the transferred subjects and is responsible first to the Provincial Legislative Council and ultimately to the electorate. Among the most important of the subjects thus transferred to popular control are Local Self-Government, Medical Administration and Public Health, Education, all branches of Public Works except Irrigation, Agriculture, Fisheries, Forests in one or two provinces, Co-operative Societies, Excise, Registration, Industries, and various other items. Thus, a very large proportion of those subjects of administration on the development of which India's progress depends have now been made over directly to Indian control subject to the provisions of Section 52 (3) of the Act, which empowers the Governor of a province to dissent from the opinion of his Ministers if he sees sufficient cause to do so. Of the reserved subjects the most important are Police and Law and Order, Land Revenue, Irrigation and Forests in the majority of the provinces. The two latter topics have already been discussed in an earlier chapter so that here we need only confine ourselves to the work of the Police throughout India.

* * *

The existing system of Police in India has grown out of the system of constabulary police organised in Sind as far back as the forties of last century by Sir Charles Napier, who conquered the province in 1843. He drew his inspiration from the Irish Constabulary of those days, and his Sind Police may fairly be claimed to be the parent of the modern Indian Police.

All over India the Police are organised, disciplined and controlled according to the provisions of the Police Act of 1861, and by Police Rules made thereunder by Provincial Governments to suit the different conditions in the different provinces. In some provinces there are local Police Acts. The basis of organisation is provincial, and inside the province the administration unit is the district. At the head of the provincial force is an Inspector-General with a varying number of Deputy Inspectors-General

under him according to the size of the province, whilst the police force of a district is under a District Superintendent of Police who, in most provinces, is called simply Superintendent of Police. Every district is divided up into a number of police station jurisdictions each in charge of a "Station-house Officer," who is usually of the rank of Sub-Inspector. The police station, or *Thana*, is the basic working unit of the Indian police system. Every crime which happens must be reported in the first instance to the Station-house Officer within whose jurisdiction it has occurred, and on him devolves the duty of investigating the report, and, if possible, bringing the offender to justice. But the Station House Officer's duties are far from being limited by his work of reporting and investigating crime. In very many places in India he is the only representative of the Government for miles around, and almost everything that happens within his jurisdiction concerns him more or less closely.

* * *

Although the regular police system, as described above, is based on the model of the old Royal Irish Constabulary, and is thoroughly Western in conception and organisation, the police administration of the country contains certain indigenous elements of great antiquity and value. Over practically the whole of India the old pre-British village policeman still exists. The first duty of the village watchman is to report crime, but his functions, like those of the *Thanadar*, are many and varied and extend to the arrest of offenders, general aid to the police, surveillance over bad characters and suspicious persons, and the general supply of local information, particularly when an investigation is being held into a crime in his own village.

* * *

Having now seen what a Reserved Department is, and having learnt something of the organisation of the Indian Police, we can glance rapidly at the conditions in which they function. For English readers the word "police" conjures up a vision of the typical Borough force with its members serving permanently within the comparatively narrow confines of the Borough. If his thoughts go a little further to the county constabulary, he will think of the village policeman stationed in his little country village with his beat of a few square miles of countryside. He must

beware of applying this vision to India, because there things are very different. In the three presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, and also in Rangoon, the police are organised as a separate force for the city and are under the command of a Commissioner of Police. But everywhere else in India, however big a city may be, the police stationed therein are part of the police force of the district in which the city is located, and any one of the policemen serving there might find himself at any time transferred to a rural station twenty or thirty miles away. Outside the bigger cities there are few towns which have a police force for duties solely within the town. At the best, the town will be the headquarters of a police station jurisdiction, and will contain a police station with a varying number of constables in it, but the town will merely be the centre of an *alaquah*, that is an area, greater or smaller according to circumstances, containing a number of villages and hamlets, all of which have to be patrolled and guarded as closely and carefully as circumstances permit. The whole of British India is divided among these police station jurisdictions, the average personnel of which—certainly of the rural stations—probably does not exceed a dozen or so men, including the Station House Officer, the station clerk, and a head constable who acts as assistant to or deputy for the Station House Officer in investigating cases. It is easy to see, therefore, that the regular police can hardly be ubiquitous, and the importance of the village watchman and the necessity for the co-operation of village headmen and of the public generally become easily apparent. Few, if any, rural police stations jurisdictions can be properly patrolled by only ten or a dozen men, and this is the chief reason why it is possible for gangs of armed robbers, or dacoits as they are called in India, to continue their depredations for weeks or months before they are hunted down and either destroyed or captured.

The custom of hoarding wealth, whether in hard cash or in the shape of gold and silver ornaments, which is so prevalent in this country, is a frequent inducement to crime. Moreover, it must be remembered that there are many potential criminal elements in this country. From time immemorial wandering and criminal tribes have moved to and fro over the plains of India, and there are still very many of these tribes unreclaimed and unreformed. There are many who take readily to violent crime, either for adventure, or from revenge, or because of adverse financial circumstances, or out of sheer desire to get easy money. Cattle stealing is rife in

many parts of India because the Indian countryman's real wealth is in his cattle and he is often ready to pay ransom for his animals to the cattle thief rather than invoke the aid of the police, who may or may not be successful in recovering his animals for him. In fact, in all parts of India there are many persons who make their living by acting as middlemen between the cattle thief and his victim, and in the North of India there is a regular name for the ransom paid for stolen cattle. It is called Bhunga, and there are even places where what might be called a Bhunga market exists.

* * *

Among the events in the Punjab during the year under review may be mentioned the Dassehra celebrations at Lahore on October 23rd, which were marred by a tragedy. A bomb exploded among the returning crowds, killing ten and wounding 30 persons. The person responsible for the outrage has not yet been detected.

There was a marked decline of dacoity cases in the Punjab during the year—from 176 to 156. A special force arranged by the Patiala, Nabha and Jind States and the D.I.G., Eastern Range, operated against a gang organised by Gurdiali, who had created a reign of terror over a large area in the Eastern Range. Several other criminal gangs were successfully accounted for by the Punjab Police during the year. The following case of exceptionally good work on the part of the police has been selected from a number in the Punjab Police Report for 1928:—

In November 1925 important recoveries of bombs and revolvers were made in the notoriously criminal Chaks 233, 234 and 235 G. B. in the Lower Chenab Colony. In connection with these recoveries one Bhan Singh and three others were convicted. On 25th July, 1928, this Bhan Singh, who had recently come out of jail, and one Kehr Singh, who had also been concerned in the cases of 1925, appeared in Chak 234 about sunset. Kehr Singh was armed with a single barrelled smooth-bore gun, and Bhan Singh with a sword. They went straight to the house of Natha Singh, lambardar, who had assisted the prosecution in the 1925 cases, and murdered him, his two sons and a cousin. They then extorted money from two persons in the village, took possession of two mares and made off. The villagers remained either apathetic or terrified. Kehr Singh and Bhan Singh are reported to be originally residents of Patiala State, and it is suspected that they obtained

their arms from there. Inspector Safdar Ali, who had been the principal agent in successfully working out the bomb and revolver cases, learnt that Kehr Singh and Bhan Singh were closely associated with two other Sikh ex-convicts in Chaks 474 and 471, Police Station Samundri. Following up this clue, he was proceeding by lorry to Chak 474 with a small force when he saw two Sikhs ahead endeavouring to conceal themselves. The Inspector had his motor lorry driven across country as far as it could go towards these men and then alighted. As he did so, and before the rest of the party in the lorry had time to alight, he saw a man, whom he recognised as Kehr Singh, aiming a gun at him from behind a bush. The Inspector advanced alone, taking what cover he could in a dry water channel. Kehr Singh fired, but the shot went high and the cartridge jammed. The Inspector fired his revolver twice at Kehr Singh's legs and brought him down and captured him. The other Sikh, who turned out to be Bhan Singh, escaped but was caught by others of the party, and a third man, Jodh Singh, the " Badmash " of Chak 471 already referred to, was also caught. Kehr Singh had with him his single barrelled gun and 75 S. C. cartridges, and also Rs. 400 in notes, which had been stolen from Chak No. 254.

* * *

It may not be generally known that all over India the Police have to be equipped with, and trained to the use of, fire arms. Except in the Punjab the Provincial Police Forces are divided into two categories—the armed police and the civil police. In the Punjab, however, no distinction is made between the two, and a percentage of rifles is kept in every district. All Punjab policeman have to be prepared to undertake duties which fall to the armed police in other provinces. The police in India are often faced with the possibility of having to conduct operations against well armed and desperate men to whom human life is of no account, and for the last few years extensive operations of a semi-military character have been in progress against desperados in several parts of India.

* * *

In Assam the year 1928 witnessed a decrease in crime with the exception of dacoities, the number of which was 2,683 during the year. Inter-provincial criminals are finding their way into this province in large numbers from Eastern Bengal, and consequently

the task of the police in preventing crime is growing more and more difficult. The most important work of the police during the year was the preventive measures adopted in Goalpara, a district bordering on Bengal, where great numbers of immigrants are settling. Criminals from the bordering Bengal district of Rangpur and Cooch Behar very frequently commit dacoities and other serious offences against property. The prevention of violence by labourers on tea gardens on five or six occasions was another piece of important work done by the Assam Police during the year. A story illustrative of the personal courage of a certain police officer may be quoted here: A dacoity was reported at Bijni, in the district of Goalpara, in which a considerable number of persons had been engaged and the victims treated with brutality, one having been stabbed with a spear, others with knives and some even burned with torches. The women in the house were ravished. Sub-Inspector Chandra Kumar Chakraburty, in the course of investigations, obtained from a village Chowkidar, who was himself identified as one of the dacoits, a list of seventeen members, all recent immigrants from Bengal, living in temporary huts in a neighbouring village. The Sub-Inspector, with a couple of constables and a few village chowkidars, at once raided the village at night, although the suspects were known to be armed and of a desperate character. He arrested twelve, the remaining five having already absconded. Although the dacoits offered no resistance, there was every reason to expect that they would do so.

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Both in the Bombay Presidency and Sind the figures of reported crime during the year 1928 have fallen, but not to a very great extent. In the case of the Presidency proper this decline is probably due to the increased unwillingness of the public to report crime in areas remote from a police station. The stoppage of recruitment in the unarmed branch, ordered by Government in 1927, was continued during the year with the effect that the work was handicapped by the existence of a very large number of vacancies. The Criminal Investigation Department did good work during the year, and in respect of criminal tribes and professional criminals generally material progress was made. The possibilities of the "Modus Operandi*" system have been exploited with

* Almost all professional criminals in India (especially thieves and burglars) have characteristic methods of committing crime. The *modus operandi* system is a system of deduction of the authorship of the crime from the peculiar methods employed in its commission.

particular reference to burglaries, but it is too early yet to assess the results obtained.

A remarkable case in which the police acquitted themselves well during the year was the capture of two dangerous outlaws named Nasab, son of Nek Bakhat, and Dilwash, son of Ibrahim, on the border of the Nawabshah District in Sind, who had been responsible for several outrages in the Western Indian States and had evaded arrest for a long time. On November 6th, 1928, information was received from the Kathiawar Agency Police that four Makrani outlaws armed with ·303 magazine rifles were making for Makran *viâ* Sind. Later, the outlaws entered the Thar and Parkar District in Sind, after having lost one of their number in an encounter with the Jodhpur Police. The outlaws were closely pursued through that district by police parties, at first under Inspectors Kismatrai and Ghulam Rasul Shah, and later under Mr. Tahilram, Deputy Superintendent of Police. The pursuit in the cultivated parts of the district was both difficult and hazardous. One Police tracker Sikiladho was shot in an ambush by the outlaws. In the exchange of shots that followed one outlaw was shot dead and the other two made good their escape at night-fall. In the course of the pursuit two private persons received slight injuries; and on another occasion Mounted Constable Mohamed Khan received serious injuries. The outlaws kept closely under cover and eventually succeeded in reaching the Nawabshah border. Rao Sahib Tejumal Narayandas, Deputy Superintendent of Police in Nawabshah District, had received intimation on November 21st, 1928, of the march of the outlaws through the Nawabshah district, and with an armed party of ten policemen kept a close lookout for them. He made detailed arrangements to intercept the dacoits in every direction, with the assistance of Inspector Inayat Ali Khan and the Sub-Inspector of Tando Adam. Meanwhile the police party of the Thar and Parkar District, under Mr. Tahilram, joined the Nawabshah District Police, and the tracks of the dacoits were followed up to a ruined tomb in the town of Dalorai-ji-Nagri. Inspector Ghulam Rasul Shah went up to the tomb and called on the outlaws to surrender, but their reply was a shot which narrowly missed the Inspector and inflicted a superficial injury on a zamindar named Abdullah Pali. The only entrance to the tomb was a small narrow door hardly large enough to permit entry to a man. The dacoits could not, therefore, be attacked directly without the certainty of many casualties. Consequently arrangements were

made to surround the tomb on all sides throughout the night, and the next morning, as the outlaws refused to budge and were apparently attempting to construct loop-holes, the police made holes in the roof of the tomb, and through these poured in quantities of kerosene oil. The outlaws were then informed that unless they surrendered, fire would be set to the tomb. Under the influence of this threat they eventually gave themselves up. Two rifles, 36 loaded cartridges, 51 bullets, percussion caps, gun powder, blank cartridges and 19 tolas of gold were secured from them. More than 20 serious cases of murder and other serious offences are pending against these men.

* * *

There was a marked decrease in the volume of grave crime under all heads in the Madras Presidency during the year 1928. The only disorder worth mentioning was the riot in Madras City on February 3rd, the day on which the Simon Commission landed at Bombay, and that which occurred in July and August during the South Indian Railway strike, when the railway lines were tampered with in several places. Apart from this strike, labour was quiet during the year, and nothing of outstanding importance occurred. One of several instances of gallantry on the part of the police during the year may here be quoted. Head Constable No. 602 and three men of Batlagundu Station, Madura District, while on duty, learnt that persons wanted on warrant were hiding in the Manalur hills and that they were in possession of firearms. The head constable took with him four Kaller volunteers, and after marching all night surprised the gang in a remote and inaccessible spot in the hills. In the encounter that followed, two constables were wounded and one musket was lost, while one accused was shot dead. On this occasion the head constable displayed exceptional gallantry.

* * *

The Central Provinces reports an uneventful year with a marked decrease in all classes of crime. Though relations between Hindus and Muslims remained strained there were singularly few clashes, and no political agitation of any importance occurred during the year. A Sub-Inspector of the Railway Police was awarded the King's Police Medal for arresting an armed Pathan on the Bhopal Railway Station platform. The relations between police and the public were satisfactory.

* * *

In the United Provinces there was an improvement in the communal situation. There were, however, serious communal riots at Oe, in the Muttra District, and Bibra Kalam, in the Moradabad District, and it was necessary to impose punitive police in several other districts. Crime remained on about the same level as last year, with a slight decrease in dacoity and a slight increase in burglary. The energies of the Special Police were devoted to carrying through the prosecution of numerous gang cases to which the operations of previous years have committed them. Out of five King's Police Medals conferred on officers and men of the police in the United Provinces, no less than four fell to the numbers of the Special Dacoity Police. The figures of officers and men killed or injured in the performance of their duties continue to be on a high level, namely 7 killed, 16 officers and 94 men injured. These figures give some indication of the demands which are being made on the courage and devotion to duty of officers and men, and of the satisfactory manner in which these demands have been responded to.

We may quote just one instance of gallantry among many which occurred in these provinces during the year. An armed Police Patrol—one naik and three constables—of the Muttra Armed Police, in the early hours of February 3rd, 1929, encountered a large force of armed dacoits who were on the point of raiding the house of a wealthy money-lender. The police were outnumbered by four to one, but immediately opened fire on the dacoits, who replied by inflicting a terrible wound on constable Kehri Singh, from which he died an hour later. In the meantime the naik had wounded and captured one of the dacoits who, however, was rescued almost immediately by his comrades. The small party of police followed up the dacoits and succeeded in recapturing the wounded dacoit. They made a second attempt at rescue in bringing the wounded man as prisoner to headquarters. Constable Kehri Singh was given a public funeral, which was attended by enormous crowds, and it was evident that his death had aroused much local sympathy.

* * *

The figures relating to crime in Burma during the year under review compare very favourably with those for the corresponding period of the previous year. Dacoits, robberies and firearm cases showed a substantial decrease, while murders showed only a slight decrease. Arson and sabotage showed an increase during the year,

but there was no serious epidemic of crime prevalent. The report for the year includes a number of instances of gallantry performed by police officers, of which the following is one:—

On the 14th May, 1928, a registered criminal living in Payangekto village, Pegu District, informed the Kawa Police that some men were intending to dacoit a Chinaman's house in the village and also that some more men with guns were expected to arrive in the course of the day.

The police, after waiting all day, decided to surround San Nyun's house just before dusk. When they approached the house, the Sub-Inspector of Police, Tun Aung Gyaw, in his eagerness, drew ahead of the party and before they could surround the house, got on to the verandah and called out to the men in the house to come outside and surrender or he would fire. One man came out and sat down before the Sub-Inspector of Police, whereupon a shot was fired from within the house which struck the Sub-Inspector of Police, killing him on the spot. Another two shots were then fired in quick succession after which the dacoits got away from the back of the house in spite of being fired on by the Police. One villager and one policeman also received slight gun-shot wounds. A locally made gun and a double-barrelled gun by Cogswell and Harrison and a small quantity of ammunition were seized. Eight persons were suspected in the case, of whom five were arrested and convicted.

* * *

From the foregoing record of the police activities in the various provinces of India it is clear that the typical day-to-day problems confronting the Indian police are those arising out of the inducements to crimes against persons and property in rural areas which are afforded by natural and social conditions, by the urge of primitive and unbridled passions, such as revenge and lust, by the inevitable paucity of regular police and by a still undeveloped sense of civic responsibility. At the same time there are other more subtle and sophisticated problems which have now to be solved by the detective forces of this country. Increased literary and technical knowledge has caused such crimes as bogus bank and company promoting, note and coin forging, confidence tricks and the like to take on an increasing popularity, whilst the growth of commercial houses, banks and other businesses has brought in its train all manner of embezzlements, forgeries, swindles and the

other like offences. The regular development of communications in India has enabled criminals to work over larger areas and has given rise to criminal organisations whose operations are inter-provincial, in fact sometimes even international, in scope. The Criminal Investigation Departments of the provinces are well abreast of modern conditions, and it should not be forgotten that many of the best improvements in the science of crime detection of recent years are the products of Indian brains. It is satisfactory to note that throughout India the district police are re-adjusting their ideas and practice to changing conditions. They are now employing extensively the *modus operandi* method of detection. Crimes such as burglary are not now investigated as individual cases. They are investigated in the mass. The characteristic methods employed are carefully noted and the movements of gangs are traced and the various individuals' peculiarities associated with them recorded.

During the calendar year of 1928 there was no striking increase in crime reported in any province in India, though inter-communal tension resulted in considerable loss of life in some parts of the country, but as reference has been made to these outbreaks in another chapter in this report there is no need to discuss the subject further.

CHAPTER X.

The Provinces.

(*ii*) THE TRANSFERRED DEPARTMENTS.

From time immemorial, institutions containing the germs of local self-government have existed in India, but they differed essentially from representative institutions as now understood. They were not constructed on the elective principle, were not correlated with the institutions of superior administration, had few definite functions, and were not regarded as representative of the locality by the State, which was inclined to ignore them. During the chaos which preceded British Rule in India, and, also, partly as a result of the administrative changes of the new regime, they disappeared almost entirely, and British administrators have, consequently, had to build up local self-government in India *ab initio*.

In 1882, Lord Ripon's government made an attempt to convert such local institutions as were in existence into school-houses for full self-government. They issued a resolution declaring that their object was to train the people in the management of their own affairs, and that political education should, as a rule, be given preference over departmental efficiency. This well-meant effort did not produce the results for which the Indian Government looked. It was inevitable that the infant local bodies should be at first under official guardianship, and thus the growth of initiative and self-reliance among those for whose benefit the system was devised was slow, a circumstance which lessened the attraction of the new bodies for public-spirited men.

With the inception of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms in 1920 the control of Local Self-Government was handed over to responsible ministers, and as a result of this the development of these organisations has been greatly stimulated. Many fresh laws have been enacted, Municipal bodies re-constituted on more popular lines, municipal franchises extended and the powers of local bodies enhanced. These new changes also created a desire for experiment, and one of the most interesting of these was the revival of the old Village *Panchayat* or Committee of Elders, which in some places were amalgamated and called " Union Boards." The general plan

adopted was to place these ancient institutions on a modern legal basis and provide them with definite powers and functions. There was naturally a certain percentage of failures, due chiefly to the apathy and unwillingness to shoulder fresh taxation, but on the whole these experiments have proved popular and satisfactory. The new organisations are serving a useful purpose in the life of the people, though in some places more attention is given to the exercise of judicial functions than to important matters like sanitation and public health.

In 1926-27 there were 771 municipalities in British India with 19 million resident within their limits and an aggregate income of Rs. 16·83 crores. When it is remembered that Calcutta, Bombay and Madras alone contain three million people, the average Indian municipality is seen to be of only moderate size. The majority of the members of municipal bodies are elected, and the proportion of elected members tends to increase steadily. Municipal functions in India relate mainly to public health, safety, convenience, and instruction, but as only 10 per cent. of the population of British India live in towns it is clear that municipal administration cannot as yet effect the majority of the people and help to educate them in civic duties in a satisfactory manner. Therefore greater interest and importance attaches to the constitution and working of the District Board, which is actually a rural municipality. Nearly every district in British India possesses such a Board with two or more sub-District Boards subordinate to it. In Madras and Bihar and Orissa there are also Union Boards, while in Bengal there are both Union Boards and Union Committees. In 1926-27 District Boards and sub-District Boards, Union Committees with the Union Boards in Bengal combined, numbered 3,735. Of the nearly 43,200 members of these bodies about 70 per cent. were elected and 30 per cent. represented officials (*ex-officio* and nominated members). The tendency is for the elected element to increase. The receipts of these institutions (excluding Union Committees and Union Boards in Bengal) aggregated in 1926-27 to a little over Rs. 15·1 crores, and their chief activities were education, medical relief and civic works.

Big cities like Calcutta, Bombay and Rangoon naturally lead the way in municipal progress in India. Improvement and Development Trusts have been operating for years in these and other important cities, and have done much good. Loans have been floated for such objects as housing schemes, the abolition of slums,

the provision of open spaces, the alignment of streets and the segregation of offensive trades.

The enhanced powers of local legislatures in these organisations is reflected in increased activities in the organisations themselves. A great interest is taken in many parts of India in election to both Municipalities and District Boards. The non-co-operation movement has hampered progress in local bodies to a great extent, but in not a few cases the non-co-operation members have subordinated their political views to their municipal or Board duties. It is not possible, even at this stage, to form a true opinion on the post-Reforms working of Indian Local Self-Government. Financial stringency, political stress and lack of experience have all had their effect on the local bodies, and it is difficult to decide which of these factors have the most powerful effect.

We may now cite some of the more important instances of the progress of Local Self-Government in India during the year 1928-29 by mentioning some of the more important measures of Local Self-Government legislation undertaken during that period. In Madras, a non-official Bill to amend the Madras District Municipalities Act, 1920, the Madras Local Boards Act, 1920, and the Madras General Clauses Act, 1891, mentioned in the last year's report, was referred to a Select Committee, which entirely recast the Bill, restricting it only to the Madras District Municipalities Act, 1920, as Act I of 1927 had already dealt with the matter in regard to the Madras Local Boards Act. The main object of this Bill is to establish the right of all classes of people and of all communities, irrespective of caste or creed, to have access to and make use of all public streets, markets, tanks or other public places maintained out of the municipal funds and to render an obstruction to their use an offence punishable with a fine.

A non-official Bill to amend the Madras Local Boards Act, 1920, was also introduced in the Madras Legislative Council. It aimed at—

(*a*) doing away with the system of nominations;

(*b*) providing for the representation of the depressed classes and the Muslims by direct election through reservation of seats;

(*c*) providing that every District Board shall have an elected president unless the local Government have by notifica-

tion otherwise directed, and that a member of a legislative body shall not be eligible for election as president or vice-president.

Two other non-official Bills to amend the Madras District Municipalities Act, 1920, were introduced in the local Legislative Council and were referred to a Select Committee, which presented a consolidated Bill. The main objects of these measures are:—

(1) to abolish all nominations to municipal councils and throw open all seats to election, making adequate provision for the special representation of the minority communities on the basis of joint electorates and reserved seats.

(2) to provide for adult franchise in all municipal elections and to remove the sex disqualifications for membership of these bodies.

(3) to create an executive officer in all municipalities having an income of not less than Rs. 1,00,000 a year, and

(4) to provide that the elected chairman should vacate his office and the elected councillors their seats if a motion of non-confidence is passed against them.

Another non-official Bill to amend the Madras City Municipal Act, 1919, was introduced in the local legislature which aimed at bringing about a change in the constitution of the Madras Municipal Council, creating the office of a Deputy President and providing that the President shall be elected each year from the Hindu, Muslim and Christian community by rotation.

The Bombay Legislative Council passed a non-official Bill to amend the City of Bombay Municipal Act, 1888. The Bill was designed to provide for the representation of labour interests by election on the Bombay Municipal Corporation, and, having received the assent of Their Excellencies the Governor of Bombay and the Governor General, became law.

The previous sanction of the Governor General was refused to the introduction in the Bombay Legislative Council of a non-official Bill which sought to prohibit, under penalty of imprisonment and fine, the slaughter at Municipal houses of cows and certain other classes of animals.

Two non-official Bills to amend the Bombay Local Boards Act, 1923, were introduced in the local Legislative Council with the ob-

ject of lowering the franchise qualification for elections to District Local Boards and conferring the right to vote on income-tax payers and occupiers of residential buildings of a certain value.

Fresh sanction of the Governor General was accorded to the introduction of the Bengal Municipal Bill, which had received sanction in 1923 but which was not proceeded with till 1925, when the motion for leave to introduce it was rejected by the Bengal Legislative Council. The object of this measure was to revise and re-enact the Bengal Municipal Act, 1884.

The United Provinces Legislative Council passed a Bill to amend the United Provinces District Boards Act, 1922, with the object of making better provision for the administration and control of vernacular education in rural areas. The Bill was assented to by Their Excellencies the Governor and the Governor General, and became law.

A bill to amend the Punjab Village Panchayat Act, 1921, was passed by the Punjab Legislative Council during the year. The main objects of this Bill are:—

(*a*) to extend the administrative powers and supervisory obligations of panchayats, and

(*b*) to empower the local government to alter the limits of a village and modify the number of panches fixed for a panchayat.

The Government of India approved in principle the Punjab Government's proposal, referred to in the last year's report, regarding the imposition, with the previous sanction of the Governor General in Council, of *haisiyat* tax by District Boards in the province, and indicated the essential principle which should be observed before final sanction would be given to the imposition of the tax by any particular District Board.

The Burma Legislative Council passed a Bill to amend the City of Rangoon Municipal Act, 1922, which having been assented to by His Excellency the Governor received the assent of His Excellency the Governor General. The Bill was designed *inter alia* to provide for the grant by the Corporation of Rangoon of pensions, gratuities, or compassionate allowances to dependents of its employees, who may die while in service.

Certain non-official Bills to amend the Bihar and Orissa Local Self-Government Act, 1885, and the Bihar and Orissa Municipal

Act, 1922, were introduced in the local Legislative Council with the object of securing adequate representation for the Muslim community in the local bodies of the province by—

(*a*) providing for them in the case of District Boards separate electoral circles in each district consisting of Muslim voters only, and prescribing the number of members to be elected by each circle,

(*b*) introducing the principle of separate electorates for Muslims and non-Muslims in the Municipalities of the province, and providing that not less than 25 per cent. of the elected commissioners shall be Muslims,

(*c*) providing that both in the case of district boards and the municipalities either the chairman or the vice-chairman shall be a Muhammadan.

Fresh sanction of the Governor General was granted to the introduction in the Central Provinces Legislature of a non-official Bill to amend the Central Provinces Local Self-Government Act, 1920. The Bill aimed at:—

(*a*) making necessary changes in the Act to suit local conditions and to bring it into line with similar enactments elsewhere and with the spirit of the Reforms;

(*b*) fixing the elected element at four-fifths of the total number of members of the District Council or the Local Board;

(*c*) making the establishment of Local Boards within a District Council optional instead of compulsory, and diminishing the nominated or appointed element in them;

(*d*) relaxing the restrictions hitherto imposed upon the dismissed servants of Government and local bodies in respect of election to District Councils and Local Boards, and

(*e*) reducing the powers of Commissioners in local self-government matters.

The Assam Legislative Council passed a Bill to amend the Assam Local Self-Government Act, 1915, which received the assent of Their Excellencies the Governor of Assam and the Governor General. The main object of this measure was to empower Local Boards to impose, with the previous sanction of the local Govern-

ment within the limits of their jurisdiction, any tax included in Schedule II of the Scheduled Taxes Rules under the Government of India Act.

As a result of the ruling of the Lahore High Court that the imposition without the consent of the Governor General in Council of *haisiyat* tax by the District Board of Sialkot in the Punjab was *ultra vires* and illegal, the levy of the tax by the five District Boards of the North-West Frontier Province was regularised by the issue of a Validating Regulation (VI of 1928) until the 16th July, 1928, and the local Government was asked to submit proposals for the imposition of the tax in future.

The Government of India approved in principle of the introduction of an elective element in local bodies in the North-West Frontier Province, the details being left to be worked out by the Chief Commissioner with due regard to local conditions.

The Punjab Government reported that certain local bodies in the province had levied high rates of octroi and terminal tax on the import of hardened oils such as " Banaspati Ghi ", and raised the question of the powers of the local government and local bodies in the matter under the reformed constitution. The Punjab Government was informed that the levy of the tax at the high rates mentioned by them amounted to a prohibitive or protective duty and was *ultra vires* of the powers of taxation conferred by the Punjab Municipal Act, 1911. With a view to safeguarding the administration of the central subject of " External Relations," the Punjab Government and other local governments were instructed to refuse sanction to the imposition of octroi and terminal taxes differentiating between goods according to the origin of the goods and on goods of foreign origin in transit through India.

Sanction was granted to the raising by the Calcutta Corporation during 1928-29 of a loan of Rs. 86 lakhs in three parts at 5 per cent. interest, and the rate of growth of the Sinking Fund of these loans was fixed at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum.

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Land questions have come into great prominence in India during recent years, and therefore a brief outline of the legislation proposed or passed during the year affecting land revenue or tenancy in the various Provinces may conveniently be set forth here.

The question of amending the Land Acquisition Act, 1894, in order to provide for compulsory acquisition of land for the proper housing of labour employed by industrial concerns was dropped during the year on the advice of the Department of Industries and Labour.

The Bills pending in the Provincial Legislative Councils of the Punjab, the United Provinces and the Central Provinces designed to give effect to the recommendation of the Joint Parliamentary Committee that the principles of land revenue assessment should be embodied in law were passed during the year.

The draft revenue law for Berar, which was referred back to the Berar Legislative Committee last year for reconsideration under the Berar Legislation Rules, was also promulgated by the Government of India with necessary modifications.

In pursuance of a resolution passed by the Legislative Council in 1921, the Government of Bengal appointed a Committee to consider and report what amendments were needed in the Bengal Tenancy Act, in view of the past experience and the changes in agrarian conditions. As a result of the recommendations of that Committee, and after consultation with the various interests concerned, an amending bill was introduced in August, 1928. The amendments were of a far-reaching character and evoked a good deal of opposition in certain circles. The bill, however, was eventually passed in September, 1928.

In Bihar and Orissa also the local Government have long recognised the necessity of amending the existing tenancy legislation. They introduced a bill in 1922, but were forced to drop it owing to considerable divergence of opinion between the various classes concerned and the impossibility of arriving at an amicable settlement. In September, 1927, a private Bill was introduced in the Legislative Council on behalf of the tenants, and was referred to a Select Committee, on the understanding that the landlords' party would also bring forward a Bill representing their views in a form which might, along with the tenant's Bill, constitute a basis for negotiations between the two parties. The Landlords' Bill was introduced in August, 1928, and was referred to the same Select Committee. The negotiations, however, did not result in a satisfactory agreement on all the points at issue, and the result was that the local Government had themselves to prepare a Bill on the lines which appeared to them to be fair and equitable to both sides.

This Bill is expected to be published shortly and will be introduced in the Provincial Legislative Council during the ensuing session.

The tenancy problem in the Malabar district has been engaging the serious attention of the Madras Government for some time past. In 1927 they appointed a Committee consisting of the prominent representatives of the landlords and tenants of Malabar to examine the whole question. The Committee submitted its recommendations in the middle of the year 1928, which were discussed again at a Conference convened by Government in the beginning of this year. The views put forward at this Conference on behalf of the landlords and the tenants of Malabar have received the best consideration of the local Government and the original recommendations of the Committee have been accepted with some variations. The conclusions have been embodied in a bill which is likely to be introduced at the next meeting of the Madras Legislative Council.

The provision of the Punjab Tenancy (Amendment) Act, 1927, and the Punjab Pre-emption (Amendment) Act, 1928, were extended to the province of Delhi in April, 1928, and October, 1928, respectively.

The latest year for which information concerning the working of local bodies in the provinces is available is that for the year 1927-28. In the Madras Presidency the total number of district boards was 25, and the privilege of electing their Presidents was enjoyed by 21 of these. The total number of Taluk Boards in the Presidency was 129, and all were presided over by non-officials. There were 469 Union Boards with an aggregate membership of 5,294 at the close of the year. The Karaikudi Union in the Ramnad district was constituted a municipality, and Alandur in the Chingleput district was constituted a Union during the year. Two Union Boards were abolished and six Union Boards were dissolved and directed to be reconstituted during the year. One municipality was suspended for the period of one year on the ground of incompetence, and one District Board was dissolved on being found incompetent to discharge its statutory functions.

In the Bombay Presidency most of the local Boards persistently avoided increasing the local fund cess or tapping other possible sources of revenue, and Government once again stressed the fact that any hopes of large additional grants were doomed to meet with disappointment, and that any extension of the number and degree of the amenities now provided could only be procured by discover-

ing new sources of income. In Sind (which is a part of the Bombay Presidency for administrative purposes) there was a wave of communal feeling, with the result that the proposals of certain Boards to impose additional taxation were treated as communal questions. One municipality at Vambori, in the Ahmednagar District, was abolished during the year, and a new municipality was formed in Manmad, in the Nasik District, with effect from January 1st, 1928. The municipalities of Nadiad and Thana, in the Northern Division, were reconstituted, while the municipalities of Mahableshwar and Satara Suburban, in the Central Division, and of Yamnur, Gudguddapur, Gokarn and Ulvi, in the Southern Division, continued to consist wholly of nominated members. A number of important public works were completed during the year, and 34 further properties were acquired in the Hornby Road-Ballard Pier scheme at a cost of Rs. 10·21 lakhs, and 23 buildings were demolished. The Tansa Completion works, designed to give Bombay City a constant 24 hours' supply of water, entered upon its final stage during the year. The District Local Board of Sholapur, in the Central Division, was superseded. Otherwise there is little to report on Local Boards administration in this Presidency.

Municipal administration in Bihar and Orissa during the year 1927-28 displayed no features of particular interest. The tax collections continued to be unsatisfactory, and there was no marked increase in income. In several instances party factions continued seriously to hamper the administration, though it is only fair to say that they were fewer than in previous years, and the examples of the subordination of municipal administration to politics were more rare. The number of municipalities remained the same as that of the previous year, namely 61, and there were 52 elected chairmen. The aggregate income of the year of all municipalities, excluding opening balances, decreased from 36·35 lakhs to Rs. 35·69 lakhs. Arrears in tax collections during the year increased from Rs. 4·29 lakhs to 5·20 lakhs, and the outstanding balances at the close of the year increased from Rs. 5·17 lakhs to 6·04 lakhs. No less than 23 municipalities had arrears to the extent of one-fifth or more of their current demands when the year closed. Two Headquarters municipalities, namely Motihari and Monghyr, closed the year with uncollected arrears amounting to 65 and 80 per cent. respectively of their current demands. The defective conditions of the roads, drainage, water supply and public health

services still continue to be the subject of criticism by inspecting officers, and this seems to be due in most cases to the absence of supervision of reliable officers.

Under the Local Self-Government Act, Government is empowered to constitute Union Committees with powers to deal with certain matters of education, roads, etc., for small areas. These committees are gradually disappearing since the passing into law of the Bihar and Orissa Administration Act of 1922, and during the year their numbers decreased from 51 to 34. Their place is now being taken by Union Boards constituted under the new Act. One hundred and fifty Union Boards were working during the year, but, partly owing to the rather haphazard way in which these Boards were constituted and partly from lack of supervision, their administrative works tended to be stagnant, and in many instances money was not utilised to the best advantage.

Municipalities in Bengal have a similar tale to tell of accumulated arrears, which is not to the credit of the executives. For instance, Howrah had outstanding balances of Rs. 5,63,120 for which no explanation has been given, while Dacca has arrears to the extent of Rs. 2,34,273, due mainly to litigation regarding the assessment. Other municipalities with arrears exceeding Rs. 25,000 at the close of the year were Mymensing, Barisal, Tollygunje, Santipur, South Suburban, Hooghly-Chinsura, Bally and Bankura. A general unwillingness to adopt stringent measures is largely responsible for these heavy accumulations of unpaid taxes, but there are other factors also. There is no such system as there is in Madras and Bihar and Orissa for recovering from the persons responsible amounts that have been lost through their negligence. The provision of satisfactory water supplies occupied a large share of attention among Bengal municipalities during the year. There are now 28 municipalities which have their own water works, and of these only five date prior to the year 1900. Seven municipalities in the Hooghli-riparian area obtained their supplies from local mills, while other municipalities have important schemes on hand for the construction of new water systems. Tube wells have proved a successful and cheap source of water supply in certain soils, and a large number of municipalities have decided to construct such wells. The future municipal administration of Bengal, on the whole, may be regarded with hopefulness, and doubtless as the years go on experience will dictate the wisdom of managing local affairs more methodically than has been the case in the

past. There were 82 local Boards with a total of 1,339 members during the year under review. Union Boards continued to maintain primary schools in certain districts, and a good deal of useful spade-work in respect of primary education in rural areas was done during the year. The education of the rural population and the advantages of local self-government are being steadily maintained by Circle and District Board officers, and such opposition as made itself felt at the commencement is gradually disappearing.

The financial position of most of the District Boards in the United Provinces continues to be very disquieting. No fewer than 12 had debit balances in 1927-28, and in the case of 32 Boards their recurring expenditure exceeds their income. These Boards are, of course, living on their reserve funds which is all the more serious when it is realised that their finances are comparatively inelastic and the amounts they are capable of raising are insignificant. The spirit of communalism, lack of experience and the inability of members to resist the temptation to interfere in matters of detail instead of contenting themselves with the control of policy are all factors which are hampering successful administration. Whilst very little interest has been shown in public health, medical, sanitation and road problems, all the Boards have shown a keen interest in education. No less than 19 Boards have framed schemes for the application of compulsory primary education to selected areas, and others have the matter under consideration.

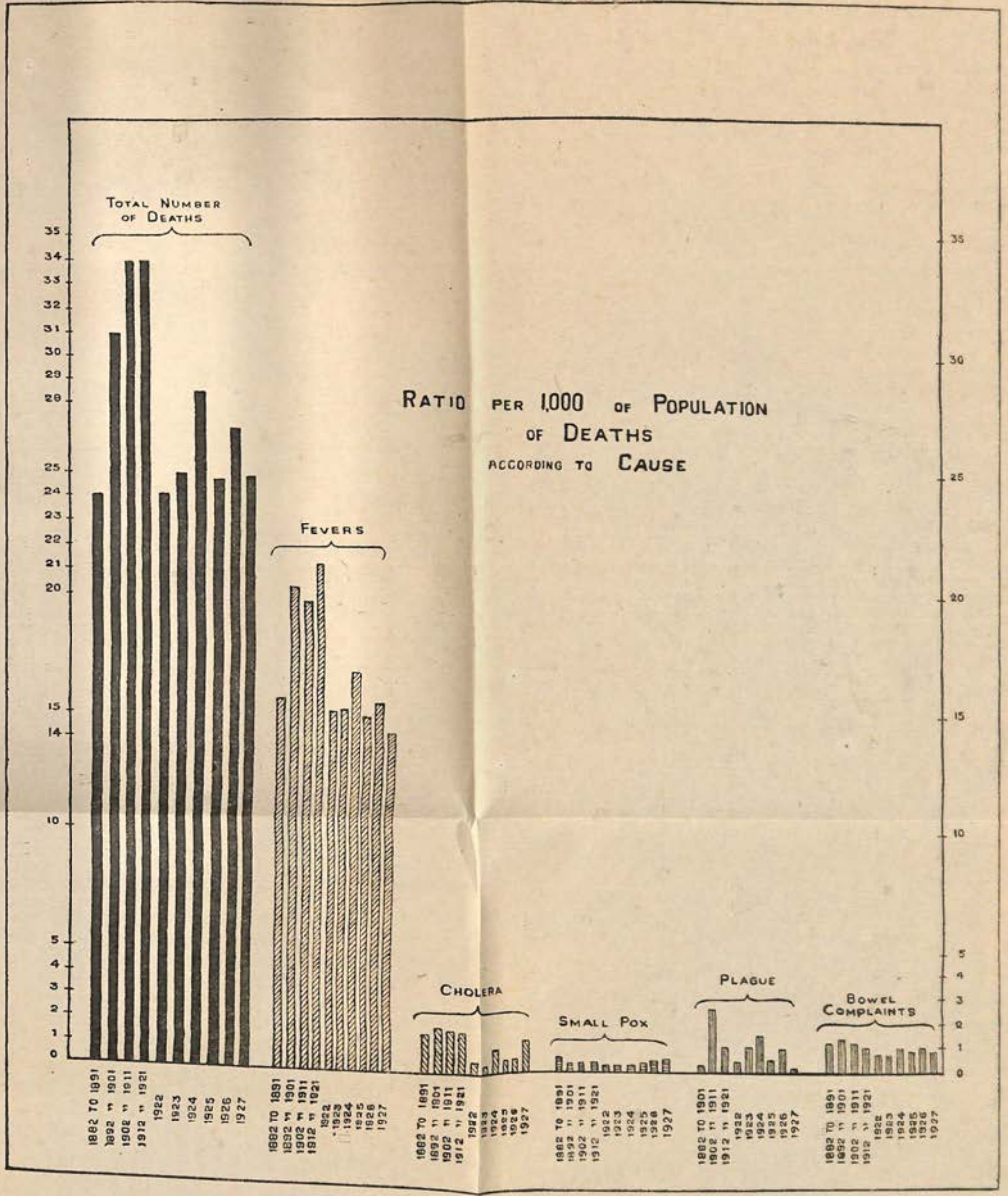
The condition of Municipal Boards in the United Provinces showed considerable improvement in 1927-28. The average attendance of members at meetings, on the whole, was satisfactory, though there were some notable exceptions. In Meerut, for instance, the total number of meetings was 101. Of these 24 proved abortive for want of quorum, and 48 had to be adjourned. The total expenditure of Municipal Boards was greater than their income, though much less so than in the previous year. There were some notable improvements in the public services, of which the introduction of four electric supply systems is an instance. Fifteen towns now have their own water supply systems, and in some of the larger towns a regular programme for the construction of bitumen bound roads has been commenced. Maternity and child welfare work is progressing rapidly, and there are now 46 maternity and child welfare centres.

Opinions on the working of village panchayats in the United Provinces differ widely. The quality of the judicial work done by

these bodies has not, however, been seriously called in question, though the hope that the panchayats would relieve the regular courts of some of their work has not been fulfilled. Reports are, on the whole, however, favourable, and there is a wide-spread acceptance of the view that the movement has come to stay.

The year 1928-29 was the fifth complete year since the District Councils were established in Burma. There were 28 District Councils 276 Circle Boards, 11,790 Village Committees, 28 School Boards, 24 Deputy Commissioners of Local Funds and 86 Hospital Funds. Circle Boards have not yet taken an effective part in the scheme of rural self-government in Burma, and although certain District Councils delegated certain powers to their subordinate Circle Boards no Circle Funds were established during the year owing to lack of the necessary finance, and consequently the Circle Boards had no independent resources for expenditure on local subjects. About half the number of District Councils failed to maintain the roads in good order, chiefly owing to the lack of adequate engineering staff. Progress was, however, made in the direction of education. One hundred and ninety-one new Vernacular Schools were opened in backward localities with the aid of special provincial contributions. There were no important changes in the administration of hospitals and public health in rural areas. The administration of Municipalities in Burma during the year under review was satisfactory. Insein and Pegu Municipalities have shown initiative in providing for free primary vernacular education by each opening a free school. The local government are preparing a Bill to provide free and compulsory primary education throughout Burma. Progress was made with water and drainage schemes, and several new hospital buildings were completed during the year.

Education and medical relief formed the chief planks in the activities of the Municipalities and District Boards of the Central Provinces during the year 1927-28, and absorbed about 20 per cent. and 7 per cent, respectively, of the former's income, and 47 per cent. and 7 per cent, respectively, of the latter's income. There was a large increase in the number of schools during the year—from 85 to 4,173—and many untrained teachers were replaced by trained men, and their pay and prospects improved. Compulsory education was introduced in 84 villages and two towns. The number of dispensaries transferred to municipal committees and district councils was 28 and 75 respectively. Party feelings manifested


RATIO PER 1,000 OF POPULATION
OF DEATHS
ACCORDING TO CAUSE
TOTAL NUMBER OF DEATHS
FEVERS
CHOLERA
SMALL POX
PLAGUE
BOWEL COMPLAINTS
1862 TO 1891
1892 " 1901
1902 " 1911
1912 " 1921
1922
1923
1924
1925
1926
1927

themselves in certain municipalities, while in others the spirit of communalism was rampant. A Bill to remove certain difficulties noticed in the working of the Central Provinces Municipalities Act was introduced in the Legislative Council and referred to a Select Committee during the latter part of the year.

Considerable progress was made by all the municipalities in Assam and attention was given to water supplies, road building, and sanitation on a very commendable scale. The expenditure on lighting and education was increased, and with few exceptions the general financial position of the Boards was satisfactory. Seven municipal institutions were in debt to the government at the close of the year, but, with the exception of Sylhet and Nowgong, which had balances of loans outstanding of Rs. 72,961 and Rs. 31,661 respectively, the liabilities were not heavy. The number of village authorities in the provinces decreased by one during the year, and their total income fell from Rs. 74,000 to Rs. 71,000 and the total expenditure from Rs. 75,000 to Rs. 73,000. The village courts and panchayats continued to be popular and did useful work, particularly on the civil side. The constitution of the 19 Local Boards in the province was thoroughly revised during the year, in conformity with the provisions of the amended Act, the non-Muhammadan representatives being increased by 33 per cent., the Muhammadan by 64 per cent, and the planting interests by 5 per cent. The enlarged and re-modelled Boards commenced their term of office on April 1st, 1928.

* * *

Turning now to the vastly important subject of Public Health, we may begin by drawing attention to the graph on the opposite page, from which some indication may be had of the scope of the problems which face the doctors in this country.

The distribution of the population of India, the general poverty, and the backwardness in education make it inevitable that all improvement in sanitary conditions should be almost entirely the work of the State. Climatic and other natural conditions render the people of India prone to many devastating epidemic or contagious diseases which have been stamped out in more fortunate countries. Certain diseases like malaria, hookworm, and kala azar are endemic in many parts of the country, and although these are all preventable, their prevention requires an amount of labour, financial expenditure, and determination, which, in existing circumstances, can hardly be looked for from the people themselves. Municipali-

ties and other units of local self-government are, as we have seen, taking an increasing share in this work, not only by providing medical relief, but also by undertaking schemes for water supply, and by instructing children and parents in elementary notions of hygiene. But, in addition to adverse natural conditions, social and religious customs and superstition place obstacles in the way of the sanitary reformer. As we so often find in other matters, what in the west is one problem is in India a bundle of problems, each one having its roots deep in traditional usage or religion. Progress, therefore, in this country is necessarily slow and made against greater obstacles and with greater expenditure of money and labour. Yet in spite of all these things it cannot be contested that conditions of public health improve in India if not from year to year, at any rate from decade to decade. Since the regular census in this country was started half a century ago, the population has grown steadily. The greater part of this growth is no doubt due to the internal and external security and the freedom from famine which followed the establishment of British rule, but some credit is due to the spread of medical facilities and the strengthening of the organisations which deal with epidemics of plague, malaria, and other destructive diseases. In the past, every important fair or other crowded gathering was a likely source of disease and death to many thousands, but now-a-days medical arrangements either prevent outbreaks of disease on these occasions or immensely minimise their effects when they cannot be prevented. The number of hospitals, dispensaries, and trained medical practitioners grows yearly and the gap between the demand and the supply of medical facilities in India continually narrows. Every housing, water, and other sanitary scheme undertaken by a municipality or other body is a valuable contribution to the cause of public health and sanitation, and such schemes show a regular increase in number. Much is hoped for from the education of the rising generation, and particularly the girls, in elementary rules of hygiene. In every province earnest efforts are now being made to cope with the adverse conditions outlined above.

During the year 1927 the Government of Madras sanctioned the appointment of health officers in eight municipalities, and thirty-four of the eighty-one municipalities in the Presidency now have their own health officers. The Public Health Department was further expanded. The project to investigate the prevalence of malaria was consummated by the creation of a special establish-

ment for a period of two years, and systematized investigations in four badly affected areas have already been completed by this body. A geographical survey of the incidence of cholera was completed during the year, and experiments were carried out to determine the relative efficacy of two anti-cholera vaccines, one of which is administered by inoculation and the other by the mouth. A geographical survey of plague was also completed during the year. Nearly two million people were vaccinated, and the success rate of 96 per cent. for primary cases shows that the lymph in use is of a very high protective value. The National Health and Baby Week is steadily growing in popularity and has come to stay as an annual function. Nearly 30,000 lectures were delivered during the week, and nearly Rs. 1½ lakhs was collected and spent.

The scheme for the expansion of medical relief in rural tracts was further developed during the year by the sanction of 40 new dispensaries. Facilities for dispensing anti-rabic treatment were extended to several mission hospitals and dispensaries throughout the Presidency. The training of nurses has been revised and the syllabus prescribed by the General Nursing Council of England and Wales has been adopted with modifications suitable to this Presidency. Lastly, considerable progress was made in the campaign against hook-worm during the year.

In Bombay, except for a somewhat severe epidemic of cholera, the health of the Presidency as a whole compared favourably both with the previous year and the quinquennial mean (1922-26). About 2,00,000 deaths were registered as due to fevers, malaria alone accounting for a little over 45,600. Additional doctors and dispensaries were provided to cope with this disease, and a generous distribution of free quinine was made. Infant mortality received a setback during the year as compared with the previous year, and the birth-rate exceeded the death-rate by 11·13 per thousand. The Presidency was visited with a severe epidemic of cholera, and over 26,000 deaths were recorded. The number of hospitals and dispensaries and the number of patients treated in them showed slight increases during the year.

In the United Provinces the Provincial birth rate in 1927 increased by 2·52 as compared with 1926. The death rate, *viz.*, 22·59, was the lowest on record, due to a low fever mortality. No less than 152 infants out of every 1,000 born are said to have died during the first year of life. A total of 28,285 deaths from

cholera, 7,894 from small-pox, 15,570 from plague, 786,552 from fevers and 12,186 from dysentery and diarrhœa were registered. The Provincial Hygiene Institute was engaged on teaching anti-mosquito work, research, and the production of cinema films, etc.; a public health exhibition was also organised. The malaria branch carried out six malarial surveys and held a malaria class. The sale and distribution of quinine was vigorously pushed. The District Health Scheme was working in 26 districts. Ten whole-time medical officers for the inspection of schools were appointed at the ten centres with large school populations, *e.g.*, Allahabad, Lucknow, Agra, Benares, Cawnpore, Meerut, Bareilly, Gorakhpur, Fyzabad and Jhansi. The local government's grant for maternity and child welfare work, etc., was increased from Rs. 50,000 to Rs. 59,600. Six new welfare centres were opened, bringing the total number to 33. Baby weeks were held at 22 places.

The birth rate of Bengal rose slightly, *i.e.*, from 27·4 per mille in 1926 to 27·7 in 1927, and the death rate from 24·7 to 25·6. This resulted in an increase of 2·1 per mille in the population of the Presidency. The death rate for 1927 showed an excess of 3·6 per cent. in comparison with the previous year. The mortality from cholera (118,377) and small-pox (42,514) practically doubled, whilst that from dysentery and diarrhœa (29,358) and respiratory diseases (32,911) showed slight increases, and that from fevers (789,006) and other causes declined to some extent. The cholera death rate increased by 92·3 per cent. as compared with the previous year, while the percentage of deaths to total mortality has not been so high during the last 20 years. No less than 12,99,630 c.cs. of anti-cholera vaccine were issued, or 5 times as much as in 1927 (*viz.*, 256,000 c.cs). The anti-cholera inoculations performed were practically 14 times as many as in 1926, which shows the ever increasing popularity of this measure. The attack on sources of infection was maintained, and the Public Health Department disinfected 39,356 wells and 33,550 tanks. The District Board staff and the publicity officers distributed posters, and gave lectures and magic lantern demonstrations. Small-pox was responsible for 42,514 deaths (25,548 in 1926). The epidemic is the continuation of the quinquennial outbreak which started towards the end of 1924. Opposition to vaccination in normal times amongst many communities in the Presidency accounts for the accumulation of unprotected persons and the resultant small-pox epidemics. The total number of deaths reported from fevers in 1927 was 789,006

1872 TO 1881
1882 TO 1891
1892 TO 1901
1902 TO 1911
1912 TO 1921
1922
1923
1924
1925
1926
1927
NUMBER OF DEATHS ACCORDING TO CAUSE FROM 1872 TO 1927
(Decennial Averages from 1872 to 1921)
TOTAL NUMBER OF DEATHS
DEATHS FROM CHOLERA
" " SM. POX
" " PLAGUE
" " FEVERS
" " BOWEL COMPLAINTS
In Thousands
In Thousands
8,500
8,000
7,500
7,000
6,500
6,000
5,500
5,000
4,500
4,000
3,500
3,000
2,500
2,000
1,500
1,000
500

against 822,774 in 1926. The rate per mille fell from 17·7 to 17·0, and the percentage of fever deaths to total mortality from 71·5 to 66·3. Malaria alone contributed 54·4 per cent. of the fever mortality. The campaign against malaria took the form, as before, of extensive and wide-spread distribution of quinine. The anti-malarial schemes in connection with Banka Valley, Singaran-Toposi and Jangipur were being carried out. A number of anti-malaria societies continued to work and a few additional societies were organised. The mortality from kala-azar showed a further decrease, the reduction in the provincial rate being 19·4 per cent. The campaign against this disease still continues. The year under review surpassed all past records for school hygiene work done by local bodies in the mufussil. Grants were made to the various local bodies for starting 100 classes of 10 *dais* each for the training of *dais*. The public health laboratories at Calcutta and Dacca and the municipal laboratory in Darjeeling examined over 12,000 samples (chemical, bacteriological and others).

The health of the province of Bihar and Orissa continued to be generally good during 1927, although a widespread epidemic of cholera broke out in the month of April. Energetic preventive measures carried out in connection with the Rath-Jatra festival at Puri were successful in limiting the cases of cholera to a comparatively small number. Anti-malaria measures, including a special malaria survey in the Ranchi Municipality, continued to be pushed vigorously.

The engineering staff of the Public Health Department was chiefly engaged on water-supply projects. The increasing reliance on tube-wells for this purpose is a striking feature, and nearly all the wells sunk on behalf of Government have proved successful.

The problem of leprosy in Bihar and Orissa is receiving special attention. A leprosy clinic, opened as an experimental measure in 1926, is working at Bakhari, in Champaran District, and another has since been opened in Darbhanga. A third clinic at the cost of government has been opened experimentally at Hatigarh, in the district of Balasore, and the construction of buildings for a clinic at Cuttack has been completed. The opening of a Pasteur Institute at Patna for the treatment of anti-rabic cases has now been sanctioned.

In the Central Provinces the year 1927 showed a slight decrease in the birth and death-rates. Small-pox, plague, and influenza

in a mild form have been present in many areas. The Chhatisgarh Division and Jubbulpore, Akola, Amraoti and Wardha, Bilaspur, Raipur, and Drug districts were badly infected with cholera. The special Welfare Committee of the Red Cross Society constituted in 1926 to organize and expand maternity and infant welfare work made considerable progress, and the Provincial Government made a grant of Rs. 30,000 to be devoted to this object. Welfare centres in eighteen towns are now in being, and the usual " Baby Week " was held in thirty-four towns. In fact, health measures for women and children have gained a firm hold. In accordance with the necessity for measures to counteract the scourge of plague which is endemic in Nagpur and Jubbulpore, " anti-rat " campaigns are pursued, but these are not sufficiently systematic. Unless the measures taken to destroy rats are carried out continuously for a long period both during the time of plague and more especially during the period of immunity there seems little hope of stopping effectually the recurrence of epidemics, and the large towns will remain an endemic focus of plague.

In Burma, during 1927, the provincial birth and death rates, *viz.*, 25·08 and 19·55 per mille, were lower than in the previous year. The excess of births over deaths was 59,859—an increase of 5 per mille in the population. There was a decline in the provincial death rates for cholera and small-pox, while the mortality from plague rose. A total of 62,467 cholera inoculations were performed. Plague deaths numbered 3,508 or ·32 per 1,000 of population. Anti-plague measures (*e.g.*, rat destruction and inoculation) were vigorously pushed. Deaths from fever, (75,321) were more, and those from dysentery and diarrhœa (8,279) were lower than in the previous year. Four hundred and eighty-five deaths from beri-beri were recorded in towns. A Venereal Diseases Bill to provide proper facilities for treatment and to prohibit the sale of quack cures was under the consideration of the local Government. The infantile mortality rate, which was 201·40 in 1926 fell to 198·06 per 1,000 births. A total of 315 maternal deaths were registered in towns. The societies for the promotion of infant welfare functioned in 14 towns, and two new centres were opened. Baby Weeks were held at sixteen places. The increase in attendance in hospitals and dispensaries continued during the year under report, and about 13,000 patients were treated by medical practitioners, subsidised by government at a cost of about Rs. 1-4 per head.

The birth rate in Assam during 1927 showed a slight decrease, and the death rate a slight increase as compared with the year 1926. The excess of the birth rate over the death rate was 6·78. The collection and registration of vital statistics is in many cases defective in this province. The year was marked by a considerable increase in the mortality from cholera, 15,000 deaths being recorded from this cause. Cachar and Sylhet, in Surma Valley, and Nowgong, Sibsagar and Darrang, in Assam Valley, were seriously affected. The death rate from small-pox also rose. The increase in small-pox mortality in recent years is attributed to insufficient protection by vaccination, due to inefficient supervision of the vaccinators. The local government took adequate steps to remedy this. The campaign against kala-azar continued with unabated vigour and with conspicuous success. Both the number of cases treated and of deaths from kala-azar decreased by slightly over 30 per cent., and about the middle of the year the universal or mass free treatment by urea stibamine was introduced throughout the province. Anti-malarial measures were continued. The price of a course of treatment consisting of 20 tablets of quinine sulphate is now $4\frac{1}{2}$ annas.

In the Punjab, so far as the death rate (27·5 per mille) was concerned, the year 1927 was one of the healthiest years on record, though cholera was epidemic and was responsible for 11,286 deaths. The decrease in mortality, as compared with the previous year, was 9·06 per mille and was attributed to the relatively low death rate from plague and fevers. The birth rate, which was 42·3 per mille, was in excess of the previous year by ·7 per mille. The infant mortality rate, being 167·50 per 1,000 births, was unusually low, mainly due to the almost complete absence of epidemic malaria during the year. The Punjab Health School was provincialised. The Epidemiological Bureau was mainly concerned with work in connection with the malaria forecast and surveys, the study of epidemic malaria, spleen census, examination of water supplies and other experimental, statistical and routine work. Twenty-eight qualified health visitors were employed during the year by local health committees.

In the North-West Frontier Province, in 1927, the birth rate (29·3 per mille) showed a slight decrease, while the death rate (22·0 per mille) increased. The infant mortality rate rose from 146·57 per 1,000 births in 1926 to 150·77 in 1927. The chief causes of mortality in the province as a whole were fevers (38,673 deaths)

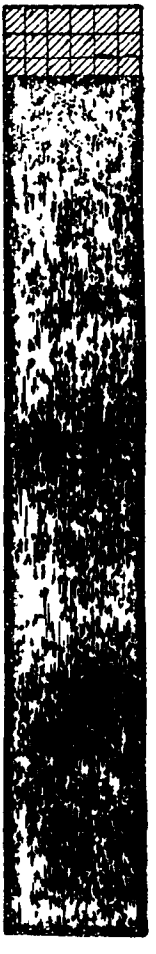
and respiratory diseases (1,961 deaths). The number of hospitals and dispensaries during the year increased by one. The Lady Bolton Dais Training Centre at Dera Ismail Khan did excellent work.

* * *

The greatest weakness of the present educational situation in India is the widespread illiteracy of the masses. It is here that the most urgent need for action lies, but the problem is rendered difficult by factors peculiar to the country. India is a land of vast spaces, and her communications are still far in defect of her requirements. Immense numbers of her people are poor and ignorant, bound by iron tradition and age-old custom. Above all, the women teachers, who are the prime instrument of elementary education in all other civilised countries, are scarcely available for this work in India. Educated men drift inevitably from the countryside to the towns, and the village school master is therefore isolated, too feeble a ray to dispel the surrounding gloom of ignorance unaided. But there is a glimmer of hope in the policy of encouraging medical men to settle down and open dispensaries in rural areas, for their presence ought to stimulate intellectual life in such places. Yet, in spite of these difficulties, steady progress is being made. It is gratifying to notice, also, that much attention is being given to the enlightenment of the masses in general, and to that of the backward classes and of women in particular. In this report will be found graphs, specially compiled for the purpose of showing the progress of women's education in all branches over a long period. These graphs, together with those which show expenditure of all kinds on education in India, have been specially prepared in the hope that they will be useful to students of Indian social problems, for in the education of India's women will be found one of the most potent of all the forces now at work for her progress and uplift. Owing to the social customs and religious prejudices of large and important sections of the population, the difficulties in the way of women's education are especially great. The demand for such education has hitherto been very small, and this is the first and greatest obstacle. Another obstacle is the serious dearth of women teachers, who must mainly undertake the instruction of illiterate sisters. A handful of enlightened individuals, it is true, defying caste, precept and ancient usage, have insisted on the education of their womenfolk, but the sum total of these efforts have hitherto been almost negligible. Recently, how-

DIAGRAM.

Totals of Literates and Illiterates : British India.



LITERATES
18·6 Million
[each square represents 1,000,000]

ILLITERATES
229 Million

DIAGRAM SHOWING THE MALE AND FEMALE POPULATION OF INDIA AT EACH CENSUS AND THE ESTIMATED POPULATION ON 31-3-26 AND 31-3-27 AND THE MALE AND FEMALE LITERATES AND ILLITERATES ON THOSE DATES.

MALE POPULATION

FEMALE POPULATION

MALE LITERATES

FEMALE LITERATES

POPULATION (IN MILLIONS)
1872

MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
105	100	206

LITERATES (IN MILLIONS)

MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
9	2	9·2

POPULATION (IN MILLIONS)
1881

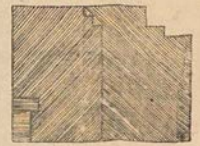
MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
130	124	254

LITERATES (IN MILLIONS)

MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
10·5	0·4	10·9

POPULATION (IN MILLIONS)
1891

MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
147	140	287

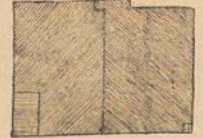


LITERATES (IN MILLIONS)

MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
11·5	·5	12

POPULATION (IN MILLIONS)
1901

MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
149	144	293

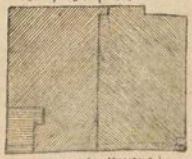


LITERATES (IN MILLIONS)

MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
14·7	1	15·7

POPULATION (IN MILLIONS)
1911

MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
161	154	315

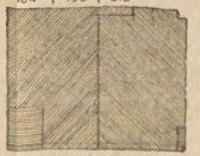


LITERATES (IN MILLIONS)

MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
16·9	1·6	18·5

POPULATION (IN MILLIONS)
1921

MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
164	155	319

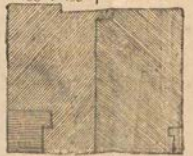


LITERATES (IN MILLIONS)

MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
19·8	2·8	22·6

ESTIMATED POPULATION (IN MILLIONS) ON 31-3-26

MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
168	158	326



LITERATES (IN MILLIONS)

MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
22·0	3·3	25·3

ESTIMATED POPULATION (IN MILLIONS) ON 31-3-27

MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
169	159	328

LITERATES (IN MILLIONS.)

MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
22·7	3·5	26·2

NOTE:—IN ARRIVING AT THE ESTIMATED POPULATION ON 31.3.26 AND 31.3.27, AS ALSO THE ESTIMATED NUMBER OF MALE AND FEMALE LITERATES ON THOSE DATES THE FOLLOWING FACTORS HAVE BEEN CONSIDERED :—

1. THE NUMBER OF BIRTHS IN EACH YEAR FROM 1921
2. THE NUMBER OF DEATHS IN EACH YEAR FROM 1921.
3. THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN (MALE AND FEMALE) ABOVE FIVE YEARS OF AGE ATTENDING SCHOOL
4. THE ANNUAL AVERAGE RATES OF INCREASE IN POPULATION AND THE ANNUAL AVERAGE RATES OF INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF MALE AND FEMALE LITERATES, FROM 1872 TO 1921

ever, many hopeful signs have appeared. The growing enlightenment of the people is tending to break down the old prejudices, women themselves seem less satisfied with the customary illiteracy of their mothers and grandmothers, female education and co-education in the primary classes have already attained somewhat impressive dimensions; schools and colleges for women are on the increase; women are being encouraged to take up physical training, games and vocational education; and, perhaps best of all, propaganda in this excellent cause is widespread. There is a steady increase in the number of girls schools and girl pupils. In 1927-28, the number of recognised institutions for girls rose by 2,002 to 30,003, whilst their strength increased by 94,999 to 1,213,546. There were 46,855 boys reading in girl's schools while, on the other hand, 733,199 girls were under instruction in boys' schools, so that the total number of girls reading in recognised institutions was nearly two millions (1,899,890). The vast majority of these girls, however, are reading in primary schools. In all India there were only one hundred and eighty-two women studying in medical colleges and one hundred and thirty-four in training colleges for teachers. There are eight Primary Education Acts in force in the Provinces, but of these only four—the Bombay, Madras, the United Provinces and Assam Acts—were applicable to girls at the end of the year 1927-28.

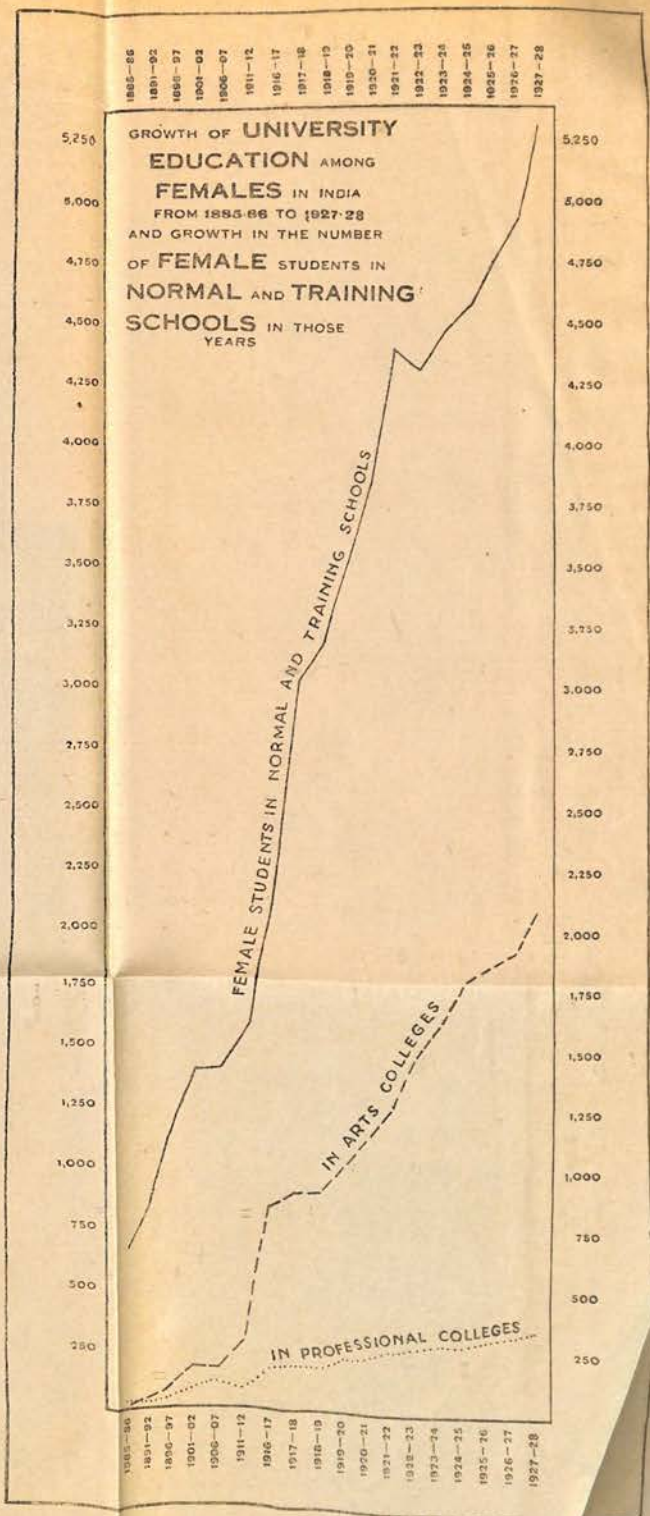
Compulsory education is another matter which deserves special mention. It had begun to come slowly into favour before the Reforms, and since their inception the need for it has been more generally recognised. The popular legislatures early declared themselves in favour of the principle, but the Municipalities and District Boards at first showed some hesitation in adopting it. They seemed loth to identify themselves either with any coercive measures or with the imposition of the additional taxation necessary to meet the cost of compulsion. But, happily, this attitude is gradually disappearing, and to-day we find compulsory primary education spreading over an ever-increasing area. The latest figures available show that compulsion has been introduced in 114 Municipalities and 1,527 rural areas.

Progress is still hampered by the chronic poverty of the masses and their hereditary prejudice to educational innovations, but Ministers are displaying more and more courage, enthusiasm and initiative in this part of their work. They are closely studying the problems involved and taking such steps as seem best

fitted to solve them. In particular they are gradually eliminating the old, inefficient, one-teacher village school, and are endeavouring to provide the children of the agricultural classes with instruction more suitable to their circumstances. The grant-in-aid system, too, is receiving attention. Side by side with these improvements is going on a process of decentralisation of control. Municipalities and Local Boards are being entrusted with more and more powers and functions, and many of these bodies are exercising their increased responsibilities with care and wisdom. A particularly satisfactory feature of recent developments in education is the increasing attention now being devoted to the education of children belonging to the depressed classes. Owing to differences in the manner of classification in the provinces it is difficult to give accurate figures of the total number of pupils belonging to the depressed classes who are now under instruction. The majority of the provincial reports, however, now classify " untouchables " or outcast Hindus separately from Aborigines, Hill tribes, and other backward classes. Leaving aside Burma, where there are no untouchables and Assam, where it is impossible to distinguish between the large numbers of Aborigines and Hill tribes and the untouchables, properly so called, the total number of depressed class pupils reading in all kinds of institutions in the remaining seven provinces was 806,658. This figure bears the percentage of 2·8 to the total depressed class population of these provinces, as against the all-India figure for all communities of 4·5. The number of depressed class pupils have shown a satisfactory increase, but much leeway has still to be made up. In all provinces, except Bengal, the number of scholars reading at the secondary and University stages is still depressingly small. One satisfactory feature of the reports from the provinces is in the increase in the number of depressed class pupils reading in ordinary schools and in the number of caste pupils reading in the special schools mainly intended for the depressed classes. In the Punjab as many as 15,899 pupils out of a total of 19,049, were reading in ordinary schools, and in Madras out of a total of 262,716 pupils reading in schools especially intended for the depressed classes, nearly 70,000 were caste pupils.

The Government of Madras has continued to insist on all publicly managed schools being located in quarters accessible to the depressed classes. During the year 210 schools situated in inaccessible quarters were removed to accessible centres. In consequence of the policy adopted, 83 per cent. of the schools under the man-

GROWTH OF FEMALE EDUCATION IN INDIA
FROM 1885-86 TO 1927-28
IN THOUSANDS
TOTAL NUMBER OF FEMALES RECEIVING EDUCATION
FEMALES IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS
FEMALES IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS
2,000
1,900
1,800
1,700
1,600
1,500
1,400
1,300
1,200
1,100
1,000
900
800
700
600
500
400
300
200
100
1885—86
1891—92
1896—97
1901—02
1906—07
1911—12
1916—17
1917—18
1918—19
1919—20
1920—21
1921—22
1922—23
1923—24
1924—25
1925—26
1926—27
1927—28



NOTE.—The number of female students in professional colleges was made up principally of students attending medical and teaching colleges. The number of those attending other colleges were as follows in the last six years:—

	Law Colleges	Commercial Colleges	Agricultural Colleges
1922-23	...	3	...
1923-24	...	4	...
1924-25	8	1	...
1925-26	8	...	...
1926-27	9	...	...
1927-28	6	1	1

agement of Municipalities and Taluk Boards are now held in quarters accessible to the depressed classes.

In Bombay there was an increase of nearly 6,000 depressed class pupils under instruction, and the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, reports that " the prejudice against the depressed class children is lessening. In the Deccan there is little doubt that these communities are sharing in the general awakening of the backward classes. There are fewer signs of any such awakening in Gujerat." The Director of Public Instruction in the United Provinces also reports that caste prejudice is breaking down, and states that " there is now no strong opposition to these boys reading in the ordinary Board schools, and the number of such boys is increasing. Still stronger evidence of the breaking down of caste prejudice is to be found in one Inspector's report that high caste boys were found to be reading in a number of schools for the depressed classes."

The higher branches of education share with the primary stages the progress which has taken place during recent years. There is a feeling abroad that however satisfactory may be the position of secondary and university education from the quantitative point of view, from the qualitative there is much to be desired. This is especially true of secondary education, which, generally speaking, is poor as compared with Western standards, and is in parts ill regulated. The methods of instruction are faulty, the staff takes little interest in its work and the ambition of the pupils is generally mercenary. Too slight attention has been given in the past to the moral, social, and physical sides of education—the intellectual side has been everything. It is encouraging to observe, however, that serious attention is now being paid to physical training in the schools, and some provinces now have whole time Directors of physical education. Little improvement, though, is to be looked for as long as the demand for secondary education remains what it is, for efforts are likely to lead to nothing more than the mere multiplication of institutions of the present inefficient and ineffectual type. It seems to be recognised that the system of secondary education stands in need of some overhauling so as to bring it more into line with present-day requirements and aspirations. It is recognised, too, that since even at best only a small portion of India's vast population can hope to pass beyond the stage of secondary education, this education should be sound and complete in itself. Hence there is a growing desire and an increasing endeavour

to reconstruct it so as to separate secondary and university education, confining each to its proper sphere and making the former self-contained. Boards of Secondary and Intermediate Education or Boards of Secondary Education have been constituted in certain provinces, and are doing valuable work. Intermediate colleges have been established in some places, and vocational training is becoming steadily more popular. This is satisfactory since unemployment among the middle classes is due largely to the purely literary type of the education hitherto imparted. There is still great scope for the expansion of professional and technical education. In 1927-28 there were, in all India, 18 Engineering Colleges and schools with an enrolment of 4,283. These may be classified as follows:

Engineering Colleges—7 with 2,064 scholars.

Engineering schools—11 with 2,219 scholars.

It should be noted that Engineering Schools includes Surveying Schools.

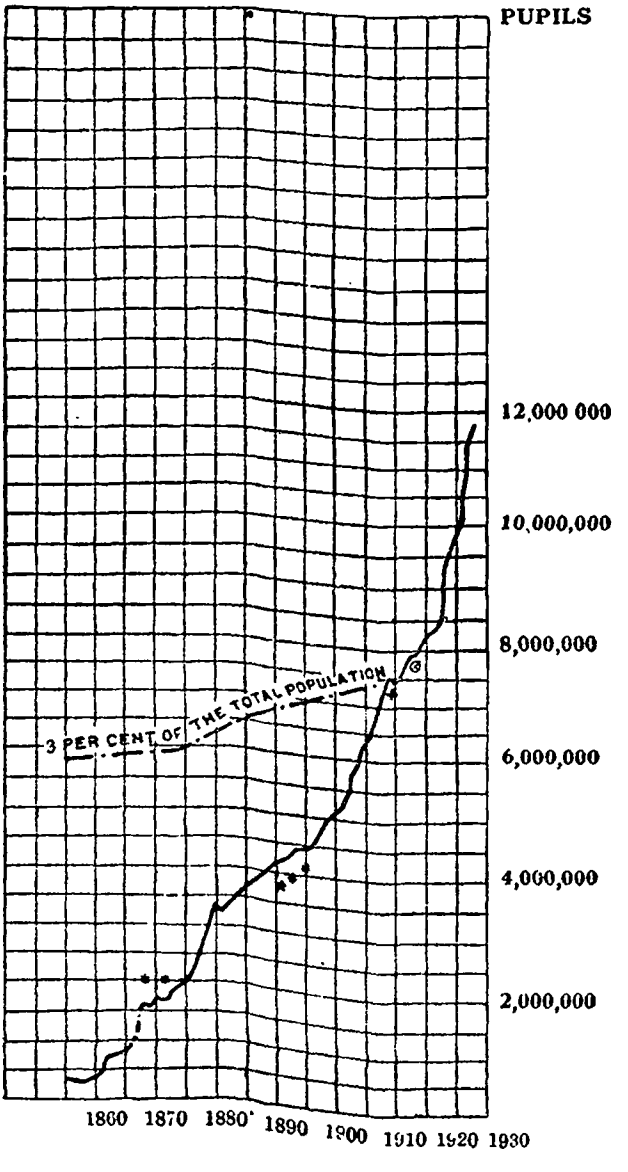
Unlike primary and secondary education, university education is not under the entire control of Provincial Governments. A few universities are directly under the Government of India, which continues to exercise certain powers in respect of these universities. Formerly, the great majority of Indian Universities were examining bodies, testing the attainments of the alumni of groups of individual and often scattered colleges, sometimes inadequately staffed and equipped, whose ambition usually outran their capacity. The old universities are, one by one, being remodelled so as to be both teaching and examining bodies, and new ones are being set up. Further, a desire to relegate preliminary work to the intermediate colleges and to confine the universities to higher instruction is now evident, particularly in the United Provinces. Colleges have been reorganised, new methods of administration adopted, and new courses of instruction introduced. Unfortunately, the establishment of new colleges seems to be leading to an undesirable competition for students, and, consequently, a lowering of the standard of education. The inauguration of the Central Inter-University Board might provide a safeguard against this danger, and it is possible that the growing tendency to specialise in the teaching of particular subjects will in the end provide a way out.

The attack on illiteracy has not been confined to the formal education institutions. Recognising that education, in the true sense, is a life-long process and that adult education is a necessity

DIAGRAM.

Total number of pupils under instruction in India.

Famine.....*
Commencement of Plague.....*
Influenza.....⊗
Indian States omitted.....+



if the country is to have an electorate able to understand and properly use the suffrage that has been conferred upon it, Ministers have been turning their attention to this important problem. The urban population presents no difficulty, for the towns offer much scope for the university extension movement. The case of the rural population, however, is different, and to meet their wants various measures have been adopted. One of these is the organisation of lectures on matters connected with health and welfare: another is the night school movement; another, the device already mentioned of encouraging medical men to settle down in the villages; yet another is the establishment of village libraries and elementary literary societies. All these are yielding small but favourable results. It is difficult to give accurate details for the number and strength of schools for adults in the provinces since in many provinces no distinction is made in classification between schools which really provide for the education of illiterate adults and schools, especially night and part-time schools, which are attended most largely by ordinary primary school children who are unable to attend day schools. The Punjab is still leading the way in the provision of schools for illiterate adults, and the activities of the Rural Community Board and the District Community Councils in the matter of providing village libraries, lantern slides, lecture notes and pamphlets have greatly stimulated the movement for mass education. By the end of the year under review vernacular libraries, open to adults, had been started in nearly two thousand vernacular middle schools in the Punjab.

The following tables will show at a glance the number of institutions and scholars in India, and the total expenditure on education in respect of recognised institutions during the year 1927-28.

Institutions and Scholars, 1927-28.

Type of Institution.	Institutions.		Scholars.	
	For Males.	For Females.	Males.	Females.
Recognised Institution . .	189,792	30,003	9,260,266	1,899,890
Un-recognised Institution .	31,536	3,378	518,511	96,555

Total expenditure on Education in India, 1927-28.

(Recognised Institutions.)

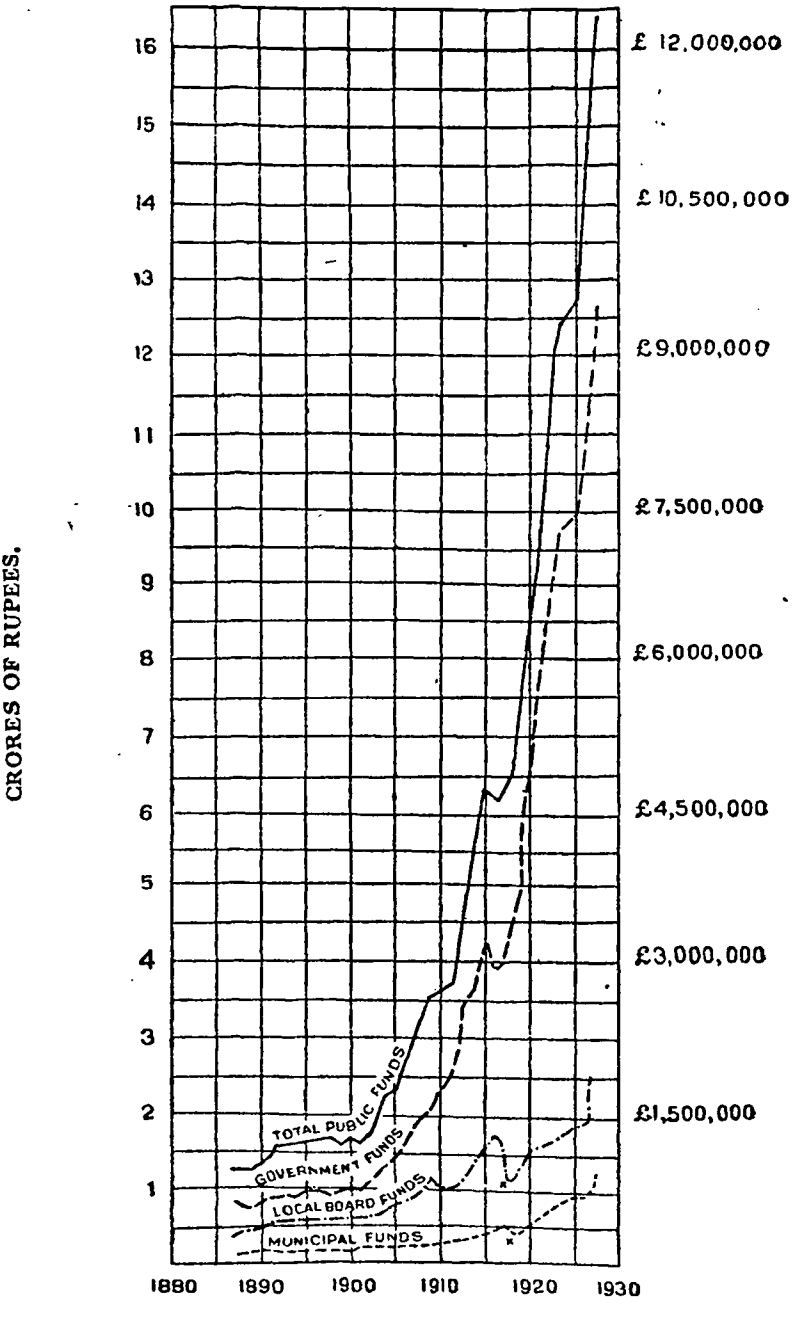
	Rs.
1. From Government Funds . . .	12,66,92,478
2. From Board and Municipal Funds . .	3,78,88,437
3. From Fees	5,44,71,633
4. From other sources	3,92,26,271
TOTAL .	25,82,78,819

We may now turn to the progress of education in the Provinces during 1927-28, the latest year for which provincial reports are available. In Madras considerable progress was made in the provision of elementary education. Sanction was accorded for the opening of 687 Board elementary schools for Boys under the Taluk Boards, and 612 schools for Boys under the management of village panchayats with the aid of provincial funds. Funds were also placed at the disposal of the District educational councils for the opening of nearly 100 schools for boys under private management. The Madras Corporation introduced compulsory education in all divisions of the city for all children of school-going age, except Muhammadan girls. As an experimental measure sanction was also accorded for the opening of adult education classes, by non-official and honorary workers in 15 selected centres. Sanction was also accorded during the year for the opening of 409 Board elementary schools for boys, involving an annual recurring expenditure of over one lakh of rupees. The increasing demand for women teachers necessitated the opening of 4 additional training schools for mistresses. The number of public elementary schools for boys increased from 46,378 to 48,407 and their strength from 1,985,617 to 2,094,138. The total number of teachers in public schools also increased from 83,280 to 87,978, while the number of trained men among them increased from 39,913 to 43,002. Excellent progress was also made in female education during the year under review, the number of schools for Indian girls rising from 3,567 to 4,273 and their strength from 246,864 to 280,200. During 1927-28 there were 585,339 girls attending all grades of institutions as against 534,640 during the previous year. The total number of training schools for women under various managements was 41, and the number under training 1,973.

Education in the Bombay Presidency has progressed at a rate which has eclipsed even the most sanguine expectations, and the

DIAGRAM.

Public Expenditure on Education.



× Fall due to reclassification of expenditure according to which Government contributions made to local bodies for education are included in expenditure from provincial funds.

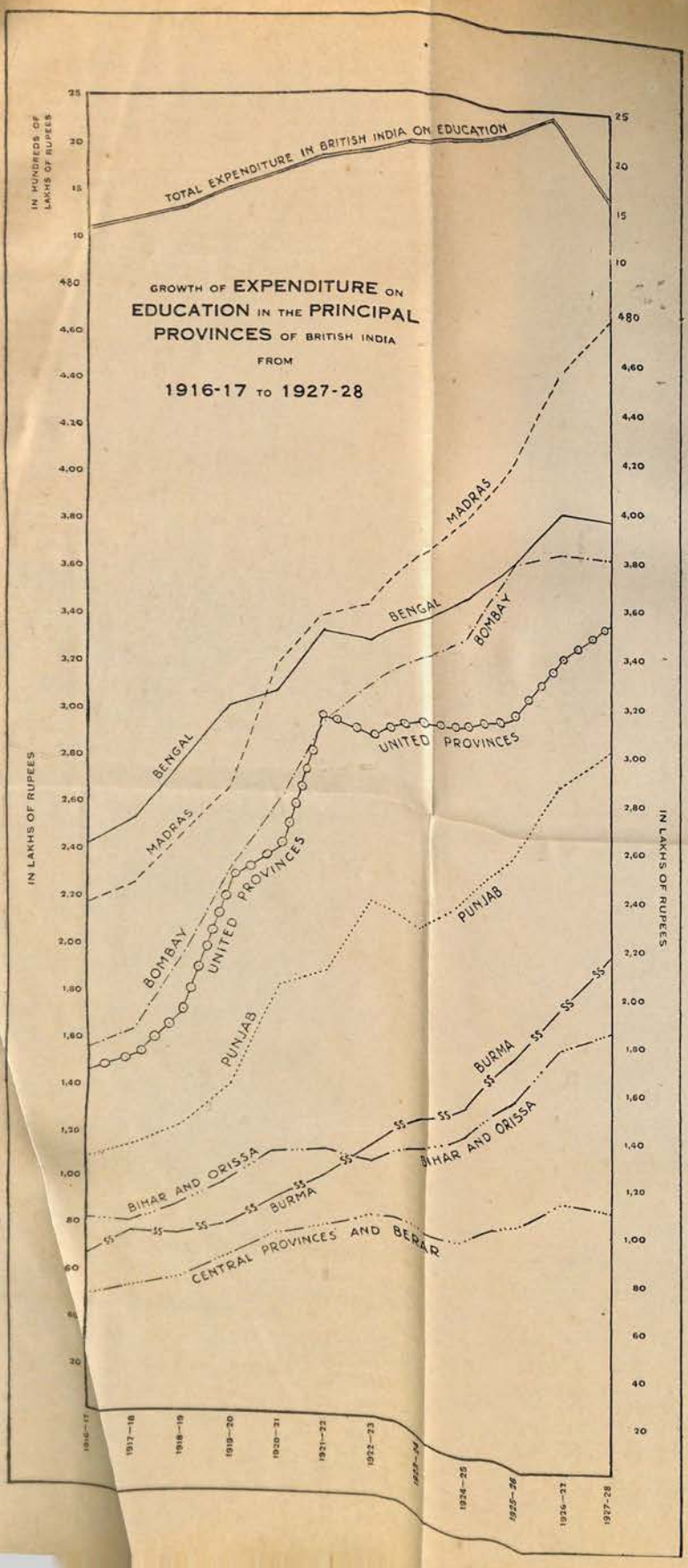
main problem to-day is the provision of sufficient funds to cope with the all-round expansion of both primary and secondary education. The total number of recognised and unrecognised educational institutions in the Presidency increased by 502 to 16,713 and the number of pupils in them by 43,439 to 1,192,153. Out of a total of 26,812 towns and villages 10,327 possess schools, and the percentage of male scholars under instruction to the total male population was 9·43 against 9·12 in the preceding year, while that of female scholars under instruction to the female population was 2·58 against 2·43. The total expenditure on education in the Presidency rose by over 8 lakhs to about 390 lakhs, government funds contributing 51·4 per cent, Board funds 17·6 per cent, fees 17·7 per cent. and other sources 13·3 per cent. Primary schools absorbed over Rs. 197½ lakhs, exclusive of expenditure on inspection, instruction and repairs. Primary schools for boys increased by 459 to 12,759 and the number of pupils in them by 27,911 to 879,394. The number of girls under instruction in primary schools was 211,279, an increase of 12,675. The number of District Local Boards and Municipal Schools for boys and girls increased by 347 to 11,521, and the number of pupils in them by 27,878 to 871,013. There are 12 training institutions for men with 840 pupils and 18 for women with 637 pupils. The total number of Muhammadans under instruction increased by 9,676 to 197,595, of whom 42,527 were girls. There are nearly 480,000 Hindus receiving instruction in intermediate institutions and 129,756 members of the backward classes, including 63,620 of the depressed classes.

The general condition of secondary education in Bengal continued unsatisfactory, although it has been possible to improve the difficulties of employment of teachers to some extent by increasing the rates of fees, taking additional grants from Government, and by the institution of a Provident Fund. But the majority of teachers employed in schools under private management are still badly paid, and in many cases inefficiently qualified. There was much room for improvement in the method of recognition in High Schools, the course taught by them, and in the nature of examinations to which High School pupils are presented. A proposal for the institution of a Board of Secondary Education is now under the consideration of Government, and until that comes into existence there can be little hope for reform. Primary education has made good progress during the year. The number of schools for Indian boys increased from 38,187 to 38,990. Of this number

681,418 were Hindus and 800,503 were Muhammadans. A sum of Rs. 62,36,249 was spent on maintaining primary schools during the year, compared with Rs. 55,90,162 in the previous year. The number of secondary schools for Indian boys increased from 2,805 to 2,884, and High and Middle English schools increased by 13 to 66 respectively. The number of recognised and unrecognised schools for Indian girls increased from 15,040 to 15,964, and the number of pupils attending them from 363,961 to 394,025.

The total number of Muhammadan pupils in all types of educational institutions in Bengal was 1,235,706, and the number of Muhammadan girls enrolled in recognised institutions was 242,483 against 221,206 in the previous year. Female education in the Muslim community in Bengal is only increasing in the primary stage. In the higher stages of education the number of girls is practically the same as it was several years ago.

In the United Provinces education continued to make great strides. During 1927-28 the number of educational institutions increased from 24,820 to 25,848, of which 23,270 were recognised institutions. There was an increase of 6 per cent. in the total number of scholars enrolled during the year, and the percentage to the total population was 3·16 against 2·97 last year. The expenditure on education increased from Rs. 337·79 to Rs. 354·06 lakhs, of which the Government's share was 57·95 per cent. A beginning has been made in the extension of compulsory primary education in rural areas under the new Act. The scheme of 19 District Boards for the institution of compulsory primary education has been sanctioned by Government, whilst in the case of 14 other boards, schemes have been approved and will be put into operation as soon as funds are available. The most formidable difficulty in the way of the expansion of primary education in rural areas is the comparative inelasticity of District Board funds. Formerly 90 per cent. of the cost of education was met by Government, but under the new Act, District Boards must meet an ever-increasing proportion of the total expenditure. Government have also sanctioned the schemes of 6 more Municipal Boards for compulsory primary education, and the number of municipalities in which it is now enforced is 36. Secondary education has also progressed considerably since the publication of our last report. The number of secondary institutions rose from 889 to 909, and enrolments from 1,32,366 to 1,46,554 and the expenditure increased from 70·31


GROWTH OF EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION IN THE PRINCIPAL PROVINCES OF BRITISH INDIA FROM 1916-17 TO 1927-28
TOTAL EXPENDITURE IN BRITISH INDIA ON EDUCATION
IN HUNDREDS OF LAKHS OF RUPEES
IN LAKHS OF RUPEES
MADRAS
BENGAL
BOMBAY
UNITED PROVINCES
PUNJAB
BURMA
BIHAR AND ORISSA
CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR
1916-17
1917-18
1918-19
1919-20
1920-21
1921-22
1922-23
1923-24
1924-25
1925-26
1926-27
1927-28

lakhs to Rs. 73·87 lakhs, of which 53·7 per cent. was met by provincial funds. There was a slight increase in the number of High and Middle schools from 236 to 243, and in the enrolments from 67,678 to 73,436. The middle schools as a class are reported to be inefficient, while the High Schools vary in efficiency. There has been a certain amount of deterioration in the standard of English as a result of the introduction of the vernacular as a medium of instruction. It is encouraging to note, however, that a better and more active type of discipline was noticeable during the year, due to the spread of the Boy Scout movement and physical training, and the introduction into the curriculum of first aid and manual training. The number of educational institutions for girls in the United Provinces rose from 1,807 to 1,872 and enrolments from 80,324 to 85,112. Sixteen per cent. of the total enrolments came from Muslims, 5 per cent. from Indian Christians, 75 per cent. from High Caste Hindus, and 2 per cent. from the depressed classes. There were 26 post-intermediate students at the Isobel Thoburn College, Lucknow, and 18 at the Crossthwaite Girls' College at Allahabad. There are now 13 High Schools for Girls in the province, as against 11 last year, 4 being recognised. Lack of trained women teachers is still a great hindrance to the spread of female education in this province. Many local Boards have no sense of responsibility for girls' schools and some even do not appear to pay standard rates for trained teachers. In one circle alone 11 schools were closed for lack of funds.

In the Punjab the percentage of pupils under instruction to the total population during the year 1927-28 was 6·04 against 5·72 the previous year. The figures for boys only gives a percentage of 9·77 against 9·32. More than a third of the total increase for the year was contributed by Ambala Division with 21,802 additional pupils. Multan was next with 5,416 pupils and Rawalpindi third with 1,991. The total enrolment in all schools for the year was 1,248,131, an increase of 65,395. Primary schools showed an increase of 43,689 scholars. In the cities of Lahore and Amritsar, where compulsion has been enforced for some time, 93 and 94 per cent. respectively of the boys of school age are reported to be at school. There is a general keenness among the people for education, and the question of future advance is mainly a question of funds. Adult education is growing in popularity, and the establishment of village libraries is greatly assisting the spread of literacy.

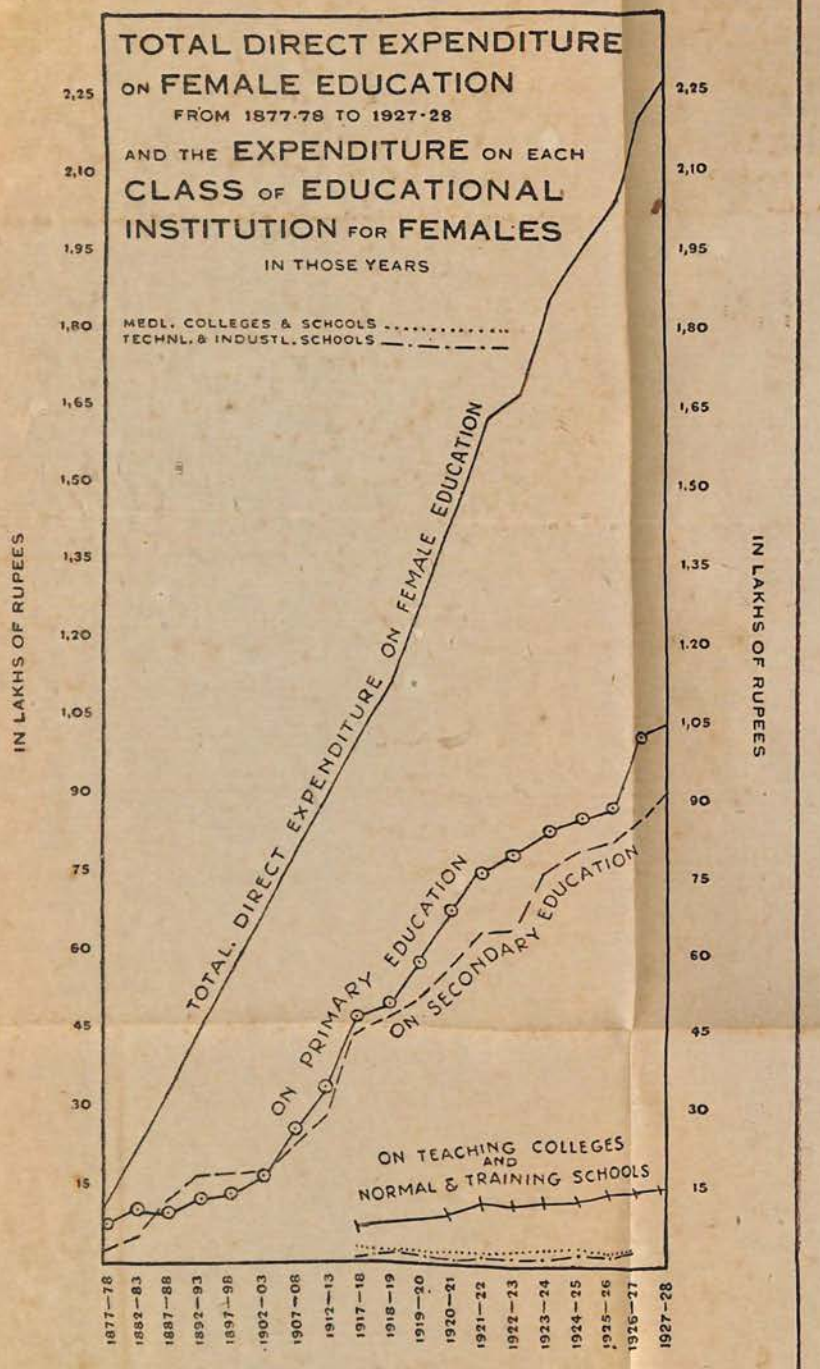
The education of girls is also advancing rapidly in the Punjab. The total roll has risen by 13·6 per cent, and another important feature of the statistics is the increase of 10,333 girls in boys schools for Indians compared with 3,845 in 1924-25. That the number of such girls should have doubled in the course of three years is of good augury for the future of co-education. The attitude of the Legislative Council towards education generally is very encouraging.

The number of secondary schools in the Punjab increased from 2,626 to 3,048, an increase of 422 or 16 per cent. Of this number 404 are vernacular secondary institutions, 17 are anglo-vernacular middle, and one a high school. The increase in the number of scholars is 60,414, giving a total of 551,193.

Marked educational progress was made in Burma during the year 1927-28. Four important public committees produced their reports, and two departmental committees submitted recommendations during the year. The number of public schools (7,123) increased by 238, of which 191 were new schools opened under government's special five-year scheme for new schools in backward districts. The existing schools were better attended, the total number of pupils (478,441) increasing by 35,139. Over 70 per cent. of these were still in the Lower Primary Stage at the close of the year. The total expenditure on education in 1927-28 was Rs. 2,18,44,339 or Rs. 24,60,535 more than in the previous year. The average expenditure per head of the population was Rs. 1-10-5 of which Rs. 1-2-5 was met from public funds. There were 242,524 boys receiving primary education in Burma at the close of the year, an increase of 14,612. The corresponding number of girls was 169,378, an increase of 13,428.

The number of Muhammadans under instruction in public schools was 23,234, and the corresponding number in private schools was 6,278. The number of girls attending schools increased by 14,542, and the percentage in the lower primary standards was 80, compared with 70 for boys.

Secondary education showed no change during the year. The Niven Committee presented its report on professional and technical education during the year, and recommended *inter alia* that vocational education should not be attempted in ordinary schools, and that a Provincial Board of Commercial and Industrial Education should be established.



NOTE.—THE TOTAL EXPENDITURE WAS MADE UP ALMOST ENTIRELY OF EXPENDITURE ON SECONDARY AND PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN THE YEARS 1877-78 TO 1912-13.

In recent years the major portion of the funds allotted for educational purposes in the province of Bihar and Orissa has been devoted to primary schools, and the result has been a greater increase in the number of schools and the pupils attending them. The total number of primary schools of all classes with Indian and European boys and girls attending them rose from 30,247 to 39,711, and the number of pupils attending them from 941,675 to 964,762. No additional grants for primary education were made by the Government, but the total increase in the direct expenditure from public funds amounted to Rs. 3,74,767. There was a fall in the number of unaided schools in 12 of the 21 districts, but this is not altogether to be deprecated since many of the schools spring up in places where they are not really required. There was a great deal of stagnation in the educational life of the province, and the main reasons for the poor progress made by many pupils are poor teaching, irregular attendance, the admission of very young children, and a lack of interest on the part of parents. A large number of primary schools exist with a single teacher, who is frequently untrained. The latest census of such schools indicates that there are 21,615 primary schools staffed with only one teacher. This condition of things naturally produces stagnation since a large number of pupils never get beyond the last class and are withdrawn from schools before they have learned even to read or write. There was an increase in the number of secondary schools in the province during the year from 730 to 778, while the number of pupils increased from 101,793 to 114,764.

To meet the criticism that education in the province was too literary, action was taken in several districts by Government during the year. A school in agriculture was opened in the Bikram Middle Vernacular School in Patna District, and schools in carpentering and tailoring were started in a few middle schools in other districts. Unfortunately local bodies are taking very little interest in vocational education, and even the much talked of *charkha* is losing its popularity in the majority of districts.

Female education in the province of Bihar and Orissa is still in its infancy, but considering the serious social obstacles which blocks its progress, the achievements of the year under review may be considered satisfactory. There were 2,978 educational institutions for girls in the province at the close of the year, with 121,164 scholars. The formation of women's associations at Patna, Cuttack and Ranchi is stimulating the demand for the edu-

cation of girls, but progress is mainly hampered for want of qualified women teachers. With a view to remedying this need the Government sanctioned a special scale of pay for trained women matriculates in the vernacular teachers' services, but even this failed to attract the teachers required.

In the Central Provinces steady progress was made during the year under review. The total number of pupils receiving instruction increased by 15,585, representing all kinds of educational institutions. The enrolment in high schools rose to 5,172, the highest figure yet reached in this province, while that in primary schools increased by 7,335. The Central Provinces Primary Education Act amended during the year to enable local bodies to introduce compulsion in any area by stages. There was a decrease in the total expenditure on education from Rs. 1,13,63,933 to Rs. 1,11,38,879, mainly due to the payment in the previous year of special grants to local bodies for vernacular school buildings. A change in policy was made in respect of female education during the year, the responsibility for opening new vernacular schools for girls being transferred from Government to local bodies.

The number of depressed class pupils increased from 40,677 to 40,848 during the year.

In Assam the year 1927-28 was marked by the most substantial increase in the number of schools and pupils that has been recorded since the formation of Assam as a separate province. The number of institutions and scholars increased from 5,768 and 288,670 to 6,307 and 317,081, respectively. Expenditure in all institutions for boys and girls increased by 7·4 per cent, the cost to the provincial revenues rising by 9 per cent. During the year under review, the Assam Primary Education Act was brought into force. The number of primary schools for boys increased from 4,377 to 4,719, and their enrolment from 199,903 to 217,934. A corresponding increase was recorded in the number of secondary schools for boys, which increased from 345 to 357, and their enrolment from 46,312 to 50,320. The number of girls reading in schools increased from 37,802 to 43,794. The number of Tea Garden Schools rose from 65 with 1,798 pupils to 81 schools with 2,281 pupils.

The total number of educational institutions of all kinds in the North-West Frontier Province rose from 1,033 to 1,118, while the number of public institutions for boys increased from 661 to 752.

The number of pupils in all institutions rose from 69,718 to 76,756, namely, by 7,038. In private unrecognised institutions there was a decline to 467 pupils and in public schools of all kinds the number of pupils rose by 7,505. The percentage of male scholars to the total male population shows a slight increase from 5·0 to 5·6, and of girl scholars to the total female population from ·7 to ·8. The percentage of boy pupils to the male population of school-going age increased from 33·7 to 37·2, the corresponding figures for girls being 4·8 to 5·4. The number of primary schools and scholars in them at the end of 1927-28 was 601 and 32,575 respectively. The number of children attending the primary schools of primary and secondary schools rose from 51,967 to 58,337, an increase of 12·6 per cent. The direct expenditure on primary education in the North-West Frontier Province increased from Rs. 3,23,310 to Rs. 3,30,154. The cost of maintaining a primary school fell from Rs. 591 to Rs. 549, and the average annual cost of educating a pupil in a primary school fell from Rs. 11-13-2 to Rs. 10-11-11. The returns for the year under review with respect to female education showed a rise in the number of institutions and a substantial increase in the enrolment. The number of unrecognised institutions for girls in existence at the close of the year was 91, and the number of pupils 7,434, an increase of 806. The financial assistance provided for the education of girls in the North-West Frontier Province has hitherto been very meagre, but the results obtained display an increased keenness on the part of all concerned. Secondary education has also made good progress in the North-West Frontier Province. The total number of pupils attending High and Anglo-Vernacular middle schools rose from 13,307 to 13,866, while the total direct expenditure on high schools increased from Rs. 4,83,166 to Rs. 5,14,632, and on Anglo-Vernacular middle schools from Rs. 96,714 to Rs. 1,08,752.

* * *

The Co-operative Society movement is one of the most promising and important of the efforts now being made to improve the conditions of life in India. Its activities are not confined merely to the agricultural population, although, of course, it is among them that it finds its greatest scope and widest field of work. It is now about 23 years since the movement was started in India, and its record has been one of uninterrupted progress; the total number of Co-operative Societies having risen to 76,371. More-

over, the growth has, on the whole, been a sound and healthy one, and if the most important of all the statistics which are prepared in connection with Co-operative Societies are studied, it will be seen that the co-operative movement in this country is in a thoroughly sound condition.

Through these societies a good deal of quiet constructive work has been carried on. Their membership and capital continue to grow steadily, and one of their primary objects is the encouragement of thrift by collecting small shares, receiving deposits and attempting to induce members to make compulsory contributions for special purposes. Agricultural non-credit societies are extending their operations every year. They undertake the joint sale of agricultural produce, the production and sale of implements and manures, the furtherance of irrigation projects, and the consolidation of holdings. They open dispensaries and schools, they assist the Agricultural Departments in spreading knowledge of improved methods of cultivation, and they maintain communications and build new roads.

In the Madras Presidency the working of the Co-operative Movement underwent a large expansion during the year, 1927-28, no less than 1,112 Agricultural Societies having been registered, bringing the total of all societies registered up to 14,510, as compared with 13,357 societies at the close of the previous year. The total number of members in all societies at the close of the year was 898,186 as compared with 830,522 in the previous year. The percentage of society membership to the population of the Presidency was 2·1 compared with 1·94 in the previous year. There were 18 land mortgage banks at the end of the year, against 10 in the previous year, with a membership of 1,024 and a paid up share capital of Rs. 60,787. Nine more milk supply societies were added during the year to the 11 already in existence, and excellent work was done by the 9 reclamation societies during the year. Labour Contract Societies were able to secure contracts for Rs. 2,38 lakhs, and actually completed work within the year valued at over 3 lakhs. The Madras Government granted a loan of Rs. 2,700 to an irrigation society for the purpose of installing plant and machinery for lifting water. The Committee on Co-operation appointed by Madras Government in September, 1927, issued their report during the year, and its recommendations are still under consideration.

In spite of a bad season in many localities the progress of the co-operative movement in the Bombay Presidency continued to be satisfactory. There was an increase of 239 societies over the figure of the previous year, making a total of 5,330 societies at the close of the year. The number of members rose from 482,730 to 539,470, and the increase in the working capital by nearly a crore of rupees is astonishing. The immense figure of 11¼ crores illustrates the large part which the co-operative movement is playing in the economic life of the Bombay Presidency. At the same time one of the disquieting features of the year was the alarming increase in the unauthorised arrears, which amounted to Rs. 105 lakhs, out of Rs. 317 lakhs due for repayment during the year. The number of agricultural non-credit societies decreased from 264 to 257 during the year, and some of the societies which were not working were cancelled. This side of the movement is still in its infancy, and until non-official workers with some knowledge of business methods and a supply of competent and honest managers are available very little progress can be expected. The Provincial Co-operative Bank continues to be the centre of co-operative activities in all its various aspects. Three more up-country branches were opened during the year, bringing the total number of branches to 19. Three Land Mortgage Banks were started in the districts of Broach, Dharwar and East Khandesh during the year. The number of central banks was 19, compared with 20 during the previous year, and loans to societies rose from 147 to 170 lakhs. There was an increase in the number of Housing Societies from 47 to 52, and with a view to dealing with the floods in Gujerat and Sind, a special type of Housing Society had to be organised. Fifty-three Reconstruction Societies were registered during the year, 22 in Gujerat and 31 in Sind, and loans amounting to Rs. 4 lakhs were advanced to 38 societies.

The year 1927-28 was by no means a prosperous one for the co-operative movement in Bengal. Insufficiency of rainfall in the early part of the year, followed by a deficiency in the latter part of October, 1927, materially affected the outturn of winter paddy throughout the province. The market was also unfavourable for jute, and in some cases the price was so low that the people could not even get an adequate return for their labour. Altogether the economic conditions were decidedly unfavourable for the agriculturist in Bengal. In the Chittagong division these conditions were further aggravated by epidemics of cholera and smallpox,

while floods and landslips caused serious distress in some parts of the Darjeeling District. The arrangements entered into with the Imperial Bank of India regarding financial assistance to the co-operative movement came into full operation during the year. The Provincial Bank had two cash credits with the Imperial Bank, one for Rs. 30,49 lakhs against securities lodged with the Bank, and the other for Rs. 10 lakhs on the security of the pro-notes of Central Banks. The local branches of the Imperial Bank allowed cash credits for Rs. 3,43 lakhs to some of the Central Banks on the guarantee of the Provincial Bank. This growth of financial relations between the Imperial Bank and the Co-operative Movement will remove the complaints which are often made that the banking system set up by Government is designed wholly to meet the needs of the persons who move the crops and the manufacturers who prepare the crops for export, but not the persons who produce the crops. The total number of societies at the close of the year was 18,107 against 15,439 in the preceding year. The number of members rose from 547,325 to 635,959, and the total working capital of all societies rose from Rs. 9,43,42,218 to Rs. 11,10,01,532. The Bengal Provincial Co-operative Bank made satisfactory progress during the year, the increased deposits from non-members amounting to 102·93 lakhs—further evidence of growing public confidence. During the year the Bank opened a Savings Bank Department and introduced Home Safe Boxes. Steady progress was made in the industrial and producers societies, the sale and supply societies and, in fact, every other phase of the co-operative movement in the Bengal Presidency.

The most important event during the year in the co-operative movement in the United Provinces was the registration of the United Provinces Co-operative Union. The Union replaces the Standing Committee of Co-operators, a merely advisory body, and relieves those central banks, which have joined it of the duties of supervision of primary societies and leaves them free to devote themselves to finance, which is their proper function. Government sanctioned a grant of Rs. 20,000 to enable the Union to maintain a competent and efficient staff. Three new inspectors were appointed during the year, and one additional inspector was appointed for cottage industries, bringing the total to 51. The policy of the Co-operative Department in closing down bad societies and removing undesirable members resulted in a fall of 177 in the number of primary agricultural societies during the year, which

now number 5,697 as against 5,874 in the previous year, and a decrease in the total membership by 9,000. Two new Central Banks were registered during the year, but the Central Weavers Bank of Sandila had to be liquidated, as also the District Bank at Budaun. Money due to the Central Banks increased from Rs. 60·82 lakhs to 63·22 lakhs. The total capital involved in the movement is Rs. 201·86 lakhs, and of this Rs. 80·4 lakhs represented paid up shares and reserve fund, or roughly 42 per cent. There was an increase in overdue loans during the year from Rs. 28·43 to Rs. 31·82 lakhs, which now amounts to 41 per cent. of the outstandings, against 39 per cent. in the previous year. The Department is now directing its main efforts towards the reorganisation of existing societies and the spreading of the true ideals of co-operation. It is difficult to get the population to realise that the meaning of co-operation is not merely to lend money at cheap rates, but to improve the business of the cultivators, their farming and their standard of living, so that they are in a position to earn more and produce more.

The co-operative movement in Bihar and Orissa continues to make good progress on sound lines. During the year 1928 no less than 627 new societies were registered, bringing the total number of societies of all kinds up to 9,111. Three new Central Banks were organised during the year, making a total of 68 in the province. One hundred and three societies went into liquidation during the year, and as an experimental measure a whole-time liquidator was appointed for the District of Gaya. It has been found that liquidation proceedings under the guidance of Central Banks are not expeditiously carried out, resulting in the accumulation of interest due to members and confusion in the accounts. In interest alone the savings to members is calculated to amount to Rs. 10 lakhs a year, which is reflected in their deposits amounting to Rs. 4½ lakhs in 1926-27. The co-operative movement in Bihar and Orissa is predominantly rural, as may be gathered from the fact that during the year under review there were 8,300 primary societies, of which no fewer than 7,934 were agricultural societies. The working capital of the societies, which is nearly all given out in loans to the members, was well over Rs. 2 crores, and the reserve stood at Rs. 25 lakhs. The classification of primary societies showed an improvement during the year—the number of societies classed as " bad ", and " hopeless " being much lower than in the preceding year.

In the Central Provinces the process of eliminating bad societies continued during the year, and consequently the total number of societies of all kinds fell from 4,124 to 4,049. In spite of this fall, however, there was an increase in membership and the amount of invested working capital. The total loans increased from 59·81 lakhs to Rs. 63·7 lakhs in the Central Provinces, and from Rs. 88·2 lakhs to Rs. 89·9 lakhs in Berar. Overdues amounted to Rs. 23·5 per cent. in the Central Provinces and 17·5 per cent. in Berar. The total number of Central Banks was 35 during the year, and the financial position continued to be sound. Share societies are being formed with a view to train the members in the management of their own affairs. The number stands at 578 against 323 in the previous year.

The principal feature of the year with regard to the co-operative movement in Burma was the Government's resolution on the annual report of the department, which stated that "for the present, at any rate, control must be tightened up and the movement closely supervised." An intensive campaign to stimulate repayments by the Societies of certain districts was carried out between December, 1927, and May, 1928, but it was a complete failure. Of Rs. 52·75 lakhs principal due from societies in nine Districts on January 1st, 1928, less than Rs. 3·25 lakhs had been collected by June 30th, 1928, and these repayments came almost wholly from the minority of comparatively honest societies which had always made more or less reasonable efforts to pay their debts. The total membership declined from 139,401 in the preceding year to 137,328, deposits by members from Rs. 13·57 lakhs to Rs. 12·37 lakhs, and by non-members from Rs. 149·03 lakhs to Rs. 144·52 lakhs. At the close of 1926-27 there were 119 Urban Societies, including two wound up but not disregistered. At the end of the year under review there were 121 non-disregistered societies, of which 17 had been wound up but not yet disregistered. The Burma Urban Central Co-operative Bank was ordered to be wound up as a result of the audit report for the year ending June 30th, 1928, and on examination of the Bank's books by the liquidators a number of prosecutions were instituted against various persons connected with the Bank.

The expansion of the co-operative movement in Assam continued steadily, the number of societies increasing from 1,066 to 1,197, and the membership from 53,411 to 60,575. There were 15 Central Banks at the close of the year, and the loans issued to affiliated

societies amounted to Rs. 5,09,134 against Rs. 4,25,881 in the preceding year. Three new non-credit societies were organised and two dissolved during the year, the total number at the close of the year being 19. There has been steady progress in almost all directions in the co-operative movement, the only dark spot being the high percentage of overdue loans. The Board of Development have submitted some important recommendations to Government during the year, which are now under consideration.

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From what has been written in earlier chapters, the importance of the part played by cottage industries in rural economics in India is obvious. Departments for the development of industries are in existence in Madras, Bombay, the Punjab, the United Provinces, Bengal and Bihar and Orissa, and amongst their functions is that of the supervision and assistance of rural industries. An Industrial Loans Act has been passed in the Punjab, while Madras and Bihar and Orissa have passed State-Aid to Industries Acts. Under these measures assistance can be given from provincial revenues, subject to certain conditions, to private enterprise for starting new industries. Wherever there is an Industries Department, the development of rural industries benefits to a considerable extent, and much good work has been done in the various provinces during the past few years.

The survey of cottage industries in 1927 in Madras, with a view to their revival and establishment on an economic basis as subsidiary occupations for agriculturists, was almost completed at the close of the year 1928. The Government Kerala Soap Institute at Calicut employed 12 students for training in soap manufacture for a year's course. The Industries Department continued to develop a number of existing industries and the peripatetic weaving parties gave practical demonstrations of improved machinery with satisfactory results. The Department maintained 5 schools, and during the year under review aided 66 private schools with grants, and awarded scholarships for the study of technical subjects in India and abroad. A Bill amending the State-Aid to Industries Act with a view to extending its benefits to small scale industries and cottage industries was passed by the Madras Legislative Council during the year.

In Bengal the chemical section of the Industrial research Laboratory was completed during the year under review, making a large range of scientific investigations now possible. Important

research work into the composition of match-heads, soap, shellac, and the bleaching of hosiery was undertaken during the year with a view to the better utilisation of raw materials. The Bengal Tanning Institute carried out a number of important researches into the manufacture of sole leather, chrome picking bands, laces and straps, and leather from buffalo hides. Since last year's report was published many students have started small tanneries with success, and the demonstrators deputed to tour the province have rendered useful assistance. The Government Weaving Institute at Saharanpur continued its constructive work in the revival of the handloom weaving industry during the year. Fourteen new peripatetic weaving schools were opened, and the silk weaving and dyeing institute at Berhampore opened its session with sixty students. Approval was also accorded for a new scheme for the establishment of nine additional peripatetic weaving schools. There are at present 127 technical and industrial schools in Bengal, of which 51 are managed by Government, 5 by local funds and Municipal Boards, 64 receive Government aid, whilst 7 schools are under private management unaided by Government. With an increase of 30,000 per annum in arithmetical progression for three years in the grant-in-aid allotment, the work in this branch of the department was further developed, and a new technical school at Krishnagar was completed during the year. Two three-year State Technical Scholarships for the study of ferro concrete and steel building construction and pottery manufacture in England were awarded during the year.

In the United Provinces the Government have aimed at raising the standard of technical training by expanding educational facilities and demonstrating improved processes and appliances. Every effort is made to assist the industrialist by placing at his disposal a research staff ready to solve the problems that arise in his business, and by collecting useful information relating to industry. Eleven new schools were opened during the year, and the total number of these institutions is now 112 with nearly 3,500 scholars. Eight short-term foreign scholarships were awarded for various subjects during the year and two long-term scholarships were awarded respectively in mechanical and electrical engineering and sugar technology. Demonstrations were given in weaving, leather working, dyeing and printing at various exhibitions in the province, and a very successful departmental exhibition was held at Lucknow, which was attended by 12,000 people and at which the sales

amounted to Rs. 14,000. The problem before the Industries Department in this province, so far as cottage industries are concerned, is not so much to improve manufacture as to assist in the disposal of the products at competitive rates. The percentage of the value of goods of Indian manufacture to the total purchases of imported goods increased from 60 the previous year to 66 during the year under review.

The Department of Industries in Bihar and Orissa was created as recently as 1920 to supervise the provision of technical and industrial education, and to stimulate the industrial development of the province. In 1923 a State Aid to Industries Act was brought into force, since when aid in the form of loans and cash credits has been granted to the extent of nearly 6½ crores of rupees. Next to agriculture the hand loom weaving industry is the most important occupation of the people of this province. In the census of 1921 no less than 164,592 handlooms were working in the province, weaving each year an average of 20 million pounds of yarn, mostly of coarse counts, into cloth worth nearly 5 crores of rupees. Although the greater number of looms weave cotton, silk and wool are also woven to a considerable extent. That the hand weaving industry of Bihar and Orissa is holding its own is evident from the fact that whereas in 1912-13 one-seventh of the cotton cloth woven in the province was of local manufacture, the proportion had risen to over one-sixth at the end of the decade. The Bihar College of Engineering had a satisfactory year and the number of applicants for admission to the civil engineering class increased from 93 to 104, of whom 30 obtained admission. The examination results were satisfactory, but there was a considerable falling off in applications for admission to the subordinate classes and also to the mechanical apprentice classes. The work of the textile branch consisted mainly in the introduction of improved appliances among weavers and other classes of artisans by means of demonstration parties, practical training at Government Institutes, and the introduction of improvements in the trade organisation of such industries. This branch also aims at securing wider markets for the product of cottage industries by introducing improved patterns and by advertising both in India and in Europe. The expenditure on industrial and technical education in the province during 1927-28 amounted to over 5½ lakhs, or more than two-thirds of the total expenditure of the Industries Department.

The Central Provinces Industries Department had a successful year in spite of a prolonged depression in the cotton industry. Propaganda for the demonstration and introduction of fly shuttle sleys was carried out with increasing success, and instruction in improved methods in dyeing was imparted to several institutions in Nagpur. Two new aided industrial schools were opened during the year, and a continuation class of carpentry pupils was opened at Akola. The construction of a Government School of Handicrafts at Raipur has been taken in hand, and in various other directions progress was made in industrial education.

The industrial element forms only a small proportion of the population in Burma, where the majority of the people are engaged in agriculture. Rice-milling, petroleum winning and refining, the extraction and conversion of timber, mining and transport were the most important industries during the year under review. A special enquiry revealed the existence of no less than 300 small mills employing under 20 persons—mostly rice and saw mills. Thirty additional factories were registered during the year, thus continuing the steady annual increase by about that number for the last five years. There were 940 working factories during the year against 923 last year. The total number of persons employed in all industries increased by about 600 to 101,350. Of these 10,500 were women (an increase of 1,000) and 1,090 children (a decrease of 250).

The Assam Industries Department continued to do useful work during the year in its main lines of activity, namely the encouragement of handloom weaving and sericulture and the spread of technical and industrial education. The new buildings of the Gauhati Weaving Institute were completed during the year. Three weaving parties were at work in various parts of the province. Experimental work continued at the Titabar and Shillong sericultural stations, and the appointment of six demonstrators for work in selected villages was sanctioned during the year. The Fuller Industrial School at Shillong continued to turn out passed students in carpentry and smithy work, who subsequently secured useful employments in the District. In addition to the State Technical Scholar who had been undergoing training in Great Britain in mineral oil extraction and refining, seven stipendiaries were under training in miscellaneous industries outside the province. There were 16 apprentices under training in the various railway workshops of the province during the year.

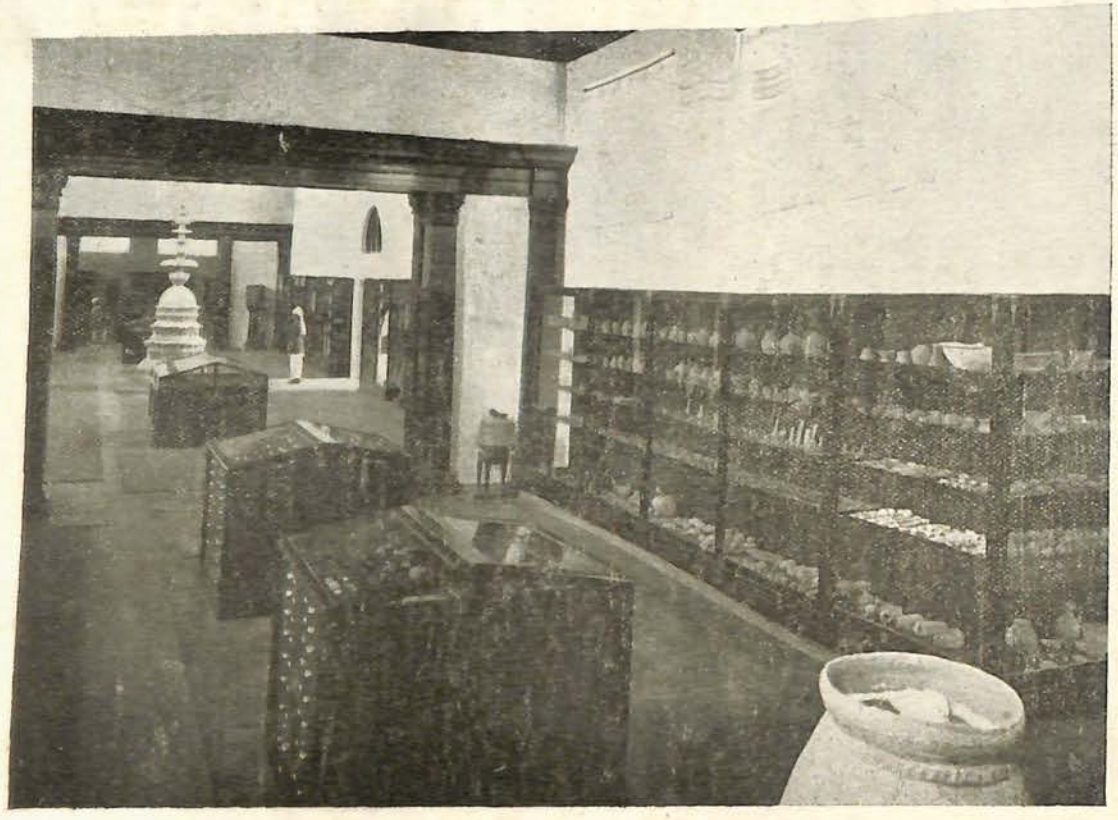
CHAPTER XI.

Archæology in India.

One of India's greatest glories to-day is the work of the Archæological Department, which during the last quarter of a century has provided the material for solving some of the most important problems in human origins and existence. The year 1928-29 was an important one for archæology, as the record of work done by the Indian Archæological Department which follows clearly shows. During the first week of April, 1928, a new museum was opened to the public at Taxila (in the North-Western Punjab) by Sir Mohammad Habibullah, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Kt., the Honourable Member for Education, Health and Lands. Allusion to this museum was made in last year's report but it deserves more than the cursory notice that was then accorded it, for apart from the unique character of its collections, the building itself is an exceptionally fine one and takes a pre-eminent place among all the local museums of this country. Simple and chaste in design, spacious, well lit, solidly constructed and admirably finished in every detail, it provides a standard for such structures as high as can at present be hoped for. In erecting these local museums on ancient sites excavated by the Archæological Department, it has been the aim of the Government of India to keep the small and movable antiquities recovered from them in close association with the remains to which they belong, so that they may be studied amid their natural surroundings and not lose focus and meaning by being transported to some distant place. The objects preserved in these local museums are all-important to the student, if he is to visualize aright the conditions of life in Ancient India and to infuse life and colour into his picture. But it is obvious that local museums, such as the one at Taxila, are too costly to be maintained on every site that is excavated. They are justified only if the antiquities housed in them are sufficiently numerous and valuable, and if the site itself is reasonably accessible to the public. At Taxila, both of these conditions are fulfilled. On the one hand the new museum is only a few hundred yards distant from a railway junction on the North Western Rail-

way, and it can easily be visited by rail or motor car from Rawalpindi. On the other hand the collection of objects in it is exceptionally varied and rich. It covers a period of a thousand years and more—from the sixth or seventh century B.C. to about the 5th century A.D.—and it illustrates the peculiarly cosmopolitan culture that prevailed during most of that period in the North-West of India, where Greek invaders succeeded Persian, and were themselves followed by Scythians, Parthians, Kushans and Huns; where elements from the arts and crafts of all these heterogeneous nations became inextricably blended with the Indian; and where the Brahman and the Buddhist flourished side by side with the Jain and the Fire-worshipper. Moreover, this is the only collection in India which contains a representative display of the arms, implements, utensils and other objects which were in daily use among the people of historic times. In European museums such objects are, of course, abundant and have done much to illumine the story of civilisation. In India they have hitherto been all but unknown, for the reason that it was only within the last three decades that scientific excavation has been essayed in this counry, and during these decades the efforts of the Archæological Department have been largely taken up with the great religious centres of antiquities such as Sarnath, Sanchi and Rajgir, which though supremely interesting in other respects, have necessarily yielded few objects of this kind.

While the Archæological Department has thus been doing everything possible to make the new-found treasures of Taxila accessible to the public, it has simultaneously been pushing on with the systematic exploration of the ancient remains. This year, with the completion of the " Palace " excavation and the clearance of several extensive blocks of houses on the east side of the Main Street, it has virtually brought to a finish—at any rate for the time being—its operations in the Scytho-Parthian city of Sirkap, and has already set about opening up the earlier strata of remains underneath. As the spade goes deeper, the area that can be excavated for a given sum necessarily grows less and less and it is not to be expected, therefore, that the excavation of the lower cities will yield as rich a harvest of antiquities as the Scytho-Parthian city has done. Nevertheless, to judge by what has already been achieved, there is every prospect that the excavators will succeed in pushing back the story of this civilisation for several more centuries.



GALLERY IN THE NEW TAXILA MUSEUM.

In the Madras Presidency exploration of the Nagarjunikonda site, in the Guntur District, resulted in the recovery from various stupas of six gold and five silver reliquaries. The relics found in the Great Stupa, which may apparently be assigned to the 2-3rd Century A.D., are of special interest as the inscriptions from the monument state that it was erected by a princess of the Ikkhaku dynasty to enshrine a relic of the Buddha himself. The actual relief is a small bone fragment no larger than a pea and was found in a small gold reliquary which was itself enclosed in a small stupa-shaped silver casket together with a few pearls, garnets, flowers of thin gold foil and rock crystal beads. Numerous sculptures in the Amaravati style and illustrating scenes from the life of the Buddha and from the Jatakas were also recovered from the neighbouring excavated mounds.

Excavation at Paharpur, in the Rajshahi District, Bengal, resulted in the uncovering of some of the cloisters on the east and west of the main temple. At the same time the conservation of the latter structure was taken in hand. But the principal excavation in Bengal was carried out at the city site of Mahasthan which has so long attracted the attention of archæologists. Though the results were disappointing and the structural remains revealed scanty and of no special importance it was plain that the site must have been occupied as early as the 4-5th Century A.D. and inhabited until the Muhammadan conquest. In the Govinda mound, just outside the city and seemingly marking the site of a Brahmanical temple, the remains of massive buildings of at least three periods of occupation from the 7th Century to the coming of the Muhammadans were traced. Trial excavation at Rangamati, in the Murshidabad District, revealed some structural remains of the 6-7th Century and some stucco fragments of Buddha figures, but nothing sufficient to identify this site with the " Raktamrittaka " *vihara* mentioned by Hiuan Tsang.

In Bihar and Orissa conservation of the important Buddhist site of Nalanda continued *pari passu* with its further exploration. In conserving these remains, which range in date from the 6th to the 12th centuries, an endeavour is being made to exhibit a definite portion of each of the several structures erected on the ruins of others throughout the long occupation of the site, and the earth ramps which, in accordance with this design, had been left between the three earliest levels of occupation exposed in the centre of

Monastery No. 1 have been made secure with a facing of rough concrete to represent the original debris and protect them from erosion.

Excavation in Monastery No. 4 has gone down to the earliest levels in the northern area with a view to retrieving minor antiquities. Those recovered included bronze images of the Buddha, Kuvera, Avalokitesvara and Tara, and some objects in iron, including two ancient locks,—one complete with keys—a censer and a lamp stand. These were all of the Deva Pala period. Of the pre-Deva Pala period only one antiquity of interest was recovered—a gold piece of Kumara Gupta I, Mahendraditya, C. 413—450 A. D. In this area three levels of occupation are also displayed. Excavation in Monastery No. 6 revealed the cells, verandah and courtyard of an earlier monastery of almost identical plan with the one of later date standing above it and disclosed last year. Necessary underpinning has been carried out to preserve the remains of both periods. Round the Main Stupa clustered some fifty little votive stupas, the gift of pious devotees through several centuries. These have been repaired and provision has been made for the drainage of the eastern part of the mound where portions of the facades of stupas of two periods have been disclosed. Important finds from other parts of the site are a relief depicting scenes from the life of the Buddha, little terra cotta votive stupas impressed with what appear to be the seals of donors, and a fragment of an inscribed stone.

Excavations in Burma at Hmawza (Old Prome) and Pagan yielded little of interest save a small image of Ganesa and several figures in stone and terra cotta of a pot-bellied personage seated in *dhyana-mudra,* on a lotus throne. These images are seemingly assignable to the 9-10th Century.

The important pre-historic sites of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa continued to receive systematic exploration. At the former site work was limited to the excavation of the lower strata of a large area of which the upper level had been partly excavated last year. Three strata of occupation were traced under the somewhat inferior buildings which crowned the mound. The earlier buildings were markedly superior in both masonry and plan. A large area some twenty-three feet below the original surface of the mound and marking the fourth level of occupation has now been reached and exposed to view, and in this fourth stratum it is now possible to walk through the streets and to enter many of the buildings of the

period as easily as did its original inhabitants. The site is an impressive one, the walls on either side of the street standing in many places over sixteen feet high, and it is interesting to note the various additions made to them in former days as the level of the ground rose during the long occupation of the site. The antiquities recovered resemble for the most part those found in former years, but the copper tools and implements are of particular importance, as are also some of the seals which the site continues to yield in great abundance. On three of the latter are seeming religious scenes of a novel character which may throw light on the various cults of the Indus civilisation. It would appear as if tree-worship was already in vogue, and there is every probability that certain gods worshipped to-day in India are survivals from this Indus culture. These new seals are definitely Indian in feeling though others seem to betray Mesopotamian or Elamitic influence. The opening of the new museum at Mohenjo-daro has added greatly to the attractiveness of the site. Show-cases have now been installed and visitors have fully availed themselves of the opportunity of inspecting the numerous and varied antiquities.

Owing to the dilapidated state of the lower parts of the excavated walls, due to the presence of salts in the soil, underpinning has been necessary. It is interesting, in this connection, to note that the ancient inhabitants had been compelled, for precisely the same reason, to take similar measures. On the Stupa Mound the ravages of time have, as far as possible, been repaired and loose masonry secured by being relaid in lime mortar.

Harappa, like Mohenjo-daro, yielded for the most part antiquities similar to those recovered in former years. A find of jewellery consisted of gold, silver, faience and shell objects and no less than one hundred and sixteen seals and sealings were obtained. Thirty-one cylindrical terra-cotta sealings bearing a unicorn on one face and four pictographs on the other were identical, and seemingly from one matrix. The unicorn, elephant, bull, goat and crocodile were the animals usually depicted on seals and sealings. Two of the latter are mythologically interesting—one showing a god standing under an arch of *pipal* leaves, the other displaying a deity under a similar arch faced by a kneeling, adoring figure seemingly imploring the acceptance of a goat which stands behind him. Pictographs were found at Harappa not only on seals and sealings but on a jar and on twenty-three potsherds. The structural remains

were scanty, the most noticeable being ten circular structures constructed of brick on edge only one course in thickness. Their purpose cannot at present be surmised. Seven burial jars were recovered and successfully removed to the museum where the skeletal remains await examination by an anthropologist.

Though the majority of the antiquities recovered this year at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa present no new feature of outstanding interest the new types of seals and sealings are of the greatest importance as they give a stronger Indian than Western orientation to this Indus valley culture and it is not improbable that at these sites may later be recovered definite prototypes of Indian deities and traces of art motifs and cults which persist to the present day.

A recently compiled consolidated list of monuments protected under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act reveals the interesting fact that no less than three thousand one hundred and seventy are maintained by the Central Government alone. They include ancient sites, baths, bridges, caves, forts, gardens, gateways, inscribed rocks, images, serais, kos minars, mosques, monasteries, palaces, pillars, pagodas, tombs, tanks, towers, temples, wells and the walls of ruined and deserted forts and cities as well as some four hundred miscellaneous objects and buildings. On the maintenance and repair of these numerous monuments are expended the greater part of the archæological funds and the energies of the officers of the Department.

In the Punjab conservation has now been taken over from the Public Works Department by the Archæological Department and special repairs were executed at fourteen monuments. The principal work has been the continuation of the restoration of Lahore Fort, where great progress has been made. In Jahangir's quadrangle the ancient pathways and fountains have been restored and the ground levelled for the parterres. The courtyard to the north of the Diwan-i-Am has been levelled and arrangements made for the planting of shrubberies to mark the enclosing *dalans*. The dismantling of modern additions has proceeded apace and furnaces and flues of the old *Hammam* (bath) are gradually being revealed. Conservation was also carried out at Begam-ki-Serai, at Attock, Akbar's last serai on the road to Kabul, and situated close to the fort and bridge of boats he set up there. Gradual restoration of the now lost chabutras and causeways of Jahangir's Tomb at Shahdara is contemplated and some progress towards them has been made

NEWLY RESTORED CAUSEWAYS AND FOUNTAINS IN JAHANGIR'S QUADRANGLE, LAHORE FORT.

by reconstructing the portion leading from the entrance gate towards the tomb. An engineering staff having been attached to the Frontier Circle, it became possible to devote attention to the monuments of the North-West Frontier Province, and the repair of the large breach in the western revetment wall of Takht-i-Bahi has been taken in hand as well as the conservation of the dilapidated walls of the chapels in the principal courts.

In the United Provinces conservation was carried out at the Gupta Temple, Deogarh, Jhansi District, at Kasia (Kusinara), at the groups of ancient temples at Jogeshwar and Katarmal, in the Almora District, and at the Lakhamandal Temples, in the Dehra Dun District, as well as at Akbar's Tomb, the forts of Agra, Aligarh and Jagner, at the monuments of Fatehpur Sikri, Cawnpore and Jaunpur, while works which had been in progress for three years at Itimad-u-Daulah's Tomb at Agra were carried to completion. In the Delhi Province special attention was devoted to the Fort, Purana Qila, Bijai Mandal and to Safdar Jung's Tomb.

Conservation in the Central Circle was undertaken at Rajgir, in the Patna District, where a short length of the New Fort Wall embracing the south gateway is being repaired. This fort, believed to have been founded by Bimbisara of the Saisunaga Dynasty, was completed by his son Ajatasatru in the 6th Century B.C. These monarchs were contemporaries of the Buddha who visited Rajgir and spent considerable periods in the neighbourhood. The base of the wall is being cleared of debris and the old cyclopean masonry exposed, the huge stones recovered in clearance being reset in the wall in the positions from which they fell, and the jambs of the gateways built up in strict accordance with the original evidence. At Man Singh's palace, in the Fort at Rohtas, restoration of the attractive but dilapidated oriel-balconies has been put in hand and repairs have been executed at the famous Suri tombs at Sassaram. The old Barabati Fort at Cuttack, the Gond City Walls of Chanda, the temple of Sita Devi at Deorbiji, the Kanthi Dewal Temple at Ratanpur and the Bibi-ki-masjid at Burhanpur, the Nurnalla Fort in the Akola District and a very interesting Kund of the late mediæval period at Lonar in the Buldana District have also received attention.

Monuments in Bengal and Assam are comparatively few, but special repairs to Baba Adam's Mosque at Rampal were completed, and in Assam the scattered remains of a stone temple in the Bamuni

Hills, Darrang District, were collected, and carefully arranged, the plan of the central temple and subsidiary shrine being disclosed by excavation. Similar treatment of the ruined structure at Jaysagar, Sibsagar District, has revealed the plinth and remains of the Karanghar palace of the Ahom kings.

No less than sixty-one special repair works were taken in hand in the Bombay Presidency. These included the Faria Bagh Palace at Ahmadnagar, Galteshvara Mahadeva Temple at Sarnal, Rock-cut temples at Karla and Jogeshwari, Portuguese remains at Bassein, the rampart walls at Shanwar Wada in Poona City, the domes of Bahlol Khan Qazi's Masjid at Dholka, the retaining walls of the Mansar Tank at Viramgam, Sayyad Usman's Masjid and Tomb at Usmanpura, Gol Gumbaz at Bijapur, Tarakeswara Temple at Hungal, and the tombs of the Farruqi kings at Talner. Access to the caves on the west side of the hill fort at Swaneri at Junner having hitherto been both difficult and dangerous, foot-paths have now been provided. On the ceiling of Cave No. 56 traces of painted ornamentation in red, yellow, black and white have been recovered. Removal of debris from the Godhra gate at Champaner disclosed a number of stone cannon balls and a large quantity of chain and plate armour damaged by fire and fused into large masses by the heat.

Repairs were carried out in the Madras Presidency to the Buddhist remains at Anakapalli, Ramatirtham, Ghantasala, Jaggayyapeta and Amaravati, the Pallava temples at the Seven Pagodas, and the Vijayanagar monuments at Hampi, Gingee, Penukonda and Chandragiri, while in Burma attention was devoted principally to the Thamphula and Nandmann temples at Minnanthu, Pagan, which contain interesting frescoes affording unmistakable evidence to the former prevalence in Burma of a Tantric Buddhism long replaced by that of the Theravada School.

* * *

One of the most important discoveries of the year is that of another recension, in the Brahmi script, of the Fourteen Rock Edicts of Asoka and one of the Minor Rock Edicts. These are situated some eight miles from the town of Gooty on the road to Pattikonda and close to the village of Yerragudi, situated approximately in 77° 34′ E. L. and 15° N. L.

The Yerragudi edicts are inscribed on five boulders of hornblendic gneiss situated on a prominent rocky hillock known locally

Newly Discovered Rock Edicts of Asoka, Yerragudi, Kurnool District.

as Nellayenakonda, or more simply Yenakonda, which means the " elephant hill ". The principal inscribed rock is near the summit of the hill, the others being situated on the spur to the south. The edicts so far identified are Nos. I—V, VII—XI, XIII, XIV and one Minor edict. Edicts VI and XII have not yet been traced. All the five inscribed rocks are rough undressed boulders. The new set of edicts is practically identical with those at Girnar, Kalsi, Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra, and the Minor edict is a somewhat fuller edition of the Brahmagiri and Siddapura edicts. The Yerragudi edicts are not engraved in any definite sequence. Edicts I and II are engraved on the left end of the south face of rock one, Edict III in the middle portion and XIV at the upper right corner. Six lines of a much defaced inscription are visible below Edict III. This may have been Edict VI, but it has not yet been definitely identified. Edicts XI, V and VII occupy the east face of the same rock. The front or southern face of the second rock, a large pointed boulder, has part of Edict XIII on the left face, the remainder appearing on the horizontal surface of rock five. The right hand portion of rock two contains Edicts, IV, VIII and X. Edict IX, inscribed on rock three, is fairly well preserved. The Minor rock edict is engraved on the south sloping face of rock four, and is the best preserved of all the inscriptions but, unfortunately, the first few lines are completely defaced and it is impossible to state whether, like the Brahmagiri and Siddapura edicts, it was also issued from Suvarnagiri. The dialect of the Yerragudi edicts agrees closely with that of the Kalsi and Girnar recensions and exhibits linguistic peculiarities. The inscriptions recovered in February, 1929, have yet to be studied in details, and though apparently supplying no new information of historical importance are nevertheless evidence of the extent and activity of Asoka's administration.

The other inscriptions in the early Brahmi script exist in and around Yerragudi is proved by traces of early records on boulders on a hill near the village of Mainapur about a mile west of the Yenakonda hill.

* * *

On pages 187-188 of " India in 1926-27 " it was mentioned that the Government of India had sanctioned the entertainment of a whole-time staff for archæological explorations in India. This staff was engaged upon a permanent basis, except the Deputy Director

General of Archæology for Exploration and the three Assistant Superintendents, who were placed on a temporary footing for a period of two years with effect from the 1st October, 1926. These four superior posts have, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, now been placed on a permanent basis, and it has been decided that the tenure of office of the Deputy Director General of Archæology for Exploration should normally be three years, as in the case of the Deputy Director General of Archæology. Certain other proposals designed to place the excavation work of this Department on a thoroughly satisfactory basis have also been sanctioned, including *inter alia* the training of four apprentices at Mohenjo-daro with a general view to their eventual employment in the Archæological Department, and the grant to these apprentices of four scholarships of a value of Rs. 75—100—125 a month each, tenable for three or four years on the conditions which apply to existing archæological scholarships.

* * *

For over twenty-six years Sir John Marshall has been Director General of the Archæological Survey and has, during that period, acquired an unrivalled knowledge of the monuments and antiquities of India, knowledge which none of his successors holding the appointment for a few years at the end of their service can ever hope to obtain. During those twenty-six years the Archæological Survey has continually extended its activities and responsibilities until the whole attention of the Director General is now absorbed in routine administrative duties. It was felt by the Government of India that the burdening of Sir John Marshall by such duties was detrimental to the interests of Indian Archæology, and in September, 1928, he was placed on Special Duty in order to provide him with an opportunity of writing and publishing the materials collected by the Archæological Department and himself during his long period of office. While on Special Duty Sir John Marshall will write a series of books on the excavated sites of Mohenjo-daro, Harappa and Taxila, as well as on the monuments of Sanchi, Mandu, Delhi, Agra and Multan. At the same time he will continue to hold charge of the excavations at Taxila, which have been under his direct control for sixteen years, and also co-ordinate the results of the operations of the Archæological Department on the prehistoric sites of the Indus and allied cultures.

APPENDIX I.

SOURCES.

List of Indian Official Reports, etc.

(Mostly Annual.)

General.

Statistical Abstract relating to British India (Parliamentary Paper).

Statistics of British India:—

Vol. I.—Commercial.
Vol. II.—Financial.
Vol. III.—Public Health.
Vol. IV.—Administrative and Judicial.
Vol. V.—Educational.

Census Reports (Decennial), India, Provincial, and Native States.

Administration Reports: Madras, Bombay, United Provinces, Punjab, Bengal, Central Provinces and Berar, Burma, Bihar and Orissa, Assam, North-West Frontier Province, Delhi, Coorg, Andaman and Nicobar Island, Civil and Military Station of Bangalore, Ajmer-Merwara, Baluchistan Agency.

Legislation.

Acts of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils.

Justice and Police.

Report on the Administration of Civil Justice for each Province.

Report on the Administration of Criminal Justice for each Province.

Report on Jails for each Province.

Reports on Police for each Province, and for Bombay Town and Island, Calcutta, and Rangoon.

Finance.

Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India.

East India Financial Statement (Parliamentary Paper).

Return of Net Income and Expenditure for eleven years (Parliamentary Paper).

Accounts and Estimates: Explanatory Memorandum (Parliamentary Paper).

Home Accounts (Parliamentary Paper).

Loans raised in England (Half-yearly Parliamentary Paper).

Loans raised in India (Half-yearly Parliamentary Paper).

Mint Reports for Calcutta and Bombay.

Paper Currency Department Reports, India and Bombay.

Statistics compiled from the Finance and Revenue Accounts.

Land Revenue, etc.

Land Revenue Administration: Provincial Reports for Lower Provinces (Bengal), Bihar and Orissa, Assam, United Provinces, Bombay Presidency (including Sind), Punjab, Central Provinces and Berar, Burma, and Madras.

Report on Land Revenue Administration, Land Records, Settlement Operations, Alienation of Land Act, etc., for North-West Frontier Province.

Madras Survey, Settlement and Land Records Department Report.

Reports of Land Records Departments for Bombay, Burma, Bengal, United Provinces, and Punjab.

Report on Settlement Operations, Punjab.

Reports on Survey and Settlement Operations, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Assam.

Reports on Operations of the Land Records and Settlement Departments, Central Provinces and Berar.

Report of the Talukdari Settlement Officer, Bombay.

Provincial Reports on the Administration of Estates under the Court of Wards.

Report on the Punjab Canal Colonies.

Separate Revenue (Salt, Excise, etc.).

Salt Department Reports: Northern India, Madras, Bombay, Sind, Bengal, Burma, Bihar and Orissa.

Excise Report for each Province.

Report on the Operations of the Opium Department.

Stamp Department Report for each Province.

Registration Department Report for each Province.

Income Tax Report for each Province.

Agriculture and Veterinary.

Report on the Progress of Agriculture in India.

Report of the Agricultural Research Institute and College, Pusa.

Bulletins of the Agricultural Research Institute, Pusa, and of the Provincial Departments of Agriculture.

Memoirs of the Department of Agriculture.

Proceedings of the Board of Agriculture.

Agricultural Journal of India (quarterly).

Reports of the Department of Agriculture for each Province.

Reports on Agricultural Stations, Experimental Farms, and Botanic Gardens for each Province.

Season and Crop Report for each Province.

Agricultural Statistics of India.

Area and Yield of certain Principal Crops.

Report on Production of Tea in India.

Report on Tea Culture in Assam.

Reports of the Civil Veterinary Department for each Province.

Statistics compiled from the Reports of the Provincial Civil Veterinary Departments.

Report of the Camel Specialist.

Report of the Imperial Bacteriologist (Veterinary).

Co-operative Societies.

Statements showing Progress of the Co-operative Movement in India.

Reports on Co-operative Societies for each Province.

Reports of Conferences of Registrars of Co-operative Societies, India and Provincial.

Forests.

Annual Return of Statistics relating to Forest Administration in British India.

Report on Forest Administration for each Province.

Reports of the Forest Research Institute and the Imperial Forest College, Dehra Dun.

Quinquennial Forest Review.

Indian Forest Memoirs.

Indian Forest Records.

Forest Bulletins.

Mineral Production and Inspection of Mines.

Review of Mineral Production (in Records of Geological Survey).

Report on Production and Consumption of Coal in India.

Report of the Chief Inspector of Mines.

Trade and Manufactures.

Annual Statements of Sea-borne Trade and Navigation, India and Provincial (Madras, Bombay, Sind, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Burma).

Review of the Trade of India (Parliamentary Paper).

Tables of the Trade of India (Parliamentary Paper).

Provincial Reports on Maritime Trade and Customs (including working of Merchandise Marks Act) for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Bombay, Sind, Madras, and Burma.

Accounts relating to the Sea-borne Trade and Navigation of British India (monthly and for calendar year).

Accounts relating to the Trade by Land of British India with Foreign Countries (monthly).

Annual Statement of Coasting Trade of British India.

Report on the Trade and Navigation of Aden.

Accounts of Trade carried by Rail and River in India.

Report on Inland, Rail-borne, or Rail-and-River-borne Trade for each Province.

External Land Trade Reports for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Assam, Burma, United Provinces, Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and British Baluchistan.

Indian Trade Journal (weekly).

Statistics relating to Joint-Stock Companies in British India and Mysore.

Report on the working of the Indian Companies Act for each Province.

Report on the working of the Indian Factories Act for each Province.

Report of the Chief Inspector of Explosives.

Public Works.

Administration Report on Railways.
Reports on Public Works (Buildings and Roads) for Madras, Bombay, Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, and Burma.
Review of Irrigation.
Report on Irrigation Revenue for each Province (except Madras).
Administrative Reports on Irrigation, Madras and Bombay.
Report on Architectural Work in India.

Posts and Telegraphs.

Report on the Posts and Telegraphs of India.
Report of Indo-European Telegraph Department.

Scientific Departments.

Report on the Operations of the Survey of India.
Records of the Survey of India.
Records and Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India.
Report of the Indian Meteorological Department.
Indian Weather Review, Annual Summary.
Rainfall Data of India.
Memoirs of the Indian Meteorological Department.
Report of the Meteorologist, Calcutta.
Report of the Director-General of Observatories.
Memoirs and Bulletins of the Kodaikanal Observatory.
Report of the Board of Scientific Advice.
Report of the Archæological Survey of India, and Provincial Reports.
Report and Records of the Botanical Survey.

Education.

Education Reports for India and each Province.
Quinquennial Review of Education (Parliamentary Paper).

Local Self-Government.

Reports on Municipalities for each Province and for Calcutta, Bombay City, Madras City, and Rangoon.
Reports on District and Local Boards or Local Funds for each Province.
Reports of Port Trusts of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Rangoon, Karachi, and Aden.

Medical, Sanitary, and Vital Statistics.

Report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India.
Report on Sanitary Measures in India (Parliamentary Paper).
Report of the Sanitary Commissioner for each Province.
Vaccination Report for each Province.
Report on Civil Hospitals and Dispensaries for each Province.
Report on Lunatic Asylums for each Province.

Report of the Chemical Examiner and Bacteriologist for each Province.
Scientific Memoirs by Officers of the Medical and Sanitary Departments.
Reports of the All-India Sanitary Conferences.
Reports of the Imperial Malaria Conferences.
Indian Journal of Medical Research (Quarterly).

Emigration and Immigration.

Calcutta Port Emigration Report.
Bengal Inland Emigration Report.
Assam Immigration Report.

Prices and Wages.

Prices and Wages in India.
Variations in Indian Price Levels.
Reports of Provincial Wage Censuses.

APPENDIX II.

EXTRACT FROM STATEMENT BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY ON THE INDIAN STATUTORY COMMISSION.

When the Commission has reported and its report has been examined by the Government of India and His Majesty's Government, it will be the duty of the latter to present proposals to Parliament. But it is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to ask Parliament to adopt these proposals without first giving a full opportunity for Indian opinion of different schools to contribute its view upon them.

And to this end it is intended to invite Parliament to refer these proposals for consideration by a Joint Committee of both Houses, and to facilitate the presentation to that Committee both of the view of the Indian Central Legislature by delegations who will be invited to attend and confer with the Joint Committee, and also of the views of any other bodies whom the Joint Parliamentary Committee may desire to consult.

In the opinion of His Majesty's Government the procedure contemplated fulfils to a very great extent the requisites outlined above.

Such a Commission, drawn from men of every British political party and presided over by one whose public position is due to outstanding ability and character, will evidently bring fresh, trained, and unaffected judgment to bear upon an immensely complex constitutional issue.

Moreover, the findings of some of its own members can count in advance upon a favourable reception at the hands of Parliament, which will recognise them to speak from a common platform of thought, and to be applying standards of judgment which Parliament will feel instinctively to be its own. For myself I cannot doubt that the quickest and surest path of those who desire Indian progress is by the persuasion of Parliament, and that they can do this more certainly through members of both Houses of Parliament than in any other way. The Indian nationalist has gained much if he can convince Members of Parliament on the spot, and I would therefore go further and say that if those who speak for India have confidence in the case which they advance on her behalf, they ought to welcome such an opportunity being afforded to as many members of the British Legislature as may be thus to come into contact with the realities of Indian life and politics.

Furthermore, while it is for these reasons of undoubted advantage to all who desire an extension of the Reforms that their case should be heard in the first instance by those who can command the unquestioned confidence of Parliament, I am sanguine enough to suppose that the method chosen by His Majesty's Government will also assure to Indians a better opportunity than they could have enjoyed in any other way of influencing the passage of these great events. For not only will they, through representatives of the Indian Legislatures, be enabled to express themselves freely to the Commission itself, but it will also be within their power to challenge in detail or principle any of the proposals made by His Majesty's Government before the Joint Select Committee of Parliament, and to advocate their own solu-

tions. It should be observed moreover that at this stage Parliament will not have been asked to express any opinion on particular proposals and therefore, so far as Parliament is concerned, the whole field will still be open.

IRWIN,

Viceroy and Governor General.

The 8th November, 1927.

APPENDIX III.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS.

MAIN REPORT.

Report of the Commission on closer union of the Dependencies in Eastern and Central Africa.

Part I.

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES.

A.—PRELIMINARY STEP (to be taken immediately).

A High Commissioner should be appointed for Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika with executive powers, his special functions being:—

(*a*) To inaugurate enquiries and joint discussions on questions of native policy as indicated in the annexure to Chapter VI, Part I.

(*b*) To promote unified control of certain services of common interest, and to settle on a fair basis any immediate causes of dispute or difference.

(*c*) To discuss locally and work out the arrangements for introducing the modifications proposed in the constitution of Kenya.

B.—FIRST STAGE OF DEFINITE PLAN.

The results of the preliminary enquiries carried out by the High Commissioner should be reviewed by His Majesty's Government, and if then thought fit the post of Governor General of Eastern Africa should be created in place of the appointment of High Commissioner. The Governor General is to be a link between the Secretary of State and the local Governments, and for this purpose the plan includes changes of organization both in Africa and in London.

Organization in Africa.

1. The Governor General should exercise so far as these can be delegated to him the functions of supervision and control now exercised through the Secretary of State, and should be endowed for this purpose with executive powers and with control over legislation, but these powers and control should be exercised only for certain purposes which would be conveyed to him in his instructions.

2. The principal duties of the Governor General will be:—

(*a*) To secure Imperial interests and the proper discharge of the responsibilities of His Majesty's Government.

(*b*) To hold the scales of justice even between the various racial communities.

(*c*) To co-ordinate services of common interest.

(The most important duty of the Governor General under heads (*a*) and (*b*) above will be to "direct the course of native policy and to supervise its working.")

3. The Governor General should work with the following bodies:—

(*a*) For general purposes.

A small Advisory Council comprising officials and non-officials of all three Dependencies.

(*b*) For services of common interest.

(*i*) *Transport.*—An inter-Colonial Advisory Railway Council for the three Dependencies organised on the same lines as the existing Railway Council of Kenya and Uganda.

(*ii*) *Customs.*—An inter-Colonial Customs Council organized on the same lines as the Railway Council.

4. During the preliminary period and the first stage the status of the three Governors is to be affected as little as possible. They should retain the title of Governor and their present rates of pay, and should continue to be for all practical purposes the King's representatives in their own territories.

Organization in London.

5. The Secretary of State should have available:—

(*a*) For consultation on matters of policy in Eastern Africa (including Zanzibar) and Central Africa—a small Advisory Council. The membership of this Council should be from five to eight and the members should be paid.

(*b*) A Finance Committee and a Transport Committee, or possibly a joint Finance and Transport Committee, of which the Financial Adviser to the Secretary of State and the Transport Adviser (if any) would be members. The Chairman (or Chairmen) of these Committees should sit on the General Advisory Council.

6. To assist in the further consideration of policy periodical Conferences for the Dependencies in Eastern and Central Africa should be held in London and should be attended by official and unofficial delegates.

7. For the information of Parliament on the course of affairs in Eastern and Central Africa Annual Reports should be prepared by the Governor General, and by the Governors of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, and published as a Parliamentary Paper with the comments of the East African Council.

C.—The Legislative Councils of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika.

1. No changes are needed at present in the Legislative Councils of Uganda and Tanganyika.

2. Simultaneously with, or subsequent to, the creation of the post of Governor General, the following change should be introduced in the composition of the Legislative Council of Kenya (see Chapter VIII):—

Four of the official members of the Legislative Council should be replaced by four unofficial members nominated to represent native interests (in addition to the missionary already appointed for this purpose).

3. No further change is recommended at present in the composition of the Legislative Council of Kenya, but it is contemplated that at later stages there will be a progressive increase in the representation of native interests, and a progressive diminution in the proportion of official members.

4. Consideration should be given to the replacement of adult franchise in Kenya by a franchise depending on a civilization qualification. The nature of the tests to be imposed should be a matter for enquiry by the High Commissioner in discussion with the Government of Kenya and representatives of the unofficial communities.

5. The changes which the new franchise qualifications would effect in the respective members of European and Indian voters should be made clear to the leaders of both communities, and the High Commissioner should endeavour to induce them to come to an agreement on the question of election on a common roll.

6. Concurrently with the changes proposed in the composition of the Legislative Council of Kenya the Governor General should be given special power to enact legislation and to secure supplies which he regards as essential for the discharge of his responsibilities, contrary to the vote of the majority of that Council.

D.—Local Government.

Institutions of local and municipal government should be vigorously developed both in settled and native areas.

E.—Future Developments.

The working of the whole of the arrangements set out above should be reviewed after a period to be fixed in due course by the Secretary of State.

It is contemplated that the exercise of central direction by a Governor General will lead to the establishment of a Central Council with power to legislate in respect of services of common interest, and with a central revenue (see Chapter XI).

Part II.

POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION.

A.—Native Policy.

1. The field of native interests in Eastern and Central Africa should be clearly defined not only in the interests of the natives but also with a view to making clear the scope for the development of the immigrant communities. In Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika a programme of native policy for all three Dependencies should be worked out and co-ordinated after full local discussion.

2. Essential native interests under the following headings must be defined and protected:—

Land.
Economic development, Government services and taxation.
Labour.
Education.
Administrative and Political Institutions.

3. The Governments of the Eastern and Central African Dependencies should endeavour to secure such a measure of segregation as will facilitate the creation of homogeneous native and non-native areas of sufficient size to become units of local self-government.

4. Native tribal institutions should be fostered and native administrations should have their own courts.

5. Native opinon should be consulted regarding legislation affecting their interests through native administrations or District Councils.

6. With a view to forming as close an estimate as possible of the production of native areas, typical areas should from time to time be selected for a test census of production.

7. In the annual report of each of the Eastern and Central African territories, a section should be included on native interests giving data similar to those required by the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations in the annual reports of mandated territories.

8. For the purpose of studying all factors affecting the moral and material progress of the natives, a Central Bureau of Statistics should be attached to the Governor General, and administrative officers should be instructed in methods of observation and record.

B.—Special Arrangements in Kenya.

1. Representation of native interests in Kenya should be supplemented by the following measures:—

(*i*) Consultation of native opinion in regard to legislation through District Councils and periodical durbars.

(*ii*) Supply of full information on native affairs to the representatives of native interests in the Legislative Council.

(*iii*) Appointment of an Advisory Committee on Native Affairs to assist the Chief Native Commissioner.

(*iv*) Appointment of representatives of native interests on all official bodies which can influence policy.

2. Advisory Committees should be attached to some of the departments of administration.

C.—Transport and Communications.

1. Subject to full local discussion and inquiry the management of the Tanga-Moshi-Arusha Railway system and possibly that of the Port of Tanga should be transferred to the Kenya-Uganda Railways Department.

2. The Central Authority should settle outstanding railway rates questions, in particular the question arising out of the extension of the Tanganyika railway to Mwanza.

3. Standardization of equipment on the Kenya-Uganda and Tanganyika Railway systems should be introduced as soon as possible.

4. The financial position and prospects of the Kenya-Uganda and Tanganyika Railway systems should be examined with a view to making arrangements for joint working.

5. Machinery should be provided for continuous preparatory study of railway projects.

6. Special surveys should be organized in Tanganyika in order to provide information for framing land settlement and railway policy.

The cost of the surveys should be regarded as a proper subject for loan expenditure.

7. On the completion of these surveys the following main trunk connections should be considered:—

Northern connection.—Either Dodoma-Arusha or Kilosa-Mombo.
Southern connection.—Either Dodoma-Fife or Kilosa-Ifakara-Manda.

8. In considering new railway construction the Government of Tanganyika should give preference to branch lines which could later become part of one or other of the main trunk connections referred to under recommendation 7 above.

9. Pending consideration of the possibility of constructing railways, the following trunk roads are recommended:—

(*a*) A road from Dodoma through Iringa to the Tukuyu Highlands of Tanganyika.

(*b*) A road through the coastal areas of Kenya and Tanganyika uniting Mombasa, Tanga, and Dar-es-Salaam.

D.—Research.

1. The High Commissioner should appoint a special technical Commission on Research to survey the existing organizations and to report on the main objectives to be pursued.

2. The Eastern and Central African Dependencies should be treated as a unit in any Imperial organization of scientific research.

3. Each territory must retain adequate research institutions of its own to undertake the scientific work required for the local purposes of its Medical, Veterinary, Agricultural, and other Departments.

E.—Defence.

The High Commissioner should consider the question of a more efficient and economic organization and distribution of the King's African Rifles, and similar questions, in consultation with the Governors of the three territories and the Inspector-General of the King's African Rifles.

F.—Administrative Services and Secretariat.

1. Trial should be made in the Eastern and Central African Dependencies of the system of limiting the tenure of appointments in the Secretariat to a comparatively short term of years, and there should be more frequent interchange between officers serving in the Secretariat and in the Administrative Service.

2. As far as possible the highest posts in Eastern and Central Africa, that is to say, the posts of Colonial Secretary, etc., should be filled from the ranks of officials in these territories.

G.—Location and Staff of Central Authority.

1. Government House at Mombasa should be put at the disposal of the High Commissioner, and the location of permanent head-quarters for the Governor General should be a matter for enquiry and discussion by the High Commissioner.

2. The Secretariat of the East African Governors' Conference should be attached to the High Commissioner, and later to the Governor General. Apart from this their staff should be confined to Secretaries.

3. The salaries of the High Commissioner and Governor General and their personal staffs (but not their local travelling expenses) should be met by His Majesty's Government. The cost of the Secretariat of the Governors' Conference and any other expenditure involved in our recommendations should be borne by the Governments concerned.

4. The High Commissioner should pay frequent visits, and the Governor General regular annual visits, to England, and when they leave Eastern Africa they should retain their official positions and no substitutes should be appointed.

H.—The East African Governors' Conference.

The East African Governors' Conference should be continued for Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika, but the High Commissioner (and later the Governor General) should preside over it, and should be endowed with full powers to take decisions and to issue orders for their execution.

(See also later recommendations regarding the representation of Zanzibar and the Central African territories.)

Part III.

RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING ZANZIBAR.

1. The existing co-operation of Zanzibar with the mainland territories to advance common interests should be maintained and extended particularly in such matters as scientific research, administration, harbours and docks, migration of labour, quarantine regulations, and assimilation of the forms of legislation.

2. Zanzibar should continue to be represented on the East African Governors' Conference.

SUMMARY OF THE CHAIRMAN'S ADDITIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS.

The Legislative Council of Kenya.

1. As an alternative to the proposal contained in Recommendation C. 2 on page 290, the following proposal is recommended and should be discussed by the High Commissioner with the local communities in Kenya:—

(*a*) The number of the Official Members of the Legislative Council should be reduced from nineteen to nine, and the number of additional Nominated Unofficial Members recommended in Chapter VIII, page 187, should be increased from four to seven.

(*b*) Of the eight Nominated Unofficial Members three should be nominated to represent the interests of the whole community and one of these three should be a member of the Indian community. The remaining five should represent the interests of the natives.

2. Should it be found necessary to increase the number of European constituencies, that number should in the first place be increased from eleven to thirteen, the number of Official Members being increased from nine to ten and the number of Elected Indians from five to six.

3. The appointment of one of the Unofficial Members as an executive Minister should be contemplated forthwith by way of an experiment.

SUMMARY OF CHAIRMAN'S REPORT ON THE CENTRAL AFRICAN TERRITORIES.

A. The Governor of Southern Rhodesia should be appointed High Commissioner for Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland with powers similar to those proposed for the Governor General of the North-Eastern territories, in order to supervise and co-ordinate—

(*a*) Imperial outlook;
(*b*) Native policy;
(*c*) Services of common interest.

He should have authority to arrange for joint conferences of the several legislatures.

B. Such union, through an executive Central Authority, should be encouraged to develop into a closer union with a central revenue and a joint legislative council to deal with services of common interest such as defence, research, customs and communications.

C. Ultimate redistribution of boundaries is desirable as follows:—

1. The settled Central or "railway" area of Northern Rhodesia to be united with Southern Rhodesia.
2. North-Eastern Rhodesia to be united with Nyasaland (without prejudice to the question of transferring later the area south of Lake Tanganyika to Tanganyika).
3. The maintenance of Barotseland as an inalienable native reserve under the Government of Southern Rhodesia.

The above redistribution should be considered at a representative conference with the Governor of Southern Rhodesia (as High Commissioner of the Central Territories) as Chairman.

D. The co-ordination of services and interests with the North-Eastern Territories should be maintained by local conference between the heads of the two administrations as well as through the Colonial Office.

SUMMARY OF THE MAJORITY REPORT ON THE CENTRAL AFRICAN TERRITORIES.

1. The independent status of the Governments of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia should be maintained pending further development of communications and of mineral exploitation in Northern Rhodesia, both of which may have an important bearing on the settlement of administrative boundaries.

2. In the meanwhile the following measures are recommended:—

(*a*) The High Commissioner or Governor General of Eastern Africa should be the Secretary of State's chief adviser on important matters of policy affecting Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia.

(*b*) The Governor General should pay occasional visits to Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia in an advisory capacity. He should not have any executive authority over the Governors.

(*c*) The Governors of these two Protectorates should continue to attend the Governors' Conference. The Government of Southern Rhodesia should be invited to send a representative to the Conference.

(*d*) Enquiries into matters of native policy and white settlement on the lines indicated in the annexure to Chapter VI, Part I, should be carried out in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia in consultation with the Governor General of Eastern Africa.

(*e*) Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia should be included in the same group as the Eastern African Dependencies for purposes of research.

(*f*) An official majority should be maintained in the Legislative Councils of both Protectorates, but there is no objection to a moderate increase in the unofficial representation by nomination, in the case of Nyasaland, and by raising the number of Elected Members in the case of Northern Rhodesia.

(*g*) Institutions for local government both in the settled areas and among the natives in Nysaland and Northern Rhodesia should be developed as vigorously as possible.

(*h*) An attempt should be made in Nyasaland to build up responsible native administrations and native authorities, and it might be advantageous that an experienced officer should be lent to Nyasaland by the Government of Tanganyika to assist in the necessary enquiries.

APPENDIX IV.

SKEEN MEMORANDUM ON THE MILITARY SITUATION IN INDIA.

120. **Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer:* (*a*) Has the attention of the Government been drawn to statements in a section of the Press to the " Skeen Memorandum " on the military situation in India, and the Indian army's military preparedness or unpreparedness for war on modern lines?

(*b*) Will the Government be pleased to publish the " Skeen Memorandum " on modernizing the Indian Army?

Mr. G. M. Young: With your permission, Sir, I propose to answer questions Nos. 120, 121, 122 and 176, also Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh's question No. 158, and Colonel Crawford's question No. 178 together, and to take this opportunity of making a statement on the matters raised in these questions. I am afraid the statement will be rather a long one; but I hope that the House will allow me to trespass a little on its patience, as it would be difficult to return a complete answer to these questions in a few words.

The document referred to in the questions was a lecture given by a General Staff Officer, at the four Command Headquarters, on army finance and economy within the army. The main object of the lecture, and of its subsequent circulation, was to stimulate a special campaign of economy which has been initiated throughout the various formations of the army. In order to assist in this object, mention was made of existing deficiencies in equipment, and of the estimated sums required to overtake those deficiencies during the next few years. The essence of this economy campaign within the army is to encourage the military authorities all through the army to look for and suggest methods of economizing on their own initiative, and so to assist the Government in providing the funds required to meet the army's growing needs, without increasing military expenditure beyond its present limits. The agreement referred to in Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh's question is an informal arrangement, under which savings effected by the military authorities as a result of this special economy campaign, may be appropriated towards the equipment programme.

The lecture is a confidential document designed for official use only, and Government are not prepared to publish the whole document *in extenso* merely because a copy has been purloined by somebody, and parts have already appeared in the Press. I will, however, endeavour to give Honourable Members full information on the various points.

The programme or scheme of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, mentioned in the questions, is merely a part of the continuous policy of Government, during the incumbency of the present and the late Commanders-in-Chief, in regard to modernizing the equipment of the army in India and making good certain shortages which resulted from acceptance of the recommendations of the Indian Retrenchment Committee. There is no separate scheme for modernization in the army. Modernization is proceeding continuously from day to day. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief made this clear in his budget speech last March when he was informing the House about the progress of mechanization—a word which is practically synonymous with modernization in this context. The army of the United Kingdom has for the last few years been making continuous experiments with different

patterns of mechanical transport machines. The army in India carefully follows the experiments made in England, testing the results, and modifying them, where modification is necessary, to suit Indian requirements. The task of keeping pace in the modernization of equipment with the progress made at home has been made more difficult in the past few years owing to the acceptance by Government of the recommendations of the Indian Retrenchment Committee. When Government accepted those recommendations, it was recognized, and stated, by Lord Rawlinson that the economies then made in equipment would have to be counterbalanced sooner or later by further expenditure in order to keep pace with the requirements of defence. In fact, in giving their support to the proposals of the Inchcape Committee, the Government of India took a definite risk, in recognition of the then paramount need for retrenchment, by decelerating to some extent, the rates of provision and renewal of part of the army's equipment. It was realized from the beginning, however, that this state of affairs could not continue beyond a certain point. The matter was kept under constant observation, and by 1926 we had reached the point when we could no longer go slow, but, on the contrary, had to begin catching up again. By the end of 1927, we could see our way clear. Much progress had been made in redeeming what I may call the Inchcape shortages, and we could predict with some confidence that those shortages would be soon obliterated altogether without our having to add appreciably to our military estimates. But meanwhile we were confronted with new problems arising out of the rapid developments in modernization, and, in particular, the mechanization of foreign armies and of the army of Great Britain. It was to keep pace with these further developments also, if possible, without increasing our present scale of military expenditure, that the economy campaign to which I have referred was devised in the cold weather of 1927-28. At the same time there was no hope of reducing that expenditure below its present level. That is why His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the late Finance Member have informed Honourable Members on more than one occasion, that they saw no prospect in the immediate future of a further reduction in the army estimates, but that, on the other hand, there was a possibility that those estimates might be increased. This was the position, Sir, when my Honourable friend, Colonel Crawford, asked me last March, whether the equipment of the army was in a satisfactory position, particularly in respect of mobility and defence against an attack from the air accompanied by the use of gas. These questions were put towards the close of the debate on the Army Department grant, when there was, of course, no opportunity for preparing a detailed statement. In replying, while I informed the House that Government were doing all they could towards ensuring that, when the time came, our army would go into the field fully equipped, I declined to make any admission of insufficiency in particular items of equipment. To that reply I adhere, and if a similar question were again put to me in the course of a debate, I should give a similar answer. But in the meanwhile there has been the public controversy on the subject, to which Honourable Members have drawn attention, and many incorrect statements about the condition of army equipment have appeared in the Press. In view of this circumstance, and as our equipment programme is now still further advanced than it was in March, I have had prepared a memorandum which explains

as fully as possible, from the technical point of view, what we have been doing in the last few years, where we stand now, and what we propose to do in the near future. I lay this memorandum on the table of the House. It goes considerably into details, and I think it will supply Honourable Members with all the information that they require. But if, after reading it, they find that there are other technical points on which they would like to be informed, I shall be very glad to give them what information I can.

MEMORANDUM.

The policy followed by the Army in matters of organization and equipment is concisely stated in a resolution of the Legislative Assembly in 1921 in connection with the Esher Committee's recommendations, which runs as follows:—

> "That the purpose of the army in India must be the defence of India against external aggression and the maintenance of internal peace and tranquillity. To the extent that it is necessary for India to maintain an army for these purposes, its organization, equipment and administration should be thoroughly up to date and, with due regard to Indian conditions in accordance with the present day standards of efficiency in the British army, so that when the Army in India has to co-operate with the British Army on any occasion there may be no dissimilarities of organization which would render such co-operation difficult."

This policy means the replacement of the older classes of artillery equipment, aircraft, transport, etc., by more modern types. The main feature of it is the substitution of mechanical for animal transport wherever possible.

ARMY TRANSPORT in war consists of:

(*a*) FIRST LINE TRANSPORT, which carries with the troops what they require in actual battle. Animal transport is used for this because the fighting line cannot have any transport which is unable to cross any country where men and horses can go; but, where M. T. can be used (as in the case of certain technical units) there M. T. will be substituted for animal transport.

(*b*) Next, THE TRAINS which carry daily replenishment. These are at present mainly A. T. carts, but there are some horsed wagons. Both can only move a short distance at a comparatively slow rate. The results are that the length of columns in the line of march is inordinately long whilst the ability to operate away from the Line of Communication road or rail transport behind is restricted to a small distance. The sole advantage provided by A. T. over M. T. has been a superior power of operating off a good road. Fortunately we have now in sight mechanical transport on the 6-wheeler principle, which in most cases has been proved to be as good across-country as the A. T. cart. As this M. T. is more powerful, economical and speedy (all combining to improve mobility) the A. T. cart is now to be displaced from the role which it has so honourably filled for years and will to a considerable extent disappear—except in cases where the use of an M. T. vehicle would be uneconomical. The gradual replace-

ment of these carts is high in the Army programme, but pack transport has still to be retained for use in country where neither M. T. nor A. T. carts can be employed. Thus the amount of animal transport retained will be cut down to a minimum, the principle followed being rather to organise for a more serious campaign and to improvise for a minor one, than *vice versâ*.

(c) Lastly, Army Transport includes transport required for MAINTENANCE, *i.e.*, to connect railhead with the trains which have been mentioned previously, and here in all large operations the employment of M. T. beyond railhead is obligatory.

A few remarks on the general policy of replacing animals by M. T. may be of interest.

It is financially impossible to maintain in peace all the M. T. required in war. Vehicles which cannot be used economically in peace tend to get out of date, with consequent complications in the supply of spare parts, and eventually have to be scrapped long before their useful mileage has been completed. The principle therefore adopted in all armies is to utilise the form of transport obtainable from civilian sources on some form of subsidy basis, the advantages of which system need no explanation. It is the displacement of the horse by M. T. in civil life which, quite as much as the advantages to be gained in war, has been the driving force behind the increasing mechanization of the Army at Home.

In India repeated efforts have in the past been made to obtain M. T. by this means, but have proved abortive because the development of M. T. in India for civil needs was not sufficiently advanced. The last few years has, however, seen a remarkable expansion in M. T. of all descriptions all over the country, which encourages us to hope that the time is now ripe for a renewed effort to obtain a part of our requirements on a subsidy basis.

In particular we hope to get the country to use 6-wheelers and are offering encouragement by a system of subsidy which has recently been published throughout India. The more this subsidy scheme takes on and the larger the reserve in useful civil life, the more can we depend on this reserve for war and therefore the less the number of vehicles we have to hold uneconomically in Army reserve. A large number of enquiries in connection with such subsidies has already been received.

The replacement of animal transport by M. T. will cause the former to diminish. There is little prospect of this change causing any large immediate saving in peace. In war, however, the resultant economy and efficiency are beyond computation. The three results are, therefore, (1) greatly increased mobility in war, (2) slight economy in peace, (3) great economy in war. The pace at which His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief introduces these measures will only be conditioned by the funds available and the success of the subsidy scheme. So far it is merely a matter of simple substitution (as funds permit) of M. T. for the animal transport on which we have relied in the past.

4. Before proceeding to describe the other directions in which mechanization is proceeding, it is desirable to make a disgression. Frequent criticism may be read of India's failure to follow Home models in these matters. Great as are the disadvantages of not doing so, yet, in this matter for the

present and until experiments at Home crystalize, we have to keep the following factors in front of us always:—

Firstly, India is not a highly industrialized country. She has not the power of producing war machines nor the reserves of men required both to man and keep them in the field. For the present, therefore, a commercial vehicle (if such will meet the needs we foresee) must be used.

Next, India's war problem by reason of geographical and climatic conditions has special aspects and requires special treatment. So far these factors do not necessarily favour the employment of the special machines which are being evolved to meet the problems facing the Home authorities. Eventually as communications improve and develop our own needs will tend more and more to call for the same equipment as the other Imperial Armies find essential, but for the moment mobility is our main requirement, and mobility in semi-developed country. Mobility is the main principle underlying all our projected reforms and we have to keep it in view always.

Now, if funds were unlimited, there would be less need for care. They are, however, rigidly restricted and therefore caution in any steps we take is obligatory. And this applies more particularly to the introduction of new equipment, until we are quite certain that it can be usefully employed in our particular conditions.

To illustrate this—Tanks have been tried. Two tanks now lie at Ahmednagar, requiring such heavy repair to put them on the road and promising such little result when repaired that their re-conditioning is indefinitely postponed. We believe, however, that a type will eventually be developed which will suit us, and when that day comes it would be folly not to take advantage of it.

5. Mechanization of Artillery. This principle has always been accepted as regards medium artillery. Tractors were hauling guns at the manœuvres and review at Delhi as far back as 1925. Before and since then we have been searching for an efficient gun-haulage vehicle. The " Dragon ", a track vehicle, in fact the chassis of a Tank, is employed at Home; but these very powerful tractors are for our purposes unnecessarily powerful (and thus expensive) and the tank trials referred to have not been successful enough to warrant large expenditure on this type.

The Kegresse, a machine on the half-track principle, has been given full trial from 1924, but under our conditions definite draw-backs have appeared. In 1926 the six-wheeler came on the market and specimens were at once ordered and tried out; as a result, in 1927, exhaustive trials in carrying loads and gun haulage showed we had reached a stage when a start with " mechanization " could be safely made.

As regards Field Artillery, the fact that a start has been made in mechanization has appeared in most newspapers.

The Army see definite and material savings in upkeep and in the Remount Services; also, in war, the advantages, in cases where guns thus drawn can be used, more than justify the innovation, even were it to cost money.

6. The advantages of partial mechanization as applied to Transport and Artillery have been dealt with, but this by no means exhausts the subject.

Members will have read of the doings of the mechanized or " Armoured Force " at Home, as representing the last word in the conception of what is

required in a war of the future. Remarkable as these doings were, it must be remembered that the force is still in an experimental stage, and that finality has not yet been reached either in regard to types of machines or in regard to their tactical employment. While we in India agree with the general idea underlying this force, the differing conditions here may demand developments along somewhat different lines.

7. There are other matters which are engaging the attention of H. E. the Commander-in-Chief; experiments in the use and reliability of smoke for screening purposes under our conditions a e proceeding; anti-aircraft defence and anti-gas measures are matters requiring careful thought, and both are receiving it whilst we are carefully watching experiments at Home. in the provisions of means of defence against armoured fighting vehicles. Obviously, however, it is not in the public interest to be as precise in these as in the other matters. The situation as regards rifles and other small arms may now be considered satisfactory. Steps are being taken to keep the R. A. F. in India up to date for which sums provision is being made from Army savings with no net addition to the Budget.

8. It has been suggested by ill-informed persons that the Army in India is conservative, if not reactionary, and that it fails to keep pace with or to profit by developments at Home. The fact is that the conditions are entirely different. The Army at Home, with unlimited technical, scientific and industrial resources behind it is in the best possible position to carry out experiments of all kinds, the results of which are freely placed at our disposal. We are not similarly placed and consequently, whilst we watch the results of experiments at Home, and ourselves try out any new equipment resulting therefrom which may appear suitable to our needs, we have to be quite sure of our ground before we apply on a large scale the results of experiments which at Home have only been tried out or adopted on a comparatively small one.

Those who criticise any apparent slowness to move on our part, would be the first to condemn, and rightly condemn, the waste of money which would result from any change of policy, hastily thought out and put into effect, which might prove unsuitable to our particular conditions. As to its suitability or otherwise H. E. the Commander-in-Chief, who is in possession of all the factors in the problem, must be the arbiter. The existing arrangement by which the Army in India secures most valuable information from Home, without being forced to lower its own standard of preparedness to obtain it, is financially the most economical, and the most suitable to conditions at present existing. It is carried out in the closest consultation and in complete agreement between the responsible authorities here and at Home.

APPENDIX V.

STATEMENT FOR THE INDIAN STATUTORY COMMISSION BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR SUPPLYING MEDICAL AID BY WOMEN TO THE WOMEN OF INDIA (THE COUNTESS OF DUFFERIN'S FUND, INCLUDING THE WOMEN'S MEDICAL SERVICE).

In presenting this Memorandum to the Indian Statutory Commission the Council of the National Association for Supplying Medical Aid by Women to the Women of India endeavours to explain to the Commission how the Association's constitutional position, and in consequence its activities, have been affected by the Reforms introduced by the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919, and by the statutory rules made thereunder.

History and Objects of the Association.—The Association may be said to owe its existence to the direct initiative of Her Late Majesty Queen Victoria, who personally commended to the Countess of Dufferin on the eve of the latter's departure for India the consideration of the necessity for providing the women of India with medical treatment from doctors of their own sex. In 1885 Lady Dufferin issued an appeal throughout British India and the Indian States, with the result that by 1888 the Association was formed and registered under the Societies Registration Act, 1860. It had at that time an invested capital of a little over five and a half lakhs of rupees, bringing in an annual income of something over Rs. 30,000. This constituted "The Countess of Dufferin's Fund". At the same time branches were established in all the important provinces, each branch having complete control of the funds at its disposal. The method adopted in 1888 of distributing the funds raised was to vest in the Central Committee all monies contributed in England, by the Indian States and from the areas in British India under the direct control of the Government of India. Contributions from areas included in what are the present Governors' provinces were returned to them to form the corpus of the funds of the branches. For many years now no further addition to the central fund has been received by public subscription. The policy of the central organisation has been to leave a free field in this matter to the provinces, and all contributions have been credited to the funds of the branches in the provinces in which they were received. These of late years have not amounted to a very large sum. The corpus of the central fund has now, mainly through savings, grown to about seven lakhs of rupees, and the income available for distribution amounts to about Rs. 41,500. The wife of the Viceroy of India for the time being has always been the President of the fund.

The objects for which the National Association was established are:—

(1) Medical tuition, including the teaching and training in India of women as doctors, hospital assistants, nurses and midwives.

(2) Medical relief, including:—

(*a*) the establishment under female superintendence of dispensaries and cottage hospitals for the treatment of women and children;

(*b*) the opening of female wards under female superintendence in existing hospitals and dispensaries;

(*c*) the provision of female medical officers and attendants for existing female wards; and

(*d*) the founding of hospitals for women where special funds or endowments are forthcoming.

(3) The supply of trained female nurses and midwives for women and children in hospitals and private houses.

(4) The management of the Fund raised for the above objects, and which is known as " the Countess of Dufferin's Fund ".

(5) The purchase or acquisition on lease, or in exchange, or on hire or otherwise, of any real or personal property, and any rights or privileges necessary or convenient for the purposes of the Association.

(6) The erection, construction, alteration and maintenance of any buildings necessary or convenient for the purposes of the Association.

(7) The sale, improvement, management and development of all or any part of the property of the Association.

(8) The promotion and establishment of Branches and of other Societies or Associations with similar objects, and the affiliation or amalgamation of such Societies or Associations with this Association.

(9) The doing of all such things as are incidental or conducive to the attainment of the above objects or any of them.

In its early days the Association acted as an agency for bringing medical women out from England and finding them appointments in India. It also helped in the building of hospitals. After 1900 the Central Committee gave up the recruitment of medical women from England and left the Provincial Committees to make their own arrangements. For a time thereafter its activities consisted in the giving of grants-in-aid to Zenana hospitals and training schools for women, or scholarships and prizes to women medical students and of post-graduate scholarships to Indian and Anglo-Indian women doctors for courses of study in the United Kingdom. In the year 1914 the scope of its activities was altered by the formation of the Women's Medical Service for India.

Creation of the Women's Medical Service.—It is not necessary for the purposes of this Memorandum to trace in detail the various activities of the Association. During the Viceroyalty of the Earl of Minto, which began in 1905, the operations of the Dufferin Fund came in for much criticism from various quarters. It was alleged with some justice that there were too few qualified medical women, that their remuneration was inadequate and that they were not accorded a proper status in the districts where they were employed. These were matters for which the whole blame could not justly be ascribed to the Association. The Central Committee realising that, if it was to attract medical women of a sufficiently high standard, it must improve the conditions of their service in India, applied in 1908 to the Government of India for an annual grant of Rs. 50,000. Early in 1909 the Association was informed that the Secretary of State was unable to agree to the annual grant but had sanctioned, as a special case, for a period of five years, an annual grant to the Fund equal in amount to the income received in the preceding year by the Central Committee from subscriptions and donations, subject to

a maximum of Rs. 20,000. It was pointed out that the Central Committee's income in 1907 was only Rs. 2,500 from these sources, but nevertheless for the purpose of calculating the grant the Secretary of State decided that the subscriptions and donations received by the provincial committees and branches should not be taken into account. The result therefore was that the financial position of the Association remained very much where it was. From 1910 attempts were made to induce the Government of India to sanction the formation of a Women's Medical Service under the Government on the lines of the Indian Medical Service. In 1913 the Government of India finally rejected this proposal but sanctioned an annual subsidy of Rs. 1,50,000 to enable the Women's Medical Service to be carried on by the Countess of Dufferin's Fund. The service was inaugurated from the 1st January, 1914. The amount of the subsidy was eventually increased in 1919 to Rs. 3,70,000. In December, 1921, the Government of India informed the Association that this must be regarded as a final figure, and that it would of course be subject to the vote of the Legislative Assembly, and they added "the Government of India do not intend to concern themselves further with the question of pay or strength of the Women's Medical Service, and the Association will have to make their own arrangements for meeting increased pay within that sum, by reducing numbers, securing money from other sources, or otherwise". This was the first indication of the effect that the Reforms of 1919 would have upon the Women's Medical Service. It was pointed out to the Association that although it received a large subsidy from central funds, it was supplying women doctors to Local Fund hospitals, hospitals in Indian States and even purely provincial hospitals which, under the Reforms, should not be subsidised from central revenues. In 1924 the Auditor General raised the question of the constitutional propriety of the Government of India making its grant without conditions, and after the Association had been called upon to justify its demand for the grant from central revenues, the Association was informed early in 1925 that the Secretary of State had sanctioned the continuance of the grant of Rs. 3,70,000 subject to the vote of the Legislative Assembly, and subject also to the condition that in future no officers of the Women's Medical Service should be lent to local Governments except in return for full payment of salary, including contributions to provident fund. From that time the Association took steps to ensure that the conditions then imposed should be strictly enforced in all future cases.

Present financial position of the Women's Medical Service.—Though the Government of India subsidy has remained fixed since 1919 the financial position of the Association in regard to the Women's Medical Service has deteriorated. In the interval, as a result of the recommendations made by the Commission known as the Lee Commission, various concessions have been made to most, if not all, of the Government services, and the Association felt that there was an obligation on them to treat its own officers in the Women's Medical Service with something like the same generosity. In consequence salaries have been increased, passage concessions have been granted and more liberal provident fund has been inaugurated. It is to be remembered that officers of the Women's Medical Service earn no pension. The result has been that the average cost of maintaining a single officer in the Women's Medical Service is now considerably greater than it was when the Government

of India fixed its subsidy of Rs. 3,70,000. The cost may now roughly be taken at Rs. 10,000 per annum. Early in 1926 the Association was advised by Sir Frederic Gauntlett, its Honorary Treasurer, that the cadre of the Women's Medical Service should not exceed 42 members, allowing for the filling of 36 posts, with a leave reserve of 14 per cent. as against 20 per cent. in some of the Government services. The accuracy of this forecast was substantiated in 1927 when the employment of a cadre of 44 resulted in a deficit in the year's working. The Association cannot now maintain more than 42 members of the Women's Medical Service though it feels very strongly that a much larger number could be utilised.

It may be mentioned that of the present service 50 per cent. are of Indian domicile recruited in India.

The Central Committee in 1927 found themselves in the position of having to report to the Council of the Association that a reduction in the cadre of the Service was inevitable unless the income of the Association could be increased. The implications of this decision were that not only would officers of the Service have to be withdrawn from hospitals which had been under their charge for some time, but also requests from provincial committees for officers to take charge of new women's hospitals which had been inaugurated by them in full confidence that the Association would be able to lend the services of a fully qualified lady doctor, would have to be refused. When these implications were explained to the meeting of the Council which took place under the presidency of Her Excellency the Lady Irwin on March 19th, 1927, it was unanimously resolved that the financial position of the Association in regard to the Women's Medical Service should be laid before the Government of India, and that the Government should be asked to increase its annual subsidy to Rs. 5,00,000. The reply of the Government of India to the appeal addressed to it in consequence of this resolution was received in October, 1927. In rejecting the Association's request the Government of India reminded the Association that the grant of Rs. 3,70,000 was sanctioned in 1921 subject to the clear understanding that the Government of India did not intend to concern themselves further with the question of the pay or the strength of the Women's Medical Service. They added that they were of opinion " that while the present constitution lasts it would not be proper for them to throw any further burden on central revenues for an extension of activities which would primarily benefit the provinces, and should therefore be paid for by the provinces ", and they suggested that if the Association wished to proceed with the proposals outlined in the letter under reply they should make an appeal to local Governments or to the general public.

The National Association is not in a position to question the Government of India's interpretation of the constitutional position. Their object in addressing the Indian Statutory Commission is to emphasise that the matter is one in which the Government of India has great responsibilities, and that a constitution which prevents them from assuming those responsibilities should be amended. It is not possible for the Association by adopting the Government of India's suggestion to raise any useful amount by an appeal to the generosity of the general public. Nor indeed does the Association feel that it is dealing with a matter which should be the subject of private generosity. An appeal has, however, been directed to local Governments, some of whom

have promised to lay a demand for a grant before their local Legislative Councils in the next financial year. In the meantime, the Association applied to the Government of India for a non-recurring grant of Rs. 20,000 to enable it to tide over the period until the local Governments' grants were received and the Service to be carried on without a reduction of cadre in the current year. This appeal again met with no success. The Association was again reminded that the Government of India would not concern itself with the Women's Medical Service. On this occasion, however, they added " the whole question of the propriety or otherwise of central revenues being expended on subjects such as the maintenance of the Women's Medical Service, which primarily benefits the provinces, will come within the purview of the Indian Statutory Commission ". This statement affords the Association's justification for laying its case before the Commission.

Need for a properly organised service of female doctors.—The female population of British India may be estimated to be about 120 million. As far as can be ascertained there are about 400 women doctors working in India with registerable qualifications. Of these, 42 are in the Women's Medical Service under the Countess of Dufferin's Fund, and 15 in the junior branch of that service and in the training reserve. About 90 are working under provincial Governments in Local Fund hospitals. Possibly 150 are working under Missionary Societies and something over 100 are in private practice. There is therefore roughly one qualified female doctor for every 300,000 of the female population in British India.

The existence of the purdah system makes the need for women doctors in India far greater than in other countries. It is a matter of common knowledge that the proportion of deaths at child-birth is notoriously high, and the ratio of infant mortality is deplorable. No large improvement in this matter can be expected until there is a far greater supply of medical practitioners whom the Indian will consent to call in to treat his women folk. Apart from maternity, gynæcological and ordinary medical cases there is a pressing need for qualified doctors to specialise in the vast field of research in female complaints and to fill the professorial appointments in medical colleges, and schools for women. One of the chief sources of supply at present in India of qualified women doctors is the Lady Hardinge Medical College and Hospital at Delhi. Eight of the most important teaching posts of this College are filled by women doctors recruited for the Women's Medical Service by the Countess of Dufferin's Fund. It cannot be questioned that these professors, together with other members of the Women's Medical Service who are teaching in medical schools, are doing work of an all-India nature for which no individual province can be expected to take the responsibility.

The National Association feels, and feels very strongly, that this is a matter with which the Government of India should concern itself very seriously.

Apart from its subsidy of Rs. 3,70,000 for the Women's Medical Service the Government of India does nothing to supply women doctors for the people. This is left to the local bodies and charitable institutions who are able to touch merely the fringe of the problem. The matter is one that cannot be left entirely to local Governments. Not only is a province in India too small a unit in which to organise a self-contained service, but provincial resources

are limited, and it is impossible to expect the provinces to inaugurate their own services of medical women; if they did they could not afford to pay the members of the service adequately, and the standard of efficiency would be dangerously low.

The first attempt to induce the Government of India to create an Indian Medical Service of women was made nearly 20 years ago. The necessity for such a step is far more obvious now than it was then. From the result of the various appeals made to the Government of India for financial assistance in recent years it appears to the Council of the Countess of Dufferin's Fund that so long as the present constitution lasts and the subject of "Medical" remains a provincial transferred subject, the Government of India will not concern itself with the matter, and will be content to leave the Fund to face the problem with its wholly inadequate resources. On the other hand, the Council feels that little can be expected towards the solution of the problem from the provincial Ministers. For obvious reasons they have to pursue a policy of economy. The standard of women doctors in the provinces is not what it should be. Money is spent on the promotion of the indigenous systems of medicine, and hospitals are built without fully qualified women to take charge of them.

It is also necessary to point out that there are large and important areas in British India, such as the North-West Frontier Province and the provinces of Delhi and Coorg, which are under the direct administration of the Government of India. The policy of the National Association is to make these areas its special care, but it can do very little when it is at the same time faced with the problem of supplying women for professorial appointments and for the charge of female hospitals in Governors' provinces.

The claim of the Council is that the Women's Medical Service for India should be put on a proper basis and that if, as the Government of India claim, they are precluded from doing this by the Devolution Rules under the Government of India Act, then the Council would strongly urge the amendment of those Rules so as to bring the subject of medical relief by women for the women of India within the category of central subjects so that the Government of India may no longer be precluded, as it claims to be at present, from increasing the subsidy which it gives to the Women's Medical Service.

(Sd.) H. MONCRIEFF SMITH, Kt., C.I.E.,

Chairman,

The National Association for Supplying Medical Aid by Women to the Women in India.

APPENDIX VI.

INDIA'S PARLIAMENT.

ELECTION OF NOVEMBER, 1926.

Upper Chamber.
(Council of State.)
Five-year term.

President: Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith (Nominated by Viceroy).

Representation.	
Elected	34
Nominated	26
(Officials—18, others—8.)	
Total	60

Date of the next elections is uncertain, as the statutory commission, headed by Sir John Simon, is reconsidering Indian Constitution.

Lower Chamber.
(Legislative Assembly.)
Three-year term.

President: V. J. Patel (Swarajist). (Elected by the Assembly.)

Parties.	Representation.
Swarajist	38
Nationalist	18
Central Muslim party and non-party	22
Independents	13
Europeans	12
Nominated	41
(Officials—26, others—15.)	
Total	144

Party Programmes and Leaders.

The parties of India fall naturally into two main classes, those which support the Government and those which do not. Their important differences lie in the methods which they advocate in obstructing or in sustaining the constituted authorities.

SWARAJIST: The Swarajists are opposed to the present constitution. They question the right of Parliament to determine further stages of advance, and desire to attain Swaraj or Home Rule by obstructing to such an extent as to make the working of the present constitution impossible.

Leaders: Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar.

NATIONALIST PARTY: The Nationalists regard Dyarchy as unworkable, but their policy is not total support of the Government. They desire to attain Swaraj or Home Rule as early as possible but only by constitutional means.

Leaders: Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. M. R. Jayakar.

NON-PARTY: As the name signifies these members have not formed any particular party and vote on each matter as they like—sometimes with and sometimes against the Government.

INDEPENDENTS: The Independents desire progress, but they do not believe in consistent obstruction. Sometimes they support the Government, sometimes they oppose it.

Leaders: M. A. Jinnah, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas.

EUROPEANS: The Europeans believe in steady orderly progress and generally support the Government.

Leader: Sir D'Arcy Lindsay.

NOMINATED: The nominated members have no definite programme. They are nominated to secure the representation of particular interests. The officials naturally support the Government. Though the majority of the others support the Government, on certain questions some of them take up an independent line of their own and vote with one of the popular parties.

Leader: Sir James Crerar (Leader of the House, Home Member of Council).

MUSLIM PARTY: The Central Muslim Party is conservative in outlook and is pledged to national progress to Home Rule which shall include full safeguards for the existing rights and privileges of the Muslim community and reasonable opportunity for their continued development in the future.

Leaders: Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Sir Abdul Qaiyum.

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OF

INDIA

DURING THE YEAR 1928-29.

SIXTY-FOURTH NUMBER.

India Office,
3rd April, 1930.

A. HIRTZEL,
Under Secretary of State for India.

(*Presented pursuant to the Government of India Act.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons *to be Printed*,
3rd April, 1930.

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE
To be purchased directly from H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE at the following addresses:
Adastral House, Kingsway, London, W.C.2; 120, George Street, Edinburgh;
York Street, Manchester 1; St Andrew's Crescent, Cardiff;
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1930.

PRINTED IN INDIA

Price 8s 0d. net

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Digitized with financial assistance from

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on 01 February, 2020